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John Keats,

Benjamin Robert Haydon,

and the Aesthetics of Light and Shade

Hiroki Iwamoto

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts, School of Humanities, Department of English, April 2021.

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Abstract

This thesis is the first full-length investigation into the influence of the historical painter Benjamin Robert Haydon on the poetry and poetics of John Keats. Recent historical approaches to Keats have unearthed materials that provide fresh insights into the ramifications of his interactions with his contemporaries: in this context, our understanding of Keats's relationship with Haydon also needs to be revised. This thesis challenges the traditional view that Haydon's sway was confined to the shaping of Keats's general ideas about art, and that it failed to affect his poetics substantively. Through a close analysis of their shared assumptions and methods, this study demonstrates that Haydon's impact on Keats was much more profound—and arguably further reaching—than has been assumed hitherto.

In discussing the intimate, mutual, and creative relationship between Keats and Haydon, this thesis draws on those modalities of 'light and shade' that are emphasized in the poet's writings, including his letters. As both an artist and an art critic and polemicist, Haydon was a great exponent, in both practical and theoretical terms, of chiaroscuro effects. His exemplary work in this respect is *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem* (begun in 1814 and finished in 1820). Haydon's manipulation of clarity and obscurity in the picture served Keats (himself depicted among the crowd) as encouragement and inspiration for his own poetic creations. From time to time, Haydon advised Keats—who considered the picture a 'part' of himself—to materialize a similar complex and unstable polarity in the 'canvas' of his own medium of poetry. We will witness the fruits of the friendship between the two men in the development of Keats's 'painterly' poetics of light and shade, from his 'Great Spirits' sonnet of late 1816 to his last surviving letter of late 1820.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my primary supervisor, Professor Andrew Bennett, for his many perceptive comments on my writing. Without his encouragement and patience, I could not have finished this thesis. Several other people have also given me invaluable feedback on my conference papers and draft chapters. I want to thank, among others, Dr Doug Battersby, Peter Dale, Dr Jessica Fay, Professor Mary Jacobus, Professor Gerard Kilroy, Dr Samantha Matthews, Professor Ralph Pite, Professor Nicholas Roe, and Dr Brandon Yen, as well as my secondary supervisor, Dr Stephen Cheeke. Last, but not least, I owe a great extent of my knowledge of English Romanticism to Professor Emeritus Kiyoshi Nishiyama, who 'first taught me all the sweets of song' (John Keats, 'To Charles Cowden Clarke', 53).

I would also like to express my gratitude to those who have assisted my research at the following institutions: the Athenaeum of Ohio / Mount St. Mary's Seminary of the West (where I was permitted to examine Benjamin Robert Haydon's *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem*); the Bodleian Libraries, the University of Oxford; the British Library; the Bury Archives; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Morgan Library & Museum; the National Art Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum; the New York Public Library; the Tate Library; the University of Bristol Library; the University of Cambridge Library; and the Waseda University Library. My sincere thanks go to the British Association for Romantic Studies (BARS), whose decision to grant me a Stephen Copley Research Award in 2019 made part of my trip to these libraries and archives possible.

Part of Chapter 1 appeared in Monika Coghen and Anna Paluchowska-Messing, ed., *Romantic Dialogues and Afterlives* (Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press, 2020), pp. 129–42, and an earlier version of Appendix I in the *Essays in English Romanticism*, 45 (2021), 1–16.

Author’s Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University’s *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate’s own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: .... DATE:..........................

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Abbreviations

Autobiography	*The Autobiography and Journals of Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786–1846),* ed. by Malcolm Elwin (London: Macdonald, 1950)
BRH	David Blayney Brown, Robert Woof, and Stephen Hebron, *Benjamin Robert Haydon, 1786–1846: Painter and Writer, Friend of Wordsworth and Keats* ([Grasmere]: Wordsworth Trust, 1996)
CTT	*Benjamin Robert Haydon: Correspondence and Table-Talk*, ed. by Frederic Wordsworth Haydon, 2 vols (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876)
CWWH	*The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. by P. P. Howe, 21 vols (London: Dent and Sons, 1930–34)
Diary	*The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, ed. by Willard Bissell Pope, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960–63)
DJF	*The Diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. by Kenneth Garlick, Angus Macintyre, and Kathryn Cave, 16 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978–84)
IF	*Invisible Friends: The Correspondence of Elizabeth Barrett Barrett and Benjamin Robert Haydon, 1842–1845*, ed. by Willard Bissell Pope (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972)
JKNL	Nicholas Roe, *John Keats: A New Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012)
KC	Hyder Edward Rollins, ed., *The Keats Circle: Letters and Papers and More Letters and Poems of the Keats Circle*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965)

Kearney (1972)	Colbert Kearney, 'The Writings of Benjamin Robert Haydon' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1972)
Kearney (1978)	Colbert Kearney, 'B. R. Haydon and *The Examiner*', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 27 (1978), 108–32
KL	Beth Lau, 'Analyzing Keats's Library by Genre', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 65 (2016), 126–51
KMA	Ian Jack, *Keats and the Mirror of Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)
KPL	Beth Lau, *Keats's 'Paradise Lost'* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998)
KRRP	Beth Lau, *Keats's Reading of the Romantic Poets* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991)
Lectures	Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Lectures on Painting and Design,* 2 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844–46)
LJK	*The Letters of John Keats, 1814–1821*, ed. by Hyder Edward Rollins, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958)
LLL	*Life, Letters, and Literary Remains, of John Keats*, ed. by Richard Monckton Milnes, 2 vols (London: Moxon, 1848)
MY	*The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Middle Years*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt, 2nd edn, rev. by Mary Moorman and Alan G. Hill, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–70)
MYRJK	*The Manuscripts of the Younger Romantics: John Keats*, ed. by Jack Stillinger, 7 vols (New York: Garland, 1985–88)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (online edition)

Olney (1933)	Clarke Olney, ‘An Annotated Set of *Annals of the Fine Arts*’, *Notes and Queries*, 16 December 1933, pp. 416–18
Olney (1952)	Clarke Olney, *Benjamin Robert Haydon: Historical Painter* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1952)
PJK	*The Poems of John Keats*, ed. by Jack Stillinger (London: Heinemann, 1978)
TKP	Jack Stillinger, *The Texts of Keats’s Poems* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974)

* * *

Unless otherwise indicated, the text of John Keats’s poetry is taken throughout from *PJK*. The plays and poems of William Shakespeare refer to *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett, and William Montgomery, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005). For the publication dates of the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, see Appendix III, pp. 306–17.

‘Lights and shades are equally essential to a Picture and a Poem’

(*Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1 July 1816)[1]

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[1] Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth, ‘On the Affinity between Painting and Writing, in Point of Composition’, *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.1 (1 July 1816), 1–20 (p. 12). For the publication history of this essay, see Appendix III, p. 306.

Introduction

SCOPE OF THE THESIS

This thesis examines the influence of the historical painter Benjamin Robert Haydon on the poetry and poetics of John Keats. Critics have long recognized the significance of Keats's intellectual debt to his contemporary 'powerful trio of Hs', namely, Leigh Hunt, William Hazlitt, and Haydon.[1] Beyond the shadow of a doubt, these three figures respectively stimulated and enriched the poet's imagination from political, philosophical, literary, and artistic perspectives. Recent historical approaches to Keats have unearthed materials that provide fresh insights into the ramifications of his interactions with his contemporaries and into his living, social, and cultural environment. In this context, our understanding of Keats's close relationship with Haydon also needs to be revised. As we will see shortly, in fact, a 1934 biographical and partly critical essay by Clarke Olney still governs the scholarly attitude towards the camaraderie between the poet and the painter.[2] 'We could profitably hear more than we have', Morris Eaves claimed in 2010, about the influence of the painter's aesthetic ideals on Romantic poets.[3] Among those writers, Keats merits particular attention—not least because, from very early on, he regarded Haydon as his sole 'everlasting friend' (*LJK*, I, 145).[4] Keats and Haydon had enjoyed an intense friendship for several years since late 1816; its reverberations continued to be embodied in various ways almost until the poet's death in early 1821 (or perhaps even afterwards as well).[5] This thesis will, then, stand as the first full-length investigation into the evolving literary and artistic relationship between Keats and Haydon.[6]

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[1] [Anon.], 'Keats's Three Hs'; review of Ian Jack, *Keats and the Mirror of Art* (1967), *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 May 1967, p. 380.

[2] Clarke Olney, 'John Keats and Benjamin Robert Haydon', *PMLA*, 49.1 (March 1934), 258–75.

[3] Morris Eaves, 'The Sister Arts in British Romanticism', in *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*, ed. by Stuart Curran, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 229–61 (p. 231).

[4] Keats signed off his letter to Haydon of 10 and 11 May 1817 with the words 'Your everlasting friend John Keats' (*LJK*, I, 145). Keats never employed the same closing signature anywhere else in his surviving letters.

This thesis offers a close reading of Keats's writings, in both verse and prose, especially those connected with Haydon. I seek to demonstrate that the painter's influence on the poet was much more profound—and arguably further reaching—than has been assumed hitherto. Haydon figured at almost every watershed in Keats's literary career. It was Haydon who drew one of the earliest surviving sketches of Keats in late November 1816, and who made his life mask weeks later;[7] the painter also first took the poet to see the so-called Elgin Marbles at the British Museum in the spring of 1817 and introduced him to the older poet William Wordsworth at the end of the year; and, in addition to his passionate endorsement of the young poet's epic schemes for *Endymion* and 'Hyperion', Haydon arranged for two of Keats's great spring odes of 1819 to be printed first in his own mouthpiece magazine, the *Annals of the Fine Arts*. Haydon's sway might have extended even to Keats's choice of his now well-known epitaph: 'Here lies One Whose Name was writ in Water'.[8] In Olney's view, Haydon's impact on Keats was 'confined' to the development of the poet's general

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[5] For discussion of the 'posthumous' life of the friendship between the two men, see the Epilogue.

[6] As we will see more closely below, besides Olney's 1934 essay, earlier studies of the two men include: Hugh Walpole, 'Keats and Haydon', in *The John Keats Memorial Volume*, ed. by G. C. Williamson (London: Lane, the Bodley Head, 1921), pp. 187–96; Nicholas Roe, 'A Rhinoceros among Giraffes: John Keats, Benjamin Haydon, and the Elgin Marbles', *Essays in English Romanticism*, 33 (2009), 93–112; and Yoshikazu Suzuki, 'Keats's Epic Project and Benjamin Robert Haydon', *Essays in English Romanticism*, 37 (2013), 33–48.

[7] For the sketch and the life mask, see Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1) and *BRH*, pp. 124–26.

[8] See Kenneth Neill Cameron, Donald H. Reiman, and Doucet Devin Fischer, ed., *Shelley and his Circle, 1773–1822*, 10 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961–2002), V, ed. by Donald H. Reiman (1973), 422–23, n. 79. For a more detailed discussion of Haydon's possible influence on Keats's epitaph, see the Epilogue.

‘conceptions of the quality and functions of art’ and related ‘not at all’ to any specific ‘technical problems of poetry’.[9] This thesis is a direct challenge to Olney’s widely-accepted theory. I will claim, instead, that we can trace Haydon’s formative influence not only in the shaping of Keats’s general ideas of art but also in specific and identifiable ways in the composition of individual poems.

As this thesis will argue more specifically, Keats’s literary craftsmanship carries significantly Haydonesque reflections, especially in the poet’s painterly tensions of ‘light and shade’. Indeed, one of Keats’s most well-known concepts, ‘*Negative Capability*’, requires one to remain for a while in the ambiguous realms of ‘uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts’, by being ‘content’ with indistinct ‘half knowledge’—or with truth half-clarified and half-obscured (*LJK*, I, 193–94).[10] According to Jack Stillinger, Keats might have owed the idea as much to Haydon as to, as is traditionally considered, Hazlitt.[11] Stillinger points to the fact that Hazlitt’s remarks on the Shakespearean disinterestedness in his influential lecture of early 1818 actually postdate (rather than antedate) Keats’s late December 1817 statement of Negative Capability, a quality that, as the poet saw it, ‘Shakespeare posessed [*sic*] so enormously’ (*LJK*, I, 193).[12] As it happens, meanwhile—and something like five days before the likely date of Keats’s letter—Haydon had observed the Shakespearean idea of ‘sympathy’ by distinguishing it from the Wordsworthian poetics of ‘exclusive’ egotism: in the eyes of the painter, the myriad-minded playwright had ‘no moral code’ (and perhaps no self per se either) and was able to leave readers ‘uncertain’ amid the creative potentialities in his own verbal ‘infinite variety’ (*Diary*, II, 171–72).[13] In truth, as Nicholas Roe notes, Keats had also witnessed some other ‘proto-conceptions’ of Negative Capability before late 1817: those potential contemporary models would include not only Hazlitt’s observations on ‘disinterestedness’ but also Hunt’s ‘passive capacity’ and possibly Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s ‘willing suspension of disbelief’.[14] Keats actually ‘dovetailed’, as he put it, ‘several things’ in his mind to shape the idea of Negative Capability (*LJK*, I, 193). Nevertheless, it is significant that Haydon was thus one of those potentially most ‘immediate influences’ (in Stillinger’s words) on Keats’s poetic philosophy.[15]

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[9] Olney, ‘John Keats and Benjamin Robert Haydon’, p. 274.

[10] See also *LJK*, I, 223–24 for Keats’s idea of ‘halfseeing’.

[11] See Jack Stillinger, *Romantic Complexity: Keats, Coleridge, and Wordsworth* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), pp. 33–34. For the traditional view that Hazlitt was a primary influence on Keats’s conception, see, for example, Walter Jackson Bate, *John Keats* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 233–63. More recently, Michael Theune has also commented on ‘the already clearly acknowledged debt’ by which Keats was beholden to Hazlitt for ‘the *substance* of negative capability’ (‘Keats’s “Negative Capability” and Hazlitt’s “Natural Capacity”’, in *Keats’s Negative Capability: New Origins and Afterlives*, ed. by Brian Rejack and Michael Theune (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), pp. 47–59 (p. 56)).

[12] For Hazlitt’s lecture (‘On Shakspeare and Milton’), see *CWWH*, V, 44–68.

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[13] The entry of Haydon’s *Diary* is dated 22 December 1817, while it is hard to establish the precise date of Keats’s letter. That is partly because the letter’s text survives only in a ‘bowdlerized’ transcript by John Jeffrey. Hyder Edward Rollins gives to the part concerning Negative Capability a speculative date of ‘*27 (?) December 1817*’ (*LJK*, I, 193). For Jeffrey, see Brian Rejack, ‘John ~~Keats’s~~ Jeffrey’s “Negative Capability”; or, Accidentally Undermining Keats’, in *Keats’s Negative Capability: New Origins and Afterlives*, pp. 31–46. Indeed, in this letter, Keats compares the Shakespearean magnanimity with the Coleridgean ‘irritable reaching after fact & reason’ (*LJK*, I, 193); but Haydon’s contrast between Shakespeare and Wordsworth also prefigures Keats’s 27 October 1818 letter on ‘the wordsworthian or egotistical sublime’ (*LJK*, I, 387). On 7 March 1821, Haydon further denounced Wordsworth as ‘often egotistical and overbearing’ (*Diary*, II, 312).

[14] Nicholas Roe, ‘Preface’, in *Keats’s Negative Capability: New Origins and Afterlives*, pp. xvii–xxi (p. xix). Hazlitt’s 1805 *Essay on the Principles of Human Action* argued for ‘THE NATURAL DISINTERESTEDNESS OF THE HUMAN MIND’ (*CWWH*, I, 1). Hunt distinguished the poet’s ‘original and active power’ and the actor’s ‘dependant and passive capacity’ in his *Critical Essays on the Performers of the London Theatres, Including General Observations on the Practise and Genius of the Stage* (London: John Hunt, 1807), p. 50, n. In July 1817, Coleridge mentioned the reader’s act of ‘willing suspension of disbelief for the moment’ in *Biographia Literaria; or Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions*, 2 vols (London: Fenner, 1817), II, 2 (see also *Literary Gazette*, 26 July 1817, p. 49). For the late-eighteenth-century view of Shakespeare as ‘protean’, see Andrew Bennett, ‘On Not Knowing Shakespeare (and on Shakespeare Not Knowing): Romanticism, the Authorship Question and English Literature’, in *Shakespeare and his Authors: Critical Perspectives on the Authorship Question*, ed. by William Leahy (London: Continuum, 2010), pp. 11–22.

There is a specific link between Negative Capability and the idea of chiaroscuro, the manipulation of light and shade in painting.[16] On 27 October 1818, in formulating his own poetic ‘axioms’—his notions about what poetry was—Keats hit upon the idea of what he called ‘the poetical Character’. It was a conceptual offspring of Negative Capability, working as his foothold to explore further the suggestive borderlines between clarity and obscurity. Keats stressed the protean and most opaque qualities of ‘the poetical Character’: ‘it is every thing and nothing—It has no character—it enjoys light and shade’ (*LJK*, I, 386–87). The Keatsian (and significantly Shakespearean) ‘poetical Character’ entails a chameleon-like versatility. Through temporary self-annihilation, it can negotiate ambiguous boundaries between actuality and potentiality. In so doing, Keats’s poetry often provides a sort of imaginative richness to readers and suspends them in the end between the epistemological tensions between certainty and uncertainty—the moment which he had referred to as ‘the Luxury of twilight’ earlier in the same year, 1818 (*LJK*, I, 238). Symbolically enough, as if summarizing his quintessential poetic endeavours, Keats dwelt on three things necessary for his creative processes in his last extant letter from Rome of 30 November 1820 as follows:

> now—the knowledge of contrast, feeling for light and shade, all that information (primitive sense) necessary for a poem are great enemies to the recovery of the stomach. (*LJK*, II, 360)

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[15] Stillinger, *Romantic Complexity*, p. 34.

[16] For earlier discussions of the conception of light and shade (or chiaroscuro) as applied in Keats’s poetry, see George Yost, ‘Keats’s Halfway Zone’, *Philological Quarterly*, 60.1 (Winter 1981), 95–103; George Yost, ‘Keats’s Tonal Development’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 23.4 (Autumn 1983), 567–78; and Don Colburn, ‘A Feeling for Light and Shade: John Keats and his “Ode to a Nightingale”’, *Gettysburg Review*, 5.2 (1992), 216–38.

A seriously ill man, Keats was recuperating in the warm south. There, he ‘now’ recalled—perhaps with a poignant nostalgia—the days-gone-by when he had devoted himself to balancing ‘light and shade’ on his poetic palette in England. In fact, by the side of the poet writing thus in Rome, there lay seventeen letters from the painter.[17]

As Simon Jarvis points out, the long Romantic period saw the frequent usage of ‘painterly idioms’ with which to bring ‘what writing cannot exhaustively state’ into the minds of readers.[18] By that time, the effects of light and shade, in particular, had begun to captivate not only artists but also writers. Greg Kucich argues that the ways in which Hunt enjoyed ‘the pathos of Spenser’s “chiaroscuro”’ were likely to have ‘made a deep impression’ on the early Keats.[19] Furthermore, the *OED* lists Hazlitt as the author who employed the artistic term of ‘chiaroscuro’ for the first time for ‘poetic or literary’ purposes in 1818.[20] And yet, among the interdisciplinary coterie of Hunt’s circle with which Keats associated, it was Haydon who was perhaps most eager about transposing and reciprocating lexicons between the sister arts—including not only poetry and painting but also sculpture and possibly music.[21] In this respect, it is clear that Keats's poetics of 'light and shade' deserves further examination from the perspective of Haydon's ideas on art. Before coming to London, Haydon had been tutored at Plymouth Grammar School between 1793 and 1799 by the Rev. John Bidlake. This headmaster was 'a man of some taste' in Haydon's estimation (*Autobiography*, p. 9) and was himself the author of a long poem entitled 'The Progress of Poetry, Painting, and Music' (1794).[22] In the metropolis, where he afterwards moved to study at the Royal Academy Schools in 1804, Haydon benefitted from the mentorship of the Swiss-born painter Henry Fuseli. Prompted by his own literary-aesthetic interest, Fuseli had opened the Milton Gallery (1799–1800) in Pall Mall, following the success of John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery (1789–1805).[23]

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[17] See John Barnard, ‘Which Letters Did Keats Take to Rome?’, *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 64 (2015), 72–91 (p. 84); see also the Epilogue.

[18] Simon Jarvis, ‘Criticism, Taste, Aesthetics’, in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1740–1830*, ed. by Thomas Keymer and Jon Mee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 24–42 (p. 37).

[19] Greg Kucich, *Keats, Shelley, and Romantic Spenserianism* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), p. 178.

[20] *OED*, S.V. ‘chiaroscuro, *n.*’, 3 (see also *Diary*, II, 65). In his lecture ‘On Chaucer and Spenser’, delivered at the Surrey Institution in January 1818, Hazlitt summed up Spenser’s masterly juxtaposition of ‘fancy’ and ‘gloominess’ in *The Faerie Queene* (especially in the passage of ‘the Cave of Despair’) with the phrase ‘the splendid chiaro-scuro’ (*CWWH*, V, 42–43). Earlier than Hazlitt, however, Thomas Gray had also used the same word ‘chiaro-oscuro [*sic*]’ in the context that, unlike ‘lyrick poetry’—a genre in which he could elaborate its parts ‘with care’ so as to create certain nuances—‘a *long* poem’ would ‘be deficient in effect’ not least ‘by wanting the chiaro-oscuro’, that is, a subtle verbal modulation of high and low intensity (Norton Nicholls’s reminiscences of Gray, quoted in Thomas James Mathias, ‘Postscript’, in *The Works of Thomas Gray*, ed. by Thomas James Mathias, 2 vols (London: Bulmer, 1814), II, 583–629 (p. 598)).

If we can call Keats a 'painterly' poet—in the same spirit and sense that Oscar Wilde eulogized him as 'poet-painter of our English Land'—Haydon would deserve the title of a

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[21] 'Poetry and Painting require the same minds', Haydon declared in his essay for the *Examiner* for 26 January 1812, 'the means only are different' (p. 62). For the authorship of this essay, published under the pseudonym 'AN ENGLISH STUDENT', see Kearney (1978), p. 129. For Haydon's ideas of the sister arts, see also *Diary*, I, 217–18, III, 30, 76, 395; and *Lectures*, I, 221, 238, 300, 310–12, 320–21, II, 18.

[22] See *Poems, by John Bidlake, B.A.* (Plymouth: B. Haydon, 1794), pp. 1–49. This volume was one of those by Bidlake that the painter's father Benjamin Robert Haydon (1758–1813) printed and sold in Plymouth. Among the subscribers to Bidlake's subsequent volumes, such as *The Sea: A Poem* (1796) and *The Summer's Eve, a Poem* (1800), we can also find the names of both 'Mr. B. R. Haydon, Bookseller' and 'Mr. B. Haydon, Jun.'

[23] Especially during the 1790s, Pall Mall served as a centre for art exhibitions in London. In addition to the examples of Boydell and Fuseli, the same site also saw the openings of Thomas Macklin's Poets' Gallery (1788–1800), Robert Bowyer's Historic Gallery (1792–1806), and James Woodmason's New Shakespeare Gallery (1794) (see Rosie Dias, '"A World of Pictures": Pall Mall and the Topography of Display, 1780–99', in *Georgian Geographies: Essays on Space, Place and Landscape in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 92–113).

‘literary’ painter.[24] The only son of a Plymouth bookseller, Haydon exhibited a marked interest in literature from early childhood. In 1826, he even admitted that he was more gifted at writing than painting.[25] In the eyes of Aldous Huxley, too, Haydon’s ‘special gifts were literary and discursive’ and not painterly, a view that was soon to be echoed by Virginia Woolf: ‘his genius is a writer’s’.[26] The extensive scope of Haydon’s library also attests to his keen literary taste. His bookshelves comprised numerous volumes of art, fiction, history, philosophy, religion, and science, as well as, of course, poetry.[27] Even if Haydon was indeed a ‘mediocre’ painter, as art historians have conventionally defined him, he was nonetheless a man of perceptive reading and powerful writing in his own right—perhaps enough to rival other literary spirits of the age.[28]

To Keats—a frequent visitor to his studio—Haydon’s library afforded a vital locus of intimacy not only with the mighty dead of literature but also with the painter himself. Haydon owned at least four copies of *Endymion*, in addition to a copy of Keats’s 1817 and 1820 volumes.[29] As Keats's 'ardent friend', Haydon also gave him a copy of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Grecian History* (new edition; 1805) in 1817: presumably, Haydon expected that Keats would imbibe from it the ethos of 'that beautiful Greece' (*LJK*, I, 154) for his mythopoeia in *Endymion*.[30] At his own lodgings, Haydon further showed Keats a large 'Book of Prints' by Carlo Lasinio, whose artistic excellence the poet likened to that of both Shakespeare and Raphael (*LJK*, II, 19). At some point, Haydon might have suggested that Keats should read John Potter's *Archæologiæ Græcæ: Or, The Antiquities of Greece* (1697–99), too; the book indeed seemed to provide what Robert Gittings calls significant 'background colour' for the poet's later works, including 'Lamia', a narrative set in classical Corinth.[31]

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[24] ‘The Grave of Keats’, in *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, ed. by Russell Jackson and Ian Small, 10 vols to date (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000–continuing), I: *Poems and Poems in Prose*, ed. by Bobby Fong and Karl Beckson (2000), 36; l. 11.

[25] ‘The truth is’, Haydon wrote on 23 June 1826, ‘I am fonder of books than any thing else on Earth. I consider myself, and ever shall, a man of great powers excited to an Art which limits their exercise. In Politicks, Law, or Literature, they would have had full & glorious swing, & I should have secured a competence!’ (*Diary*, III, 104). In his essay for *The Times* for 4 September 1845, Haydon also noted that his own ‘tendencies from childhood were always more literary than artistical’ (p. 7). For the authorship of this essay, published under the pseudonym ‘ALPHA’, see Kearney (1972), p. 282.

[26] Aldous Huxley, ‘Introduction’, in *The Autobiography and Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786–1846)*, ed. by Tom Taylor, new edn, 2 vols (London: Davies, 1926), I, pp. v–xix (p. v); Virginia Woolf, ‘Genius’, *Nation & Athenæum*, 18 December 1926, pp. 419–21 (p. 420).

[27] See A. N. L. Munby, ed., *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, 12 vols (London: Mansell, 1971–75), IX: *Poets and Men of Letters*, ed. by Roy Park (1974), 532–35, 545–48.

[28] See, for example, Ian Chilvers and Harold Osborne, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 231.

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[29] 'No less than four copies of *Endymion* given by Haydon to various people are in existence to-day', Amy Lowell noted as of 1925 but without specifying their whereabouts at that time in her biography, *John Keats*, 2 vols (Boston: Mifflin, 1925), I, 126. Currently, three of the copies belong, respectively, to the Cornell University Library, the Princeton University Library, and the Keats-Shelley House, Rome. Each copy bears Haydon's marginalia related to Keats (see J. Russell Endean, 'Haydon's Notes on Keats', *Athenæum*, 3 April 1897, p. 446; James Thorpe, 'A Copy of "Endymion" Owned by Haydon', *Notes and Queries*, 27 November 1948, pp. 520–21; and Iris Origo, 'Additions to the Keats Collection', *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 April 1970, pp. 457–58 (p. 458)).

[30] On the title page of the copy's first volume, there is an inscription that reads: 'To John Keats from his ardent friend, B. R. Haydon, 1817' (Robert Underwood Johnson, 'Note on Some Volumes Now in America, Once Owned by Keats (with Facsimiles Made for the Keats-Shelley Memorial)', *Bulletin and Review of the Keats-Shelley Memorial, Rome*, 2 (1913), 20–29 (p. 29)); see also KL, p. 146. Under the headline 'Keats's Own Books Will Be Sold Here', *New York Times* for 8 November 1914 reported: 'On the blank leaves of Vol. I of Goldsmith's work are slight outline sketches of classical figures by Haydon. It is interesting to note that on the appearance of Keats's first volume of poems in 1817 he presented a copy to Haydon, who drew on the blank leaves sketches similar to those in the Goldsmith history' (p. C-6). Unfortunately, Haydon's copy of Keats's 1817 volume is now 'lost' (John Barnard, 'First Fruits or "First Blights": A New Account of the Publishing History of Keats's *Poems* (1817)', *Romanticism*, 12.2 (July 2006), 71–101 (p. 101, n. 200)).

[31] Robert Gittings, *John Keats* (London: Heinemann, 1968), p. 336. Gittings notes that Potter's work was 'quoted as an authority by Haydon [in his essay for the *Examiner* for 2 May 1819 (p. 286)]' (p. 336). Keats also owned a copy of the book (see KL, p. 148).

As William A. Ulmer has recently remarked, though ‘often undervalued’, Haydon’s influence on Keats seems ‘extremely important’ in terms of his poetic development.[32] To quote again from Eaves’s essay, ‘the study of British Romantic literature and the visual arts’ in general is yet to be explored at least in some respects: the area is a ‘critical wilderness’, as he sees it, ‘approached by many promising but mostly untried roads’.[33] As a further attempt to address those scholarly ‘gaps’, this thesis examines the hermeneutic complexities and highly visual qualities of Keats’s poetry by analysing Haydon’s ideas on art—through, in particular, the lens of a Haydonesque aesthetics of light and shade. With reference to several unpublished or long-neglected materials that throw light upon the symbiosis of certain of the two men’s creations and upon their almost ‘brotherly’ friendship, this thesis aims to present a fuller picture of the painter’s influence on the poet.

EARLIER STUDIES OF KEATS AND HAYDON

The history of the critical analysis of the relationship between Keats and Haydon began, perhaps, with an 1876 declaration by the American critic and poet Richard Henry Stoddard: ‘The personality of Haydon and the effect of his work upon the minds of his contemporaries would be a fine subject for an Essay’.[34] It is true that the late-Victorian period saw a slighting of the painter as a man of ‘miserable moral’ stature and ‘delusive vanity’ regarding his obsession for fame and celebrity.[35] Yet, after that, the 1920s saw the first phase of Haydon redivivus. During this period, his *Autobiography* was reprinted successively in England—legend has it that this was owing to the then former Prime Minister H. H. Asquith's 'admiring recommendations'.[36] In *The John Keats Memorial Volume* (1921), Hugh Walpole also published a biographical account of the relationship between 'Keats and Haydon'.[37] This was followed by Willard Bissell Pope's 1932 unpublished doctoral dissertation exploring Haydon's presences 'in the Keats Circle', and by Olney's 1934 essay on 'John Keats and Benjamin Robert Haydon'.[38]

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[32] William A. Ulmer, *John Keats: Reimagining History* (Cham: Macmillan, 2017), p. 158.

[33] Eaves, ‘The Sister Arts in British Romanticism’, p. 231. Thora Brylowe’s recent book, *Romantic Art in Practice: Cultural Work and the Sister Arts, 1760–1820* (2019), makes only passing references to Keats’s relationship with Haydon.

[34] Richard Henry Stoddard, ‘Preface’, in *The Life, Letters and Table Talk of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, ed. by Richard Henry Stoddard (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, 1876), pp. xi–xxiii (p. xix).

[35] William Cosmo Monkhouse, *Masterpieces of English Art: With Sketches of Some of the Most Celebrated of the Deceased Painters of the English School from the Time of Hogarth to the Present Day* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1869), pp. 96, 101.

Since then, scholars have shown a continuing and growing critical interest in the aesthetic, religious, and political dimensions of Keats's work. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s, on the other hand, that critics began to reassess Haydon substantially. What prompted this research trend was the publication by Pope of the first complete five-volume edition of the *Diary* (1960–63).[39] The subsequent decade saw the submissions of three doctoral theses discussing Haydon as a key figure in the Romantic literary and artistic milieu.[40] Perhaps most importantly, Ian Jack's now-classic study *Keats and the Mirror of Art* (1967) also appeared four years after all volumes of the *Diary* had become available in print. While taking an overview of the poet's interactions with the 'dilettante' Hunt, the (art) critic Hazlitt, and the artist Haydon, Jack's detailed, 'detective work' was indeed ground-breaking in its exploration of Keats's engagement with the visual arts; but it is also true that, as Keith Walker notes, the ways in which he accredited artworks as 'precise' sources for Keats's ekphrastic lines seemed at times arbitrary and not fully persuasive.[41]

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[36] Edmund Blunden, 'Haydon outside his "Autobiography"', *Nation & Athenæum*, 7 April 1928, pp. 13–15 (p. 13); see also H. H. Asquith, 'Biography', *National Review*, 38.226 (December 1901), 526–39 (pp. 529–33). First published in Tom Taylor's *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon* (1853), the *Autobiography* was reprinted in 1926 with a new introduction by Huxley; the following year saw two further reprints, the one edited by Blunden and the other by Alexander P. D. Penrose.

[37] See above at n. 6.

[38] Pope's dissertation (in two volumes; submitted to Harvard University) is titled: 'Studies in the Keats Circle: Critical and Biographical Estimates of Benjamin Robert Haydon and John Hamilton Reynolds'. Olney's essay (see above at n. 2) was based partly on his own doctoral dissertation, 'Benjamin Robert Haydon as a Figure in the Romantic Movement in English Literature', submitted to the University of Pittsburgh in 1933. He published the bulk of the dissertation in Olney (1952).

[39] A large portion of Haydon's *Diary* had first appeared in Taylor's *Life*. In Pope's words, Taylor had 'used the Victorian editor's prerogative of rewriting' in transcribing the painter's words somewhat inaccurately (*The Genesis of the Haydon 'Diary'* (Burlington, VT: George Little Press, 1978), p. 6).

[40] Frederick Cummings, 'Benjamin Robert Haydon and the Critical Reception of the Elgin Marbles', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1967); Kearney (1972); and King

In the wake of Jack's work, scholarly investigations into the relationship between Keats and Haydon have become more specific and contextualized. Over the past couple of decades, two critics have published book-length studies focusing on the single evening of 28 December 1817: that was when Haydon enjoyed an 'immortal dinner' with, among others, such literary luminaries as Wordsworth, Charles Lamb, and Keats at his own lodgings at 22 Lisson Grove North, Paddington.[42] The ways in which Haydon initiated Keats into the artistic value of the Elgin Marbles have also attracted attention. It is indeed almost exclusively in this context that Haydon's impact on Keats is discussed in Grant F. Scott's *The Sculpted Word: Keats, Ekphrasis, and the Visual Arts* (1994), another scholarly landmark (alongside Jack's 1967 monograph) that has examined the poet's reception of art and its reflections in his

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Chris Kryger, 'The Aesthetics of Benjamin Robert Haydon' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado, 1974). Eric George's *The Life and Death of Benjamin Robert Haydon, 1786–1846*, first published in 1948, was also reprinted with additions by Dorothy George in 1967.

[41] Keith Walker, 'Keats and the Artists'; review of Ian Jack, *Keats and the Mirror of Art* (1967), et al., *The Times*, 13 April 1967, p. 13.

[42] Penelope Hughes-Hallett, *The Immortal Dinner: A Famous Evening of Genius & Laughter in Literary London, 1817* (London: Viking, 2000); and Stanley Plumly, *The Immortal Evening: A Legendary Dinner with Keats, Wordsworth, and Lamb* (New York: Norton, 2014). John Barnard also published an essay titled '"The Immortal Dinner" Again' in *Charles Lamb Bulletin*, n.s., 127 (July 2004), 70–76. For Haydon's own account of the 'immortal dinner', see *Autobiography*, pp. 316–19; and *Diary*, II, 173–76.

writings.[43] To be sure, there are several other recent essays concerning Keats and Haydon.[44] Nevertheless, as a rule, scholars and critics have rarely taken into consideration Haydon's potentially significant influence on Keats outside the contexts of the painter's hosting of the immortal dinner or his championing of the fragmentary sculptures. It is this somewhat 'narrow' critical range about the two men that the present thesis seeks to challenge.

In a broader context, of course, this thesis situates itself in the recent trend of forms of research seeking to unveil further aspects of the actualities and complexities of Keats's (inter)connectivity with his contemporaries. In addition to Roe's recent meticulous work of historicism—in his 2009 essay on Keats, Haydon, and the Elgin Marbles and in his 2012 biography, *John Keats: A New Life*—the publication of *Keats's Places* (2018), edited by Richard Marggraf Turley, has emphasized the wider consequence of Keats's sense of locality, physicality, and attachment to his surroundings upon his writings.[45] As well as those historical approaches towards the poet's life and work, this thesis takes account of the many debates about the problem of visuality in Romantic ekphrastic poetry.[46] In responding to earlier criticism of the nexus between literature and art of the age, the thesis looks closely not only at Haydon's ideas about the sister arts but also at the discourses in his propagandist periodical, the *Annals of the Fine Arts*. After all, as Jack sees it, the magazine's 'most important feature' lay in its foregrounding of 'the close affinity between the visual arts and literature' (*KMA*, p. 53). James Elmes, the magazine's de facto editor and architect, won a gold medal from the Royal Irish Academy for his 'Essay on the Reciprocal Influence of the Fine Arts and Literature' in 1821.[47] Haydon, his old friend, acted precisely as the real power behind the editor's throne, ever keen on increasing the circulation of the periodical.[48]

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[43] For other recent studies about Keats's reception of the Elgin Marbles under the auspices of Haydon, see, for example, Matthew Gumpert, 'Keats's *To Haydon, with a Sonnet Written on Seeing the Elgin Marbles* and *On Seeing the Elgin Marbles*', *Explicator*, 58.1 (Fall 1999), 19–22; Eric Gidal, *Poetic Exhibitions: Romantic Aesthetics and the Pleasures of the British Museum* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001), pp. 112–62; and Roe, 'A Rhinoceros among Giraffes: John Keats, Benjamin Haydon, and the Elgin Marbles'. For recent studies more generally about Keats and art, see Theresa M. Kelley, 'Keats and "Ekphrasis": Poetry and the Description of Art', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Keats*, ed. by Susan J. Wolfson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 170–85; and Nancy Moore Goslee, 'The Visual and Plastic Arts', in *John Keats in Context*, ed. by Michael O'Neill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 126–35.

[44] For instance, Suzuki's 2013 essay (see above at n. 6) has examined the implications of Keats's heroism and his 'epic passion' (*LJK*, I, 278) in the light of his relationship with his friend the 'heroic' and 'epic' painter, Haydon.

[45] For other recent work on Keats and his contemporaries, see Jeffrey N. Cox, *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School: Keats, Shelley, Hunt and their Circle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Richard Marggraf Turley, *Bright Stars: John Keats, 'Barry Cornwall' and Romantic Literary Culture* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009).

Further examination of Keats's creative friendship with Haydon has indeed been called for. In 2009, Paul O'Keeffe published the latest and most detailed biography of Haydon.[49] Even outside academia, Haydon's impact on Keats has drawn attention. In 2012, the independent scholar Colin Silver brought out an e-Book biography of the two men.[50] The ways in which Keats is likely to have been *influenced* by the ‘godlike’ ancient Greek sculptures (explicated by Haydon’s tutelary presence) also prompted the Canadian writer Janet Munsil to create a stage play on the subject in 2008.[51] Keats’s poetics, in particular, merits careful reconsideration in terms of Haydon’s artistic ideas. In 1981, George Yost mentioned that ‘Keats brings to verse the chiaroscuro that Leonardo and Rembrandt had brought to canvas’.[52] However, to discuss the poet’s ‘painterly’ phraseology fully, a more historically grounded approach is necessary. It is known that, as a ‘classicizing painter’ schooled in the doctrines of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Haydon defended the traditional ideals of the so-called ‘grand style’.[53] The manner was underpinned, as he saw it, precisely by the mastery of light and shade. Reynolds had not only declared that ‘History Painting’ should be at the head of all genres of painting; he had also maintained that, because of its distinctive status in the hierarchy of the art, the genre also ‘ought to be called’, in essence, ‘Poetical’ painting.[54] Arguably, Reynolds’s statements as such motivated the early Haydon—the literary painter on the rise—who later helped to develop Keats’s somewhat classical aesthetics.

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[46] Classic studies about this subject matter include Edmund Blunden, *Romantic Poetry and the Fine Arts* (London: Milford, 1942) and Stephen A. Larrabee, *English Bards and Grecian Marbles: The Relationship between Sculpture and Poetry, Especially in the Romantic Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943). For more recent criticism, see, for example, Sophie Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality: Fragments, History, Spectacle* (New York: Routledge, 2008) and Maureen McCue, *British Romanticism and the Reception of Italian Old Master Art, 1793–1840* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

[47] *Magazine of the Fine Arts*, 1.6 (1 October 1821), 469; for the publication date of this number, see *Courier*, 29 September 1821, p. 1. The editor of the *Magazine of the Fine Arts* was the antiquary and topographer John Britton and not, as occasionally believed, Elmes (see Anthony Burton, 'Nineteenth-Century Periodicals', in *The Art Press: Two Centuries of Art Magazines*, ed. by Trevor Fawcett and Clive Phillpot (London: Art Book, 1976), pp. 3–10 (p. 4).

[48] For the editorship of the *Annals*, see Appendix III, pp. 301–06.

[49] Paul O'Keeffe, *A Genius for Failure: The Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon* (London: Bodley Head, 2009).

[50] In 2014, Silver's book, *John Keats and Benjamin Robert Haydon: The Pursuit of Beauty and Truth*, was also reprinted as a paperback by Iamus Press.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES

In his day, Haydon was actually (in)famous for his restless engagement with the classical idea of light and shade. In an age when portraiture was favoured more than historical painting, Haydon’s ‘anachronistic’ manner often drew criticism. At times, his artworks even provided a suitable subject for caricaturists. An 1810 satirical print by William Heath (Figure 0.1), for instance, not only featured the quarrel between Haydon (lower left) and his patron Sir George Beaumont (middle left) about the size of his commissioned picture *Macbeth* (which was to see its completion in 1811). The print also mocked the artistic style of the still immature painter. The young artist was seeking to rival the chiaroscuro technique of Italian Old Masters—as witness the names of several, now neglected Italian historical painters on the lower right corner and the somewhat Italianate title of the caricature, *Un Chiara Obscura*.

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[51] Janet Munsil, *Influence* (Victoria, BC: Missing Page, 2008). Produced by Touchstone Theatre, the play saw its premiere at Performance Works, Vancouver, in 2008. Intrepid Theatre, Victoria, also produced it in 2011. The word ‘godlike’ appears in line 4 of Keats’s ‘On Seeing the Elgin Marbles’.

[52] Yost, ‘Keats’s Halfway Zone’, p. 102.

[53] Geraldine Pelles, ‘The Image of the Artist’, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 21.2 (Winter 1962), 119–37 (p. 131). In 1848, two years after Haydon’s death, Wordsworth recalled him as ‘the first painter in his grand style of art that England or any other country has produced since the days of Titian’ (*CTT*, I, 110). For Haydon’s ideas of ‘grand style’, see also *Diary*, IV, 334.

[54] *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight*, 3rd edn, corrected, 3 vols (London: Cadell, Jun. and Davies, 1801), I, 86.

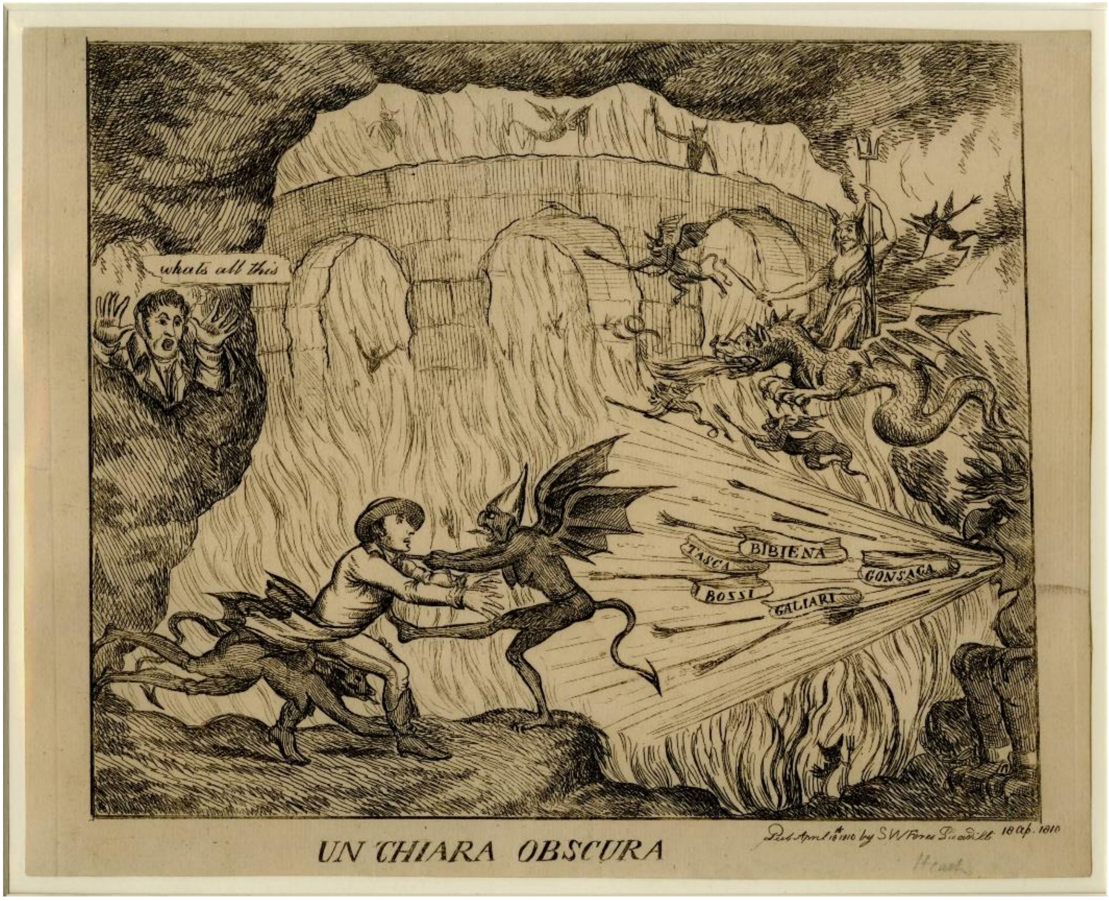

Figure 0.1 William Heath, *Un Chiara Obscura*, 1810, etching, 25.5 × 30.4 cm, © The Trustees of the British Museum[55]

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[55] For discussion of this caricature, see Frederic George Stephens and Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in*

In figurative terms, of course, this ominous-looking print warned the young Haydon about the coming struggles—the lights and shades—in pursuing the career of an unpopular historical painter in England. As Haydon later fully realized, the course for classical 'High Art' in his own country was 'a long Kyber [*sic*] Pass': notwithstanding his life-long efforts, he was able to find no 'passage out' from it in his native land which preferred the fashionable genre of portraiture to historical painting (*Diary*, V, 239).[56]

We can observe Haydon's profound interest in chiaroscuro effects in his masterpiece, *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem* (Figure 0.2), too. In this picture, begun in 1814 and finished as late as 1820, Haydon strove to capture a moment when Christ's halo shines brightly amid the surrounding darkness over the gathered crowd. It is remarkable that, in 1831 (after the painting had been transferred to America), Haydon asked the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts to hang it always 'on the East side of every Room, to catch the glow of the setting Sun'.[57] He expected to enhance the artistic effects of half-light with the natural aid of an evening glow. The somewhat vainglorious artist intended this magisterial work of light and shade as a sign to the public of his own 'transfiguration': a self-styled 'redeemer' of English painting, Haydon originally modelled himself for the figure of the Saviour of the World at the centre of the canvas.[58]

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the British Museum, 11 vols ([London]: printed by order of the Trustees, 1870–1954), VIII: *1801–1810* (1947), 957–58; *BRH*, p. 94; and Julie Mellby, 'William Heath (1794/5–1840): "The Man Wots Got the Whip Hand of 'Em All"', *British Art Journal*, 16.3 (Winter 2015/16), 3–19 (pp. 4–5). The print's fiendish imagery could have been drawn, as suggested, from Dante's *Inferno*, John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or the famous medieval fresco of *The Triumph of Death* at the Campo Santo, Pisa.

[56] For discussion of Haydon's obsession with High Art, see also John Barrell, 'Benjamin Robert Haydon: The Curtius of the Khyber Pass', in *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art, 1700–1850*, ed. by John Barrell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 253–90.

[57] Quoted from Marcia Allentuck, 'Haydon's "Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem": An Unpublished Letter', *Art Bulletin*, 44.1 (March 1962), 53–54 (p. 54).

[58] See Willard Bissell Pope, 'Haydon's Portraits', *Times Literary Supplement*, 25 January 1947, p. 51.

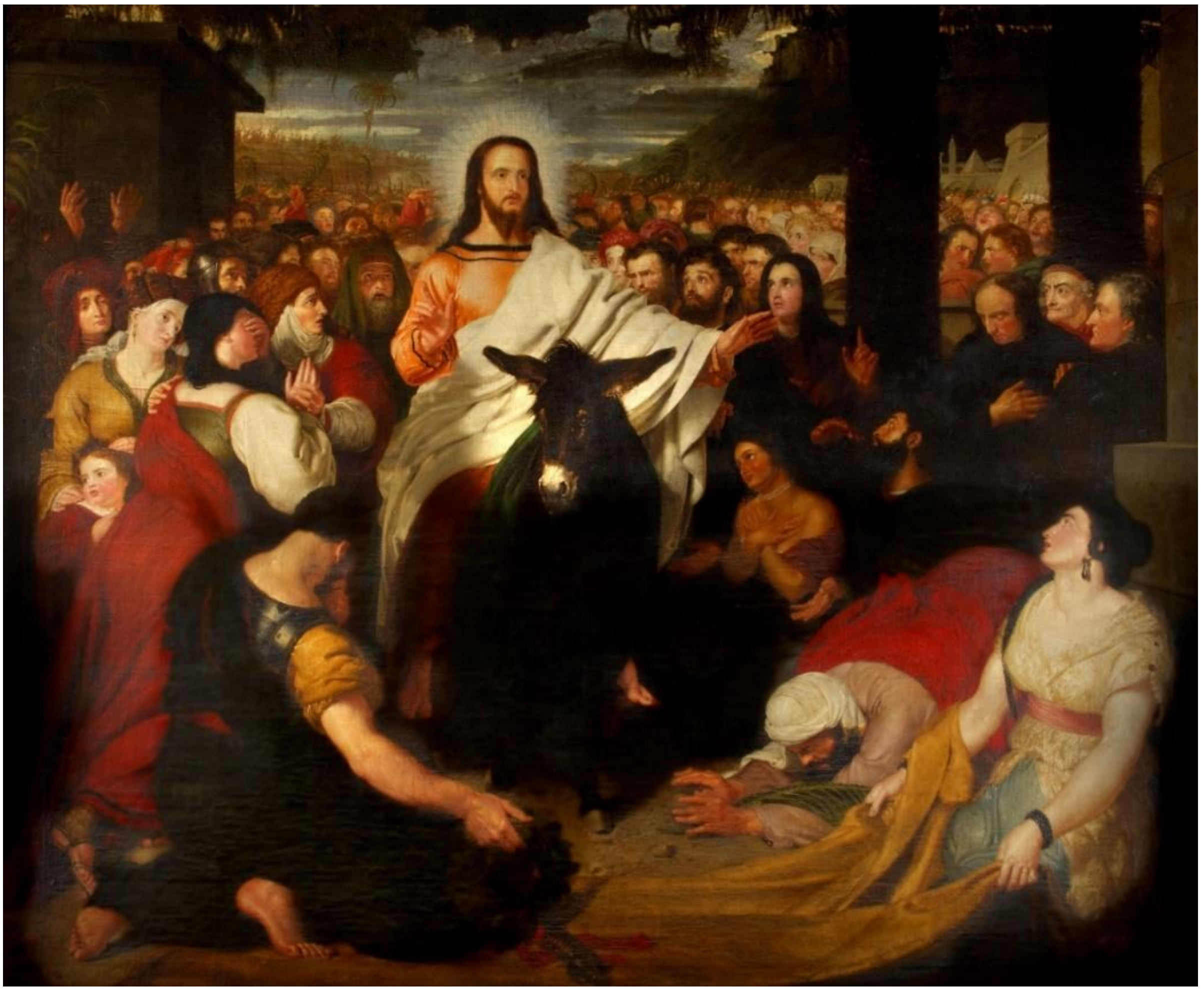

Figure 0.2 Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem*, 1820, oil on canvas, 396 × 457 cm, photo provided by: The Athenaeum of Ohio / Mount St. Mary's Seminary of the West in Cincinnati, Ohio U.S.A.[59]

With this picture, Haydon made an earnest and yet highly self-regarding prayer for the immediate future when he could redeem the public taste of England from the Royal Academy's 'pernicious' influence on it and when, by so doing, he himself could *enter* a constellation of European Old Masters.[60] On the canvas, Haydon also arranged portraits of several of his contemporaries—including Wordsworth, Hazlitt, and Keats—as on-lookers who would witness his triumphant success as a leading painter in England.

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[59] Keats is seen between the two poles in the upper right, staring at the artist-redeemer. Just below Keats, Wordsworth is bowing his head. It is believed that the man depicted above Christ's left hand is Hazlitt (in profile). For the identification of other principal figures in this picture, see Grasmere, Dove Cottage, Wordsworth Trust, 'Key to Figures in "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem"', post-1820, GRMDC.B20; and Louis A. Holman, 'Old Pigments and New Found Faces', *Bookman* (New York), 36.6 (February 1913), 608–14.

It is true that Haydon's demonstrable vanity (and several of his money troubles) would diminish Keats's admiration towards him in the end. Nevertheless, Keats worshipped 'this glorious Haydon' at least during the early stages of their friendship (*LJK*, I, 114) and afterwards remained attentive to some extent to his artistic work. Before embarking on *Endymion* in late April 1817, Keats had 'conned over every Head' in *Christ's Entry* (*LJK*, I, 129). Keats then 'pinned up Haydon'—a certain sketch by him—on the wall of his own temporary lodgings at Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight, to begin the long poem (*LJK*, I, 130). In the following year, 1818, Keats also told Haydon that his art was one of the 'three things to rejoice at in this Age' and moreover that 'your picture is a part of myself' (*LJK*, I, 203, 264).[61] In October 1819, that is, even after their earlier passionate friendship had cooled, Keats wrote to Haydon from Winchester: 'your pictures follow me into the Country—when I am tired with reading I often think them over' (*LJK*, II, 220). Arguably, Haydon's work and his artistic ideals continued to materialize in the mind of Keats from late 1816 onwards—just as, reciprocally, the image of the young poet having a 'premature intensity of thought' was to linger in the memories of the painter, who survived him by twenty-five years.[62]

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[60] The word 'pernicious' appears in the title of Haydon's 1839 lecture, *On Academies of Art, (More Particularly the Royal Academy); and their Pernicious Effect on the Genius of Europe*. Haydon often attacked contemporary portraitists of the Royal Academy, not least because they appeared to be neglecting Reynolds's original ideals about the superiority of historical painting (see also Chapter 1).

[61] The other two of Keats's 'three things to rejoice at in this Age' were Wordsworth's *The Excursion* (1814) and Hazlitt's criticism (see also *LJK*, I, 204–05).

[62] New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Benjamin Robert Haydon to Mrs Sophie Brown, 27 and 28 February 1846, Gift of Arthur Weyhe. With the letter of the 27th (from which the phrase above is taken), Haydon sent her a copy of his own sketch of Keats (originally made on 19 November 1816;

As we will see in the following six chapters, Haydon acted from time to time as an important catalyst in the development of Keats's artistic and literary taste. In particular, the painter's idea about the juxtaposition of clarity and obscurity seems to have encouraged and inspired the poet's writings. Notwithstanding the differences in medium between poetry and painting, Keats and Haydon served as a creative stimulus towards one another. The two men also enjoyed their mutual admiration, so much so that immediately after Keats wrote to Haydon about his own 'three things to rejoice at in this Age', the painter responded to the poet by adding 'a fourth' to the list: '*John Keats' genius!*' (*LJK*, I, 203). Besides, we should recall the fact that Keats dedicated at least three sonnets to Haydon, by which the poet crystallized his friendship with the painter.[63] In what follows, I discuss, roughly in chronological order, Keats's major works written after his critical first meeting with Haydon on 19 October 1816.[64] From historical, cultural, and aesthetic perspectives, this thesis draws particular attention to the trajectory of Keats's experiments in literary chiaroscuro, exploring how he learned from Haydon about the ways in which poetry could embody the expressive artistry of light and shade.

In Chapter 1, I examine the significance of 'ellipsis' in Keats's early sonnet 'Great spirits now on earth are sojourning'. Keats addressed the poem to Haydon. From a chronological point of view, this work marks the beginning of their friendship. Keats sent a

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see Figure 1.1 and the Bibliography, p. 319). The letters are yet to be catalogued: I am grateful to Laura Callery of the Rare Books and Manuscripts department for permission to use them in this thesis. Haydon's *Autobiography* also mentioned Keats's 'prematurity of intellectual and poetical power' (p. 295). Keats (1795–1821) was younger than Haydon (1786–1846) by about ten years.

[63] Keats wrote 'Addressed to Haydon' and 'Addressed to the Same' in 1816 and 'To Haydon with a Sonnet Written on Seeing the Elgin Marbles' the following year (see *TKP*, pp. 119–20, 133–35). In addition to these three sonnets, Haydon also regarded Keats's 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles' as 'addressed to me' (*KC*, II, 141).

[64] For the date of Keats's first meeting with Haydon, see *JKNL*, pp. 102–05.

first draft of the sonnet to Haydon on 20 November 1816, and the two men went on to talk about it. After reading the first version of the poem, Haydon advised Keats to eliminate a phrase in the penultimate line. By so doing, Haydon seems to have intended to leave in the text a hermeneutic ‘gap’: as a result, it would suggest a pregnant point between the visible and the invisible, the clear and the obscure, and the heard and the unheard. Keats ‘entirely’ agreed with Haydon about ‘the Elipsis [*sic*]’ (*LJK*, I, 118) and sent a revised draft again to him immediately afterwards. While considering subtle political implications behind their act of omission, this chapter discusses further ramifying consequences of Haydon’s fortuitous advice upon Keats’s early writings.

Chapter 2 reconsiders the condition of ‘fragmentariness’ in Keats’s two ‘Elgin Marbles’ sonnets. Keats wrote the poems immediately after visiting the British Museum with Haydon to see the Elgin Marbles in early March 1817. Importantly, the two men viewed the ancient Greek sculptures not in a room well-lit as it is today but in a somewhat obscure space—chequered with skylights. With this relatively neglected fact in mind, this chapter takes another look at Keats’s enigmatic phrase, ‘a shadow of a magnitude’, at the end of ‘On Seeing the Elgin Marbles’. I argue that Keats’s wording subtly reflected contemporary responses to viewing the Elgin Marbles in dim light: in fact, the sculptures in the British Museum were arranged to enhance the effects of shadows cast upon them. This chapter also analyses the aspects of Keats’s two (quasi-)ekphrastic sonnets as his intertextual dialogues with Haydon about the fragmentary and, in part, elliptical artistry of antiquity.

Chapter 3 discusses *Endymion* from the perspective of Keats’s handling of ‘obscurity’. Keats was composing and revising this long poem from April 1817 to early 1818, a period that corresponds to the time when he was highly conscious of the progress of Haydon’s huge picture of *Christ’s Entry*. I want to claim that *Endymion* was Keats’s intentionally obscurantist work: its half-adumbrated language implies his own uncertain and shadowy hopes for futurity (or, more specifically, posterity). This chapter considers the possibility that Keats shared with Haydon ideas about posthumous fame. In so doing, it takes a close look at the occasionally baffling texture of Keats's poem, in which he seems to have responded to Haydon's intense and prophetic vision as embodied in *Christ's Entry*. We will witness the ways in which the painter's 'promised' fame of immortality appeared to the younger poet to overshadow the paths of his own pursuit of fame.

Chapter 4 examines the oppositional tensions in Keats's 'Hyperion' epics, focusing on the topos of solar 'eclipse'. Originally, 'Hyperion' was to be a work of visual collaboration with Haydon: the painter had planned (though failed) to illustrate the poem. Keats's two epics are concerned with the image of eclipse, a trope associated with the intimation of some significant turnings of fate. Earlier criticism has tended to see Keats's epic project as his attempt at the Miltonic poetics of sublimity. Yet, as this chapter will argue, Keats's enterprise was also meaningful as a negotiation of the Haydonesque artistic ideals. Even Keats's well-known idea of textual 'stationing' might have been inspired by Haydon's conception of artistic 'arrangement'. It is notable that Haydon discussed the subject matter in his periodical essays for the *Examiner* (and later also in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*) in 1818, while citing lines of both Milton and Keats. In this chapter, I also consider the potential genesis of 'Hyperion' in September 1817 at Oxford, with specific references to Keats's correspondence with Haydon, who had visited there earlier in the summer of the same year.

Chapter 5 focuses on the 'twilight' imageries in Keats's ekphrastic poems. As well as some painterly phraseology in 'The Fall of Hyperion' and 'The Eve of St. Agnes', this chapter pays particular attention to Keats's verse epistle to John Hamilton Reynolds. Written in the spring of 1818, Keats's epistle significantly prefigures his ekphrastic craftsmanship in the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn'. Behind the creation of Keats's gloaming verbal picture, there might have been Haydon's instructions for him about how to 'read' engravings. To Keats, Haydon showed Lasinio's 'Book of Prints'—which the poet called a work of 'Romance' (*LJK*, II, 19)—and presumably some engravings of the Raphael Cartoons as well. I consider the possibility that Keats's intense aesthetic experiences of surmising those artworks in light and shade would have contributed to the materializing of similar halftone artistry in his poetic texture.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I examine the idea of the (in)substantiality of material artefacts in Keats's great spring odes of 1819. This chapter focuses, among others, on the 'Ode to a Nightingale' and the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn'. This is not least because both poems first appeared in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, with Haydon's encouragement or perhaps even his aesthetic 'sanction'. The two poems, however, did not specify the author's name: they were printed anonymously with the mystifying siglum of a dagger (†).[65] I first explore some political nuances of this specific siglum by looking at controversies surrounding the *Annals* at the time. While discussing the ambiguous implications in the odes, I then consider the dagger's symbolic literary-aesthetic significance as well. These quasi-ekphrastic poems indeed seem to pose epistemological questions about the validity of beauty to readers—who would surmise the texts in an unaware yet intense way. This chapter also offers new information about the publication history of the odes in the *Annals*.

Thus, each chapter analyses the expressively pregnant in-betweenness in the writings of Keats. It was Haydon, I will argue, who stood behind those painterly manipulations of light and shade on several significant occasions. In Keats's poetry, we often perceive what Murray Krieger has called the 'two-sidedness—the push and pull—of the aesthetic'.[66]

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[65] 'Ode to the Nightingale' appeared in the *Annals* on 1 July 1819, and 'On a Grecian Urn' on 1 January 1820. Both poems were later reprinted in Keats's 1820 volume, *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems*, as 'Ode to a Nightingale' and 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', respectively.

[66] Murray Krieger, 'The Anthropological Persistence of the Aesthetic: Real Shadows and Textual Shadows, Real Texts and Shadow Texts', *New Literary History,* 25.1 (Winter 1994), 21–33 (p. 24).

Readers first delve into a poetic texture to grasp some meaning in it. Then, at some point, they are confronted with something that may slightly baffle their interpretative attempts. Indeed, those mingled (and sometimes even oxymoronically entangled) yarns of clarity and obscurity could attract readers' attention profoundly in the end.[67] Most of Keats's poems seem to presuppose and make the best use of such acknowledgements of hermeneutic give-and-take between the poet and the reader. In this sense, we can reckon Keats as a writer who intended to allow readers to enjoy interpretative ambivalence in his work. He was perhaps trying to let readers oscillate between the epistemological realms of certainty and uncertainty—where, while seeking illuminating hints (lights) for interpretation, they would encounter and at last intensely surmise the imaginative spaces (shadows) of possibilities.

Christopher R. Miller has recently drawn to our attention the fact that there was a peculiar fascination with the crepuscular among the Romantic writers: they 'invented' a sort of aesthetic criterion of twilight, of *eveningness*.[68] In 1820, the Rev. George Croly celebrated that specific time for ephemerality precisely as 'THE POET'S HOUR'.[69] Keats's engagement with poetic light and shade undoubtedly corresponded to the contemporary aesthetic trend which appreciated the evocative nuances of dimness.[70] His experiments in this respect seem to have culminated in his 1819 odes, where we mark numerous lights, shades, shadows, mists, clouds, dusks, uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, and other twilit imageries. The classic example of this would be the poet listening darkling to the nightingale's fading notes, while himself being surrounded by 'shadows numberless' ('Ode to a Nightingale', 9). The image of autumn mistiness also foregrounds Keats's poetic landscape of a countryside, whose scenic effects the poet multiplies with the verbal portrait of an engaging sunset: 'soft-dying day' ('To Autumn', 25). In what follows, I will take a fresh look at Keats's poetry and poetics by examining Haydon's aesthetic ideals concerning chiaroscuro. After all, according to the contemporary painter John Constable, Haydon was a man who would 'naturally have influence over those with whom He associates' (*DJF*, IX, 3252).[71] As Laurence Binyon claimed, in part at the least, Haydon acted actually as 'almost the only link between the poetry and the painting' of early nineteenth-century England.[72]

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[67] 'Ever since Plato', Krieger notes, the validity of some truth has been understood as subsisting more in the elusive and shadowy non-entity than in the substantial and objective existence (ibid., p. 24).

[68] Christopher R. Miller, *The Invention of Evening: Perception and Time in Romantic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Other recent studies about the expressivity of poetic obscurity include John Hollander, *The Substance of Shadow: A Darkening Trope in Poetic History*, ed. by Kenneth Gross (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016) and Susan J. Wolfson, *Romantic Shades and Shadows* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018). For discussion of the shadowy from artistic, cultural, and philosophical perspectives, see also Michael Baxandall, *Shadows and Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); E. H. Gombrich, *Shadows: The Depiction of Cast Shadows in Western Art* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1995); Victor I. Stoichita, *A Short History of the Shadow* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); and Roberto Casati, *The Shadow Club: The Greatest Mystery in the Universe—Shadows—and the Thinkers Who Unlocked their Secrets*, trans. by Abigail Asher (New York: Knopf, 2003).

[69] [George Croly], 'The Poet's Hour', *Weekly Entertainer*, 5 June 1820, p. 460. Originally published anonymously, the poem was reprinted as 'The Minstrel's Hour' in Croly's 1822 volume, *Catiline: A*

APPENDIX SUMMARIES

This thesis concludes with three appendices, by which I emphasize the broader significance of Haydon's presence in the literary culture of the nineteenth century. It was in my research for the thesis that I have uncovered the material included in these appendices. The contents

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Tragedy, in Five Acts: With Other Poems (pp. 196–98). The author later reverted to the original title, 'The Poet's Hour', collecting the piece in his 1830 two-volume *Poetical Works* (I, 163–65).

[70] In addition to those instances of poetic shades and shadows that I will hereafter discuss, Richard Woodhouse also wrote a sonnet entitled 'Twilight' in 1817 (see *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 7 (Winter 1958), 96).

[71] On 31 August 1831, Haydon wrote: 'I was early marked in High Life as one who even as a Youth was addicted to instruct & guide instead of listen & be instructed' (*Diary*, III, 546).

[72] Laurence Binyon, *English Poetry in its Relation to Painting and the Other Arts* (London: British Academy, [1918]), pp. 19–20.

offer essential contextual data not only for the present study but also for our understanding more generally of Haydon's work and its influence on Keats. Appendix I provides a reproduction of Haydon's annotated transcripts of some of Keats's letters, now at the Houghton Library of Harvard University. While all the original letters have already appeared in Hyder Edward Rollins's authoritative edition, a large portion of Haydon's notes is still unpublished. In some intriguing ways, Haydon's comments throw light on his friendship with Keats. Appendix II lists contemporary poetic tributes to Haydon. In addition to those well-known poems written for him by Wordsworth, Hunt, and Keats, this updated catalogue now contains a number of hitherto neglected poetic encomia dedicated to Haydon during the nineteenth century in Britain. As such, it serves as a testament to how deeply and extensively Haydon's presence impacted the imagination of nineteenth-century writers. Lastly, Appendix III establishes the publication dates of the *Annals of the Fine Arts*. All seventeen quarterly issues of this periodical are undated, a circumstance that has occasionally obstructed scholars' attempts to use this material in their historical research. Appendices II and III also give an updated account of authorship concerning those poems and essays that were originally published anonymously or pseudonymously. I believe that each appendix is useful for further studies of the relationship between Keats and Haydon and, more generally, of Romantic literature and art.

Chapter 1: 'Great Spirits' and the Art of Ellipsis

THE BEGINNING OF FRIENDSHIP

It was on 19 October 1816 that John Keats first met Benjamin Robert Haydon.[1] The two men had been invited to Leigh Hunt's birthday party at his cottage in Hampstead. There, Keats was introduced by Charles Cowden Clarke, a mutual friend, both to the editor of the liberal *Examiner* and to the painter of the acclaimed *Judgement of Solomon* (1814).[2] This chapter primarily discusses an early sonnet that Keats wrote through his interactions with those contemporaries. Earlier in the month, Keats, a regular reader of the *Examiner*, had expected that his first meeting with Hunt would mark 'an Era in [his] existence' (*LJK*, I, 113). The aspiring poet had also desired to get acquainted with Charles Ollier, 'the Author of the Sonnet to the Sun' (*LJK*, I, 113)—or, more precisely, 'Sonnet on Sunset'.[3] Despite Ollier's absence, the party afforded Keats what he had envisioned. For Keats, the convivial time would have been a 'dulcet hour', as Ollier had put it in his memorable celebration of evening; the young poet was now stepping into the circle of luminaries at the suburb of London—just as, in Ollier's sonnet, the setting sun is being 'nurs'd' amid 'golden clouds'.[4] Among those guiding lights, Haydon, aged thirty, appeared particularly 'glorious' to Keats, his junior by ten years (*LJK*, I, 114). As we will see below, the poet's first encounter with the painter also proved to be a formative event—indeed an 'Era'—in his literary career.

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[1] For the date of their first meeting, see *JKNL*, pp. 102–05.

[2] Especially due to the merit of *The Judgement of Solomon*, the mayor and commonalty of Plymouth, where Haydon was born, 'unanimously' decided to confer upon him the freedom of the town on 26 September 1814 (*Examiner*, 2 October 1814, p. 633).

[3] For the authorship of this sonnet, see John Barnard, 'Charles Cowden Clarke's "Cockney" Commonplace Book', in *Keats and History*, ed. by Nicholas Roe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 65–87 (pp. 68, 81–82). Ollier, Keats's future publisher, wrote the 'Sonnet on Sunset' in August 1813.

[4] Quoted from lines 11 and 7–8 of Ollier's sonnet, reproduced in Barnard, pp. 81–82.

The evening of 19 November 1816—precisely a month after their first acquaintance—found Keats at Haydon's studio. Already a frequent visitor to the painting room, then at 41 Great Marlborough Street, Soho, Keats was rapidly developing a firm friendship with Haydon. The morning had witnessed a spectacle of 'the Sun's Eclipse' in the sky, which might have intimated to Keats some phenomenal event that was about to take place in his life.[5] Later in the evening, as the painter recalled, Keats and Haydon enjoyed 'a most eager interchange of thoughts' (*Autobiography*, p. 296) while sketching each other's profile.[6] Importantly, as a result, the painter produced one of the most iconic images of the poet (Figure 1.1).[7] Keats 'could get no sleep' that night:[8] his vivid recollections of the interactions actually 'wrought [him] up' to dedicate a sonnet to Haydon (*LJK*, I, 117). Out of gratitude for that delightful evening, Keats sent the poem to Haydon the following day:

> Great Spirits now on Earth are sojourning
>   He of the Cloud, the Cataract the Lake
>   Who on Helvellyn's summit wide awake
> Catches his freshness from Archangel's wing
> He of the Rose, the Violet, the Spring
>   The social Smile, the Chain for freedom's sake:
>   And lo!—whose stedfastness would never take
> A Meaner Sound than Raphael's Whispering.
> And other Spirits are there standing apart
>   Upon the Forehead of the Age to come;

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[5] *Monthly Magazine*, 1 December 1816, p. 442.

[6] For Haydon's recollections of this evening, see also *IF*, pp. 15–17.

[7] For Keats's drawing of Haydon, see Figure 3.1.

[8] Richard Woodhouse's marginal note in his copy of Keats's 1817 volume, reproduced in *MYRJK*, I, 250.

These, These will give the World another heart
    And other pulses—hear ye not the hum
Of mighty Workings in a distant Mart?
    Listen awhile ye Nations, and be dumb.! (*LJK*, I, 117)

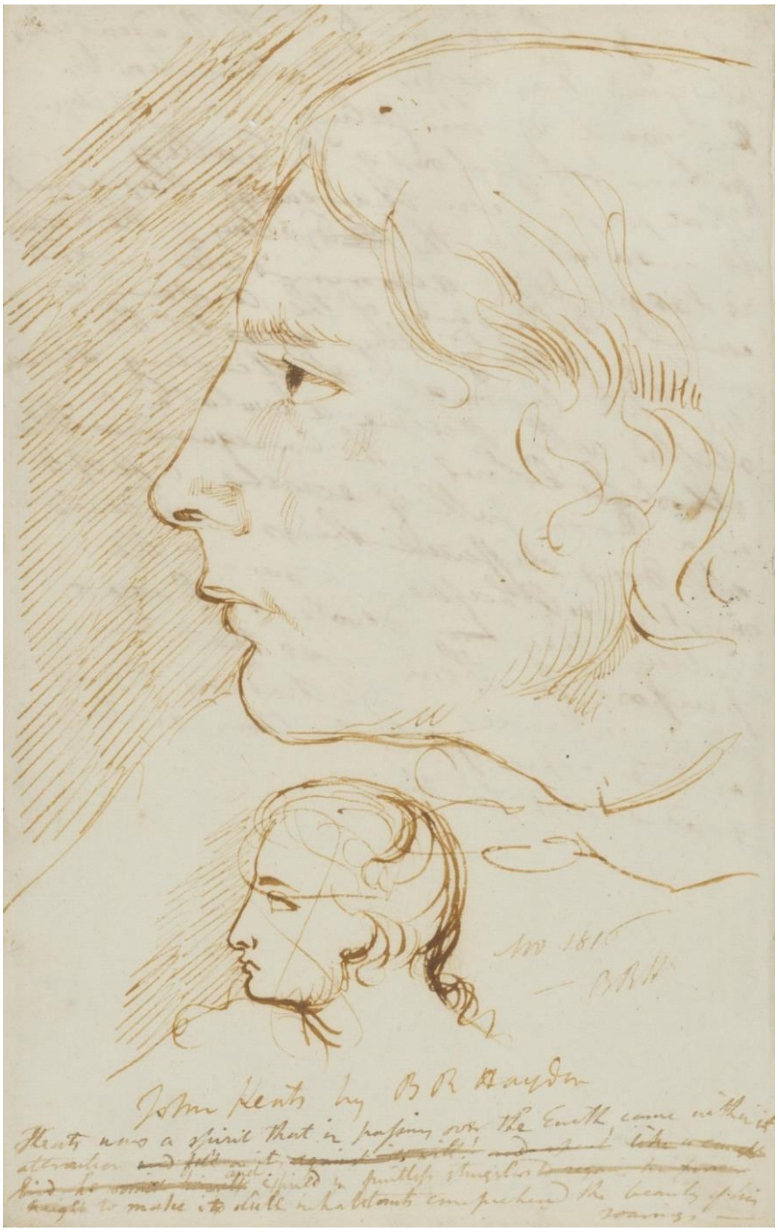
Nov 1816
— BRH
John Keats by B R Haydon
Keats was a spirit that in passing over the Earth came within its

Figure 1.1 Benjamin Robert Haydon, *John Keats*, 1816, pen and ink, 31.8 × 20.3 cm, © National Portrait Gallery, London[9]

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[9] For discussion of Haydon’s handwritten note (which identifies Keats as a great ‘spirit’ just ‘passing over the Earth’) at the bottom, see Chapter 2.

Keats's sonnet commemorated the presence of three 'Great' contemporaries as he saw them: William Wordsworth (2–4), Hunt (5–6), and last but never least—'[a]nd lo!'—the addressee, Haydon (7–8). As if to gratify the somewhat egomaniac painter further, Keats made a subtle allusion to himself in the lines immediately following his lionization of Haydon: the young poet figured as one of those 'other Spirits' of the coming age who were still 'standing apart' from the illustrious predecessors. 'Keats is really & truly the man after my own heart', Haydon declared on 17 March 1817: 'I have always wanted one of that furious energy & enthusiasm to pour my heart into, to sympathize with, to comprehend me' (*Diary*, II, 101).[10] The 'Great Spirits' sonnet, in this respect, served both Keats and Haydon as a sympathetic monument that marked the very beginning of their friendship.

Keats's sonnet was indeed a product of the reciprocity of friendship. Haydon played an important role in the writing of the poem—not only as part of its subject-matter but also in its drafting and revision. After reading its first draft, Haydon 'thanked him for the honor, but objected to part of a line & suggested its *omission*'.[11] Haydon advised that Keats should delete from the penultimate line the last four words: 'in a distant Mart'. Keats agreed 'entirely' with Haydon's suggestion 'in regard to the Elipsis [*sic*]' (*LJK*, I, 118), and quickly sent him a slightly revised draft of the sonnet:

> These, these will give the World another Heart
>   And other Pulses—hear ye not the hum
> Of mighty workings?— — — — — — — — — —
>   Listen awhile ye Nations and be dumb! (*LJK*, I, 119)

Subsequent printings of this sonnet, including its first publication in *Poems, by John Keats*

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[10] In this entry, Haydon commented on Keats's 1817 volume (containing the 'Great Spirits' sonnet).

[11] Haydon's words, quoted from his annotated transcripts of Keats's letters: for full reproduction of the transcripts, see Appendix I, pp. 253–62.

(1817), substituted these elliptical dashes for the original phrase, ‘in a distant Mart’.[12] From time to time, Keats’s sonnet has attracted critical notice but with little or no discussion of why Haydon suggested the ‘*omission*’ in the first place. In this chapter, I will first look at the specific identity of the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet in terms of Keats’s creative interactions with his contemporaries. I will then draw attention to both political and aesthetic nuances of Haydon’s advice, arguing that his suggestion had wider implications for Keats’s early poetry and poetics.

HAYDON AND THE COTERIE CULTURE OF THE HUNT CIRCLE

Keats’s entry into the Hunt circle meant his own initiation into the so-called ‘coterie’ of the group.[13] According to Cowden Clarke’s memoirs, Haydon himself had read several manuscript poems by Keats before their first meeting: indeed due to the painter’s own ‘eager request’, Cowden Clarke soon afterwards introduced him to the poet.[14] While occasionally unreliable, Haydon’s *Autobiography* nonetheless attests to the fact that, in 1816, he ‘read one or two of [Keats’s] sonnets and formed a very high idea of his genius’: the older painter was impressed, in particular, with the young poet’s ‘prematurity of intellectual and poetical power’ (pp. 295–96). Keats had now become Haydon’s ‘idolized object’: Cowden Clarke, who recalled his own ‘frequent opportunities of seeing them together’ after their first encounter, confirmed that the painter ‘trowelled’ his ‘laudations’ onto the young poet.[15]

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[12] See ‘Addressed to the Same’, in *Poems, by John Keats* (London: Ollier, 1817), p. 92.

[13] For discussion of Keats as a ‘coterie poet’, see also Jeffrey N. Cox, *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School: Keats, Shelley, Hunt and their Circle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 82–122.

[14] ‘An Old School-Fellow’ [Charles Cowden Clarke], ‘Recollections of Keats’, *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1861, pp. 86–100 (p. 97). This essay was later reprinted with revisions in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for February 1874 (pp. 177–204) and in his and Mary Cowden Clarke’s *Recollections of Writers* (London: Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1878), pp. 120–57.

[15] [Cowden Clarke], ‘Recollections of Keats’, p. 97.

Immediately after his first meeting with Keats on Saturday, 19 October 1816, Haydon sent a light-hearted epistolary poem from Hampstead, where he was temporarily staying at that time, to another young poet named John Hamilton Reynolds:

> Come thou Poet!—*free* and *brown!*
> Next Sunday to Hampstead Town
> To meet John Keats, who soon will shine
> The greatest, of this Splendid time
> That e'er has woo'ed the Muses nine. (*KC*, I, 4)[16]

Significantly, Haydon's prophetic tone—the young poet would 'shine | The greatest' in 'this Splendid time'—predated and even partly prefigured that of Hunt's famous article to be published in the *Examiner* on 1 December: 'YOUNG POETS'. The article directed the reader's attention to 'a new school of poetry rising of late', in which Wordsworth occupied an outstanding position; Hunt went on to suggest the possibility of 'a considerable addition of strength to the new school' by informing the public about the 'poetical promises' of Keats, Reynolds, and Percy Bysshe Shelley, or about their potentially mighty workings.[17]

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[16] The 'Next Sunday' referred to in this undated verse letter is most likely 27 October 1816 (see John Barnard, 'First Fruits or "First Blights": A New Account of the Publishing History of Keats's *Poems* (1817)', *Romanticism*, 12.2 (July 2006), 71–101 (p. 84)). Haydon's letter to David Wilkie of 27 October 1816 reads: 'I have been at Hampstead this fortnight for my eyes, and shall return with my body much stronger for application. The greater part of my time has been spent in Leigh Hunt's society, who is certainly one of the most delightful companions' (*CTT*, I, 309); see also *Diary*, II, 62.

[17] [Leigh Hunt], 'Young Poets', *Examiner*, 1 December 1816, pp. 761–62. As early as 1802, Francis Jeffrey had remarked on a 'new school of poetry', identifying Robert Southey as its 'faithful disciple'; later, in 1807, Jeffrey stated more clearly that the public now recognized Wordsworth as 'the purest model of the excellences and peculiarities of the school' (*Edinburgh Review*, October 1802, pp. 63–83 (p. 83); October 1807, pp. 214–31 (p. 214)). In the *Edinburgh Review* for September 1816, William Hazlitt also referred to Samuel Taylor Coleridge and those figures of the so-called first generation of

While Hunt's article noted that his organ, the *Examiner*, was 'not' specifically 'in the habit of lavishing praises', the editor perhaps made a playful exception for Haydon.[18] For instance, let us look at the first publication of Wordsworth's sonnet 'TO B. R. HAYDON, PAINTER' in the *Examiner* for 31 March 1816.[19] In printing this sonnet, Hunt chose to accompany it with his own translation of Anacreon's mellifluous ode, which contained the Greek lyricist's approving words: 'I'll join ye'.[20] Wordsworth had earlier expressed his interest in 'the resemblance between Poetry and Painting', or indeed the 'Sisters' as these two arts had traditionally been called.[21] The older poet's endorsement of the painter's vocation of High Art reads:

> HIGH is our calling, Friend!—Creative Art,
> (Whether the instrument of words she use,
> Or Pencil pregnant with etherial hues)
> Demands the service of a Mind and Heart
> Though sensitive, yet in their weakest part
> Heroically fashion'd,—to infuse
> Faith in the whispers of the lonely Muse,
> While the whole world seems adverse to Desert.

English Romanticism as 'the new school, or, as they may be termed, the wild or lawless poets' (*New Writings of William Hazlitt*, ed. by Duncan Wu, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), I, 207); see also Nicholas Roe, 'English Restored: John Keats's *To Autumn*', *Essays in Criticism*, 67.3 (July 2017), 237–58 (p. 243).

[18] [Hunt], 'Young Poets', p. 762.

[19] The sonnet also appeared in the *Champion* on the same day (see Appendix II, p. 280).

[20] [Leigh Hunt], 'Anacreon's Sprightly Old Age: Ode 54', *Examiner*, 31 March 1816, p. 203. Hunt printed his translation just below Wordsworth's sonnet.

[21] 'Preface' to *Lyrical Ballads*, in *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. by W. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), I, 118–59 (p. 134).

And Oh! when Nature sinks, as oft she may,
Through long-lived pressure of obscure distress,
Still to be strenuous for the bright reward,
And in *the soul* admit of no decay,—
Brook no continuance of weak-mindedness,—
Great is the Glory, for the strife is hard.[22]

Wordsworth's sonnet drew a striking parallel between his own and Haydon's pursuits—'HIGH is *our* calling'—notwithstanding the differences in medium between poetry and painting. The poem uplifted Haydon and touched his 'heart-strings': the addressee was 'elevated so exceedingly' that he 'read and re-read' the sonnet written by 'our greatest poet', appreciating it as 'the highest honour that ever was paid, or ever can be paid to me' (*CTT*, II, 20–21). Wordsworth's supportive sonnet foregrounded the 'bright' (as opposed to 'obscure') aspects in human life: the poem in fact assumed a compassionate resonance for Haydon, who had been suffering from the 'distress' of temporary blindness.[23] The way the older poet styled the painter as a man of no 'weak-mindedness' also had clear repercussions on Keats, who began another early sonnet, 'Addressed to Haydon', with the word 'Highmindedness'.[24]

Months after printing Wordsworth's sonnet in the *Examiner*, Hunt actually—not as an editor this time but as a poet and friend—*joined* in the Haydonalia. On 3 September 1816, Hunt wrote a sonnet for Haydon. The addressee again valued the encomium, sending him a reply in verse the following day: 'Thy sonnet, Bard & Friend, in truth I read | To the last moment of my going to bed', it ran, '[a]nd still in sleeping on thy sonnet dreamt'.[25] This 'Bard & Friend' was preparing an additional thoughtful gift for the painter. On 20 October, the day after his birthday party, Hunt—as if to thank his illustrious guest—printed the sonnet in the *Examiner*:

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[22] William Wordsworth, 'To B. R. Haydon, Painter', *Examiner*, 31 March 1816, p. 203.

[23] For Haydon's weak eyesight, see also Paul O'Keeffe, *A Genius for Failure: The Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon* (London: Bodley Head, 2009), pp. 27, 155.

[24] 'Addressed to Haydon' was written in 1816: according to Jack Stillinger, 'there is no evidence for a more precise dating, and biographers and editors vary widely in their guesses' (*TKP*, p. 119). This potential echo is not noted in *KRRP*.

> HAYDON, whom now the conquered toil confesses
>   Painter indeed, gifted, laborious, true,
>   Fit to be numbered, in succession due,
> With MICHAEL, whose idea austerely presses,
> And sweet-souled RAPHAEL, with his amorous tresses;
>   Well hast thou urged thy radiant passage through
>   A host of clouds; and he who with thee grew,
> The bard and friend, congratulates and blesses.
>
> 'Tis glorious thus to have one's own proud will,
>   And see the crown acknowledged that we earn;
>   But nobler still, and nearer to the skies,
> To feel one's self, in hours serene and still,
>   One of the spirits chosen by heav'n to turn
>   The sunny side of things to human eyes.[26]

As well as these words for the diligent ('laborious') and 'glorious' painter, the poem's title itself would have enraptured the recipient: 'TO BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON. *Written in*

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[25] Quoted from *Diary*, II, 47, n. 9.

[26] Leigh Hunt, 'To Benjamin Robert Haydon: Written in a Blank Leaf of his Copy of Vasari's Lives of the Painters', *Examiner*, 20 October 1816, p. 663. In the *Examiner* for 17 November, Hunt also published another of his sonnets, '*Written on a Print (in the possession of Mr. Haydon) from a Portrait of Raphael, painted by himself when a youth*' (p. 725).

a blank leaf of his Copy of Vasari's Lives of the Painters'. Referring to the book by the celebrated Italian art historian, Hunt's sonnet associated Haydon's name with that of both Michelangelo and Raphael; the author declared that his artist friend's work was '[f]it' to be in line with the creation of those immortal Old Masters. Haydon expressed his gratitude to Hunt: 'you have mingled us together as we ought to be mingled'.[27] In considering his own egomaniac character, Haydon's pronouns here—'us' and 'we'—might have hinted at the ways in which Hunt had aligned him with the great artists of the past; but in terms of the coterie culture of Hunt's circle, the sonnet was also significant in its commingling of the present lives of the addressee and the addresser—'who with thee grew'.

On 20 November—a month after the appearance of Hunt's sonnet to Haydon in the *Examiner*—Keats suggested another point of meeting of contemporaries in his 'Great Spirits' sonnet. At Hunt's birthday party, the young poet had probably witnessed those present discussing the host's sonnet to be published on the following day, 20 October. This precursory, model poem by Hunt had apparent reverberations in Keats's work. For example, Hunt's fashioning of Haydon as an angelic presence—'[o]ne of the spirits chosen by heav'n'—arguably provided Keats with the idea of addressing his poem to the 'Great Spirits' temporarily 'sojourning' on earth. On 31 October, Keats also wrote to Cowden Clarke, one of the guests at the party, about his own plan to visit the studio of 'this glorious Haydon' and to see 'all his Creation' soon (*LJK*, I, 114–15). While perhaps recalling the epithet 'glorious' in line 9 of Hunt's sonnet, Keats seems to have punned on the names of the painter Haydon and Joseph Haydn, the 'great' Austrian composer.[28] Haydn's oratorio *The Creation* (1798) was highly and generally acclaimed in early nineteenth-century England; contemporary audiences in London regarded his composition as ‘something that had never been expected of modern music before’.[29] Keats thus playfully blended those two signifies, Haydon and Haydn, through the chiaroscuro of language. To him, Haydon too appeared to materialize some phenomenally ‘glorious’ creations hereafter on earth.

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[27] Haydon's letter to Hunt of 4 September 1816, quoted from Sudie Nostrand, 'The Keats Circle: Further Letters' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1973), p. 126.

[28] For Keats's possible pun, see also Donald Parson, *Portraits of Keats* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1954), pp. 25–26; and John A. Minahan, *Word Like a Bell: John Keats, Music and the Romantic Poet*

Hunt had compared Haydon to both the austere ‘MICHAEL’ and the ‘sweet-souled RAPHAEL’. In a similar vein, Keats’s sonnet also declared that Haydon’s glorious genius was almost equal to ‘Raphael’s Whispering’—though, in this case, the poet was likely to allude not only to Raphael the artist but also to Raphael the Archangel (after all, in order to imply Wordsworth’s inspired writings, line 4 mentioned ‘Archangel’s wing’). Keats’s poem soon afterwards encouraged John Hamilton Reynolds to dedicate a ‘Sonnet to Haydon’.[30] Directly linked in a chain of associations with Keats’s and probably Hunt’s as well, Reynolds’s sonnet lined up Haydon’s name with that of ‘the stern Angelo’, concluding:

> But not alone in agony and strife
>   Art thou majestical;—Thy fancies bring
> Sweets from the sweet:—The loveliness of life

(Kent: Kent State University Press, 1992), pp. 116–17. On 12 November 1819, Mary Russell Mitford recorded a curious anecdote that Haydon had once confounded his own name with Haydn’s (see *The Life of Mary Russell Mitford, Authoress of ‘Our Village’, Etc., Related in a Selection from her Letters to her Friends*, ed. by A. G. L’Estrange, 3 vols (London: Bentley, 1870), II, 76–77). For Keats’s direct reference to Haydn, see *KC*, II, 138.

[29] Simon McVeigh, ‘London’, in *Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn*, ed. by David Wyn Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 217–23 (p. 219).

[30] Reynolds forwarded his own sonnet to Haydon on 22 November 1816, asking him to ‘send a Copy to M^r Keats, & say to him, how much I was pleased with his’ (*LJK*, I, 119). On the evening of 21 November, Haydon had called on Reynolds to show him Keats’s sonnet (see Leonidas M. Jones, *The Life of John Hamilton Reynolds* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1984), p. 98).

  Melts from thy pencil like the breath of Spring.
Soul is with in thee:—Honours wait without thee:—
The wings of Raphael's spirit play about thee! (*LJK*, I, 120)

Hunt, Keats, and Reynolds were all writing, in fact, in the middle of a heated debate at the time over the question of artistic superiority between Michelangelo and Raphael.[31] On 10 December 1790, Sir Joshua Reynolds had concluded the last of his series of *Discourses* at the Royal Academy with his 'admiration of that truly divine man': 'MICHAEL ANGELO'.[32] As Jane Stabler notes, subsequent Academicians, connoisseurs, and other writers on art gave 'a range of opinions' with respect to the comparative merits of Michelangelo and Raphael: the discussions in the main weighed the 'masculine ideals' of the former against the 'feminine values' of the latter.[33] Haydon himself favoured less the egotistical sublimity of Michelangelo than the sympathetic susceptibility of Raphael.[34] In Haydon's view, whereas Michelangelo

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[31] For the traditional discussions in Europe about this subject matter, see Moshe Barasch, *Theories of Art*, 3 vols (New York: Routledge, 2000), II: *From Winckelmann to Baudelaire*, pp. 137–40.

[32] *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight*, 3rd edn, corrected, 3 vols (London: Cadell, Jun. and Davies, 1801), II, 217–18. In a similar manner, Haydon also wound up one of his lectures with the declaration 'Elgin Marbles! Elgin Marbles!' (*Lectures*, I, 105).

[33] Jane Stabler, 'Subduing the Senses? British Romantic Period Travelers and Italian Art', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 26.4 (December 2004), 320–28 (p. 322). For the comparisons between Michelangelo and Raphael in Romantic-era Britain, see also Maureen McCue, *British Romanticism and the Reception of Italian Old Master Art, 1793–1840* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 89–97.

[34] Haydon was perhaps echoing Henry Fuseli, his mentor at the Royal Academy Schools: 'M. Angelo came to nature, nature came to Raphael' (*The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli, Esq.*, ed. by John Knowles, 3 vols (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1831), II, 87). In his 1827 essay entitled 'The Vatican', Hazlitt also remarked:

> There is nothing exclusive or repulsive in Raphael; he is open to all impressions alike, and seems to identify himself with whatever he saw that arrested his attention or could interest others. […] Michael Angelo, in a word, stamped his own character on his works, or recast

‘often overstepped the modesty of truth’ to the extent that he ‘gave a swaggering air’, Raphael ‘never overstepped the modesty of Nature’ even in his ‘most beautiful conceptions’ of art (*Lectures*, I, 191, II, 5).[35] In this sense, Keats might have been fortunate in choosing to put the name of ‘Raphael’ and to leave out that of Michelangelo in the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet. Even after the publication of Keats’s sonnet, Haydon’s friends continued to express their admiration for this ‘RAFFAELE HAYDON’ (Charles Lamb), expecting him to become ‘the *British Raffaelle*’ on the grounds of his artistic ‘gloriousness’ (James Elmes, editor of the *Annals of the Fine Arts*).[36] The puffing of Haydon as such also led to John Gibson Lockhart’s denunciation of him as ‘the Cockney Raphael’ in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*.[37]

> Nature in a mould of his own, leaving out much that was excellent […]. (*CWWH*, XVII, 148)

Hazlitt’s observations were reminiscent of Keats’s contrast of what he had called ‘the wordsworthian or egotistical sublime’ and the Shakespearean chameleon-like ‘poetical Character’ in a letter of 27 October 1818 (*LJK*, I, 386–87).

[35] Haydon was alluding to Shakespeare: ‘you o’erstep not the modesty of nature’ (*Hamlet*, III. 2. 19); see also *Lectures*, II, 2, 4.

[36] *The Letters of Charles Lamb, to Which Are Added those of his Sister Mary Lamb*, ed. by E. V. Lucas, 3 vols (London: Dent & Sons, 1935), III, 73; James Elmes, ‘To B. R. Haydon, the Painter: On the Anonymous Attacks that Have Been Made upon Him, his Style of Art, his Pupils, and his Works’, *Monthly Magazine*, 1 March 1818, p. 142. A pseudonymous contributor (possibly Elmes himself) to the *Annals of the Fine Arts* also claimed that ‘the nature of Haydon’s genius is not inferior to Raffaelle’s’ (‘Veritas’, ‘Review of a Late Controversy on Mr. Haydon’s Opinions Relating to the Cartoon of Ananias, in the Examiner of October Last’, *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 2.6 (1 November 1817), 402–10 (p. 409)); for the authorship of this review, see *Diary*, I, 60–61, n. 6.

[37] ‘Z.’ [John Gibson Lockhart], ‘On the Cockney School of Poetry: No V’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, April 1819, pp. 97–100 (p. 97). Elsewhere, Lockhart also criticized what he called Keats’s ‘famous Cockney Poem’ (the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet, which had demanded that all the ‘Nations’ should ‘be dumb’ for a while), considering it merely as ‘a *tempestas in matulâ* with a vengeance’, that is, as a reckless challenge issued by the ‘infatuated bardling’ to the audience of the age (‘Letter from Z. to Leigh Hunt, King of the Cockneys’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1818, pp. 196–201 (p. 197); and ‘Cockney School of Poetry: No IV’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, August 1818, pp. 519–24 (p. 520)).

Thus, we can speculate that the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet owed its unique vitality to Keats’s own interactions with Haydon and other literary luminaries of the age. The poem stands precisely as ‘a good example’, in the words of Jeffrey N. Cox, ‘of the collective, interactive nature of the group’s work’.[38] It is also significant that Keats and many of his contemporaries were dedicating—‘as if in concert’, as Haydon’s friend Mary Russell Mitford saw it—sonnets to the painter at the peak of his career.[39] Those writers were creating a minor dissident vogue of nineteenth-century Britain: it actually produced a number of verse compliments (and later also lamentations) for Haydon’s life and art.[40] The sonnets by Wordsworth, Hunt, and Reynolds (but not by Keats) were all published in newspapers in 1816.[41] For Haydon, this year was indeed a ‘Splendid time’: it also appeared to him to have created ‘an Aera in public feeling’ (*Diary*, II, 76), not least because the summer marked the British Government’s decision to purchase the Elgin Marbles, fragmentary ancient Greek sculptures whose artistic merits he had long championed.

It is noteworthy that Keats’s sonnet interconnected the ‘Great Spirits’ in political terms, too. The poem not only commended Hunt’s marked ‘social’ distinction—‘the Chain for freedom’s sake’—as the editor of the influential liberal newspaper.[42] The poet also pervaded the work with his sense of patriotism (and we remember his call to ‘ye Nations’ in the last line). Months after the poet’s death, Cowden Clarke recalled Keats’s ‘first introduction to Mr. Haydon’: on that occasion, ‘that great artist asked him, “if he did not love his country"'; once receiving an 'energetic reply' from Keats, whose 'love of freedom was ardent and grand', 'the blood rushed to [Haydon's] cheeks and the tears to his eyes'.[43] In composing the 'Great Spirits' sonnet, Keats was furthermore ruminating on Wordsworth's nationalistic sonnet beginning 'Great Men have been among us'.[44] The past tense had dominated the older poet's sonnet, which had celebrated the earlier, now lost glory of the 'Great Men' of the English republican period (as against the 'emptiness' of 'master spirit' in France).[45] Meanwhile, to the young poet, Wordsworth's existence appeared to be the very proof of the presence of a 'Great' man 'now' standing 'on Helvellyn's summit'. Therefore, in his own sonnet, Keats instead employed the present and future tenses throughout, challenging and paying tribute to the older poet. Keats had much '[r]everence' for Wordsworth, so much so that the idea that Haydon would send the sonnet to the older poet even put the young poet 'out of breath' (*LJK*, I, 118).[46] More than twenty years later, in 1842, a further outcome of these creative interactions took shape: Haydon reinvigorated Keats's image of Wordsworth as an Archangelic messenger—or a high-priest of Nature—in his portrait of the contemplative poet on the same mountain, Helvellyn (Figure 1.2).[47]

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[38] Cox, *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School*, p. 90.

[39] Quoted in James Payn, *Some Literary Recollections* (London: Smith, Elder, 1884), p. 86, as part of the author’s undated conversation with Mitford.

[40] For a list of poems written for and about Haydon, see Appendix II, pp. 280–92.

[41] Reynolds’s sonnet appeared in the *Champion* for 24 November 1816 (see Appendix II, p. 284).

[42] In his sonnet ‘Written on the Day that Mr. Leigh Hunt Left Prison’, Keats also praised ‘Kind Hunt’ for his ‘immortal spirit’ (2–3). Until 2 February 1815, Hunt had been imprisoned at Surrey Gaol for two years due to his libel against the Prince Regent (see *JKNL*, pp. 48–49, 64–65).

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[43] 'Y.' [Charles Cowden Clarke], 'John Keats, the Poet', *Morning Chronicle*, 27 July 1821, p. 4. For the authorship of this article, see John Barnard, 'Keats's Sleepless Night: Charles Cowden Clarke's Letter of 1821', *Romanticism*, 16.3 (October 2010), 267–78.

[44] Wordsworth's sonnet first appeared in his 1807 two-volume *Poems* (I, 141), a copy of which Keats owned (see KL, p. 143). For the influence of the volumes on Keats, see also *KRRP*, pp. 37–48.

[45] William Wordsworth, *'Poems, in Two Volumes', and Other Poems, 1800–1807*, ed. by Jared Curtis (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 166; ll. 11, 13.

[46] Haydon transcribed the sonnet in a letter to Wordsworth of 31 December 1816 (see *CTT*, II, 30–31); see also below at n. 84. Haydon further introduced Keats to Wordsworth some time shortly before the 'immortal dinner' of 28 December 1817 (see T. O. Mabbott, 'Haydon's Letter Arranging for Keats to Meet Wordsworth', *Notes and Queries*, 10 May 1941, pp. 328–29; and *JKNL*, pp. 195–96).

[47] Haydon seems to have painted the portrait as a response to Wordsworth's ekphrastic sonnet for another of his own portraits of the Duke of Wellington, too. In copying out a first draft of the poem

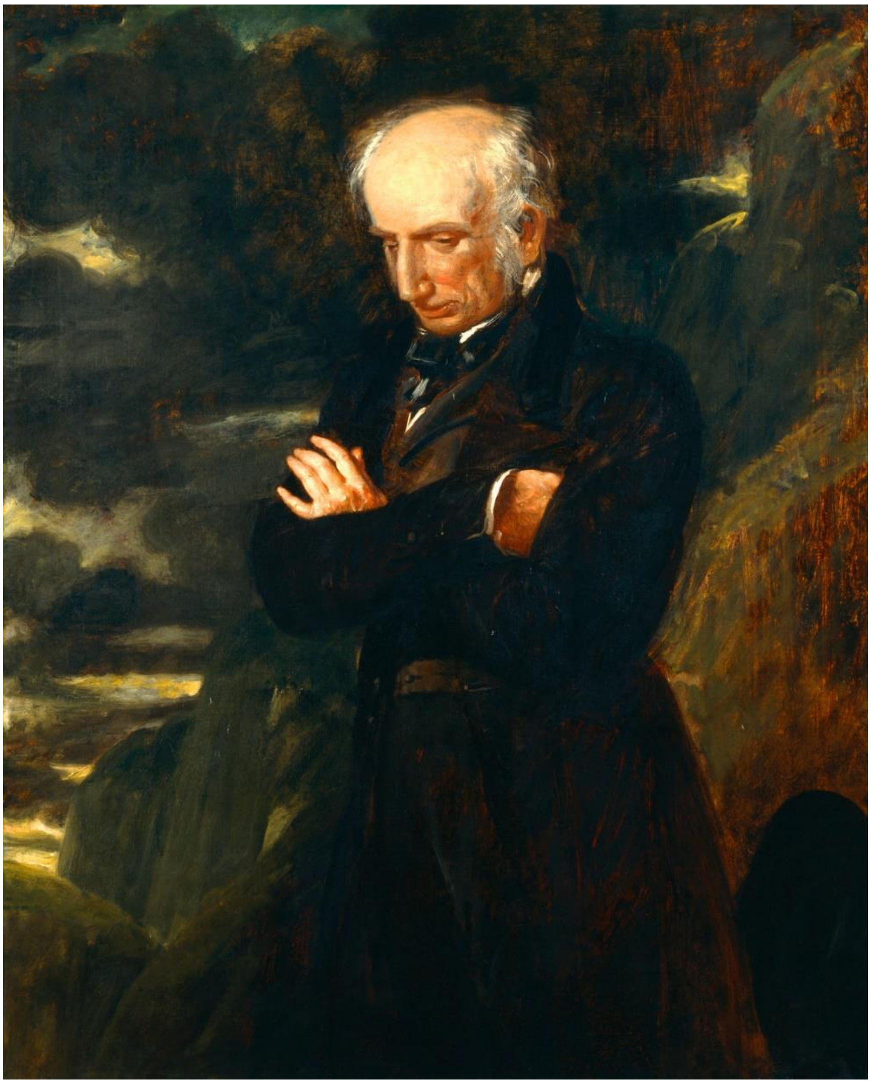

Figure 1.2 Benjamin Robert Haydon, *William Wordsworth*, 1842, oil on canvas, 124.5 × 99.1 cm, © National Portrait Gallery, London

As we have seen, the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet precisely demonstrates what Paul de Man calls the ‘prospective character’ of Keats’s writings: his poetry as often as not ‘consists of hopeful preparations, anticipations of future power’, de Man observes, ‘rather than meditative reflections on past moments of insight or harmony’.[48] Keats focused attention on the here-

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for Haydon, Wordsworth had noted: ‘Composed while ascending Helvellyn Monday Aug 31st 1840’ (*The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Later Years*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt, 2nd edn, rev. by Alan G. Hill, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978–88), IV: *1840–1853* (1988), 101).

[48] Paul de Man, ‘Introduction’, in John Keats, *Selected Poetry*, ed. by Paul de Man (New York: New American Library, 1966), pp. ix–xxxvi (pp. xxviii, xii).

and-now and the future of the presence of the ‘Great Spirits’ on earth, by recasting Wordsworth’s nostalgic tenor of the there-and-then in his sonnet ‘Great Men have been among us’.[49] In fact, in his final manuscript of the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet, which he copied for publication in the 1817 volume, Keats underlined the word ‘now’ in line 1.[50] In their early stages of friendship, both Keats and Haydon were contemplating the prospective future, in which they would be ‘friends for ever’: ‘We saw through each other *at once*’, Haydon noted on 17 March 1817; to his eyes, Keats’s first volume (containing the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet) appeared to ‘promise’ indeed ‘great things’ (*Diary*, II, 101). As we will examine in what follows, Keats’s ‘steadfastness of friendship’ (Cowden Clarke’s phrase) with Haydon was fostered significantly by the painter’s timely advice to leave an elliptical space in the poet’s text.[51] It was precisely Haydon who gave the finishing touch to Keats’s poetic *canvas*—or the young poet’s ‘picturesque’ sonnet, as Richard Monckton Milnes aptly described the poem (*LLL*, I, 28).

AN ANONYMOUS 1816 PAMPHLET

As Cox points out, the half-line ellipsis in the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet is likely to have been introduced not only ‘to leave an awed silence’ for the glorious spirits of the age but also ‘to erase the economic imagery and connotations of “trade”’.[52] The word ‘Mart’ (i.e. ‘market’) in the original draft, after all, had an obvious overtone of commercialism. Yet why did Haydon suggest that Keats should delete the 'economic' term from his sonnet? Here lay, I suggest, the painter's political implications for the young poet. In addition to the self-imposed task of a literary advisor for Keats, Haydon also assigned to himself that of a 'reformer' of the 'Politics' of art in England (*Diary*, II, 210).[53] Haydon was always alert to the public art discourses of the time. In particular, the painter remained antagonistic to the governing principles of the Royal Academy; he therefore sought to 'reform' public taste, by warning it against the organization's 'corrupting' influence.[54] By the time Keats composed the 'Great Spirits' sonnet, contemporary Academicians had already come to regard Haydon as 'an artful designing politic fellow' who might overturn the system of values of the art establishment (*Diary*, II, 45).

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[49] For Wordsworth’s sonnet, see also [Cowden Clarke], ‘Recollections of Keats’, p. 97.

[50] See John Keats, *Poetry Manuscripts at Harvard: A Facsimile Edition*, ed. by Jack Stillinger (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 21. Keats’s 1817 volume, however, printed the text without italicizing the word ‘now’.

[51] [Cowden Clarke], ‘Recollections of Keats’, p. 97.

[52] Jeffrey N. Cox, ‘John Keats, Medicine, and Young Men on the Make’, in *John Keats and the Medical Imagination*, ed. by Nicholas Roe (Cham: Macmillan, 2017), pp. 109–28 (p. 120). In the light of Keats’s experience as a dresser (an assistant surgeon) at Guy’s Hospital, Damian Walford Davies also sees the ellipsis as ‘a successful act of editorial surgery’ (‘Keats’s Killing Breath: Paradigms of a Pathography’, in *John Keats and the Medical Imagination*, pp. 207–42 (p. 218)).

In August 1816, an anonymous pamphlet appeared under the title *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures Now Exhibiting in Pall Mall*.[55] This publication provided Haydon and his friends with one of the most heated topics for discussion during the rest of the year. It was also probable that this work had a significant bearing on Haydon's advice for Keats about the ellipsis. Haydon, a 'reformer' of the politics of art in England, quickly perceived the pamphlet's potentially baneful effects on public taste. In a satirical tone, the pamphlet attacked a public display of the artworks of Continental Old Masters at the British Institution. Although it is normal nowadays to mount an exhibition of great artists of former times, it was actually ‘a radical innovation’ that the British Institution at the time decided to put those works on view.[56] The pamphlet expressed its grave apprehension that the display of the foreign paintings in England would be an obstacle to the future development of the native school of painting; it then castigated those directors of the British Institution who turned their backs on contemporary artists in their own country.

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[53] For Haydon's remarks on the politics of art, see also *Autobiography*, p. 243; and *Diary*, II, 47–48.

[54] On 2 February 1812, Haydon criticized the Royal Academy as 'a *vast organ* of *bad taste* and *corruption*' ('To the Critic on Barry's Works in the Edinburgh Review, Aug. 1810', *Examiner*, 2 February 1812, pp. 76–78 (p. 77)). For the authorship of this letter, the second of his three-part series published under the pseudonym 'AN ENGLISH STUDENT', see Kearney (1978), p. 129.

[55] As the pamphlet's subtitle ('Part Second') indicates, this was a sequel to the first part of the *Catalogue Raisonée* [*sic*], which had been published earlier in the same year, 1816. The previous year, 1815, had also seen the appearance of *A Catalogue Raisonée* [*sic*] *of the Pictures Now Exhibiting at the British Institution*. The 'Part Second' of the 1816 *Catalogue* was published some time between 1 and 19 August (see 'New Publications in August', *Monthly Magazine*, 1 September 1816, pp. 165–68 (p. 166); and *Morning Post*, 19 August 1816, p. 2).

To Haydon, it was clear that members of the Royal Academy had written this anonymous pamphlet. In the *Annals of the Fine Arts* for 1 October 1816, Haydon declared that this was the work by ‘a junto or cabal’, certainly never by a single writer, at the Academy.[57] About two months later, on 24 November—four days after Keats had written the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet—the diarist Joseph Farington noted that ‘the *Haydon party* & others’ had now ascribed the authorship of the pamphlet principally to the painter Robert Smirke (*DJF*, XIV, 4928).[58] While several other Academicians have also been named as potential authors of this work, current scholarship, on the whole, concurs with Haydon.[59] It was the

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[56] Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 63.

[57] [Benjamin Robert Haydon], ‘A Catalogue Raisonnée (Raisonné) of the Pictures Now Exhibiting in Pall-Mall, 1816’, *Annals of the Fine Arts,* 1.2 (1 October 1816), 189–209 (p. 190). For the authorship of this essay, published anonymously, see Kearney (1972), p. 275.

[58] The painter Robert Smirke (1753–1845) was the father of the architect Sir Robert Smirke (1780–1867). Duncan Wu’s note to Hazlitt’s reference to the pamphlet in his 1823 essay for the *Morning Chronicle* confounds the father with the son (see *New Writings of William Hazlitt*, I, 500, n. 7).

[59] As Jon Klancher notes, ‘the usual suspect for art historians is the painter Robert Smirke’ (*Transfiguring the Arts and Sciences: Knowledge and Cultural Institutions in the Romantic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 207). Other candidates for the authors of this pamphlet include Thomas Phillips, Ramsay Richard Reinagle, and Sir Augustus Wall Callcott (see *DJF*, XIII, 4643; *CTT*, I, 85; and T. S. R. Boase, *English Art, 1800–1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 103–04).

‘vile authors’ of the Royal Academy, Haydon later recalled, who wrote this ‘infamous’ work (*Autobiography*, pp. 310, 308). In the words of Jon Klancher, there was in fact a definite class distinction between the somewhat ‘aristocratic’ directors of the British Institution and the ‘upstart’ and even ‘low-born’ members of the Royal Academy.[60] It is curious to see that the pamphlet’s polemic and highly incendiary style of writing was such that, in the mid-Victorian period, some even misunderstood it as a work by ‘Leigh Hunt and his brother’.[61]

Soon after seeing the pamphlet in print, not only Haydon but also William Hazlitt condemned it scathingly. Hazlitt published critical essays on the work in the *Examiner* three weeks in a row in November 1816.[62] Haydon also thanked his ‘furious defender’, Hazlitt, for making this ‘onslaught’—with which ‘to oblige me’—on the satirical pamphlet (*Diary*, II, 495; *Autobiography*, p. 309). Haydon and Hazlitt shared the view that the pamphlet was ‘a very dull, gross, impudent attack’ on the works of the celebrated artistic geniuses of the past, as well as that the publication was motivated by the ‘rankling jealousy’ of the Academicians (*CWWH*, XVIII, 104–05).[63] In truth, the first President of the Royal Academy, Reynolds, had endorsed the very idea that the Old Masters should be carefully studied for the ideal beauty embodied in their works. Nevertheless, subsequent Academicians never focused on historical subjects in the Reynoldsian (and Haydonesque) ‘grand style’ but devoted instead more to the lucrative art of portraiture. To the eyes of Haydon and Hazlitt, it was obvious that the Academicians’ mediocre portraits (produced largely for the sake of profit) were much inferior to the Old Masters’ pictures exhibited at the British Institution. It was against this backdrop that Hazlitt relegated the Royal Academy to ‘a society of hucksters in the Fine Arts’ (*CWWH*, XVIII, 105). Echoing Hazlitt’s judgement that the Academicians were merely ‘a body of low traders’, Haydon further declared that portraiture had now become ‘one of the staple manufactures’, not even a genre of the fine arts, in their own country (*Autobiography*, pp. 309–10).[64]

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[60] Klancher, *Transfiguring the Arts and Sciences*, p. 208.

[61] Thomas Smith, *Recollections of the British Institution, for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom* (London: Simpkin & Marshall, 1860), p. 162.

[62] Hazlitt’s essays appeared in the *Examiner* on, respectively, 3, 10, and 17 November 1816 (pp. 696–99, 714–17, 726–28); see also *CWWH*, XVIII, 104–11, IV, 140–51.

[63] Hazlitt’s words were quoted in Haydon’s *Autobiography* (see pp. 309–10).

Thus, in late 1816, ‘the *Haydon party*’ publicly denounced the Royal Academy as ‘a body of low traders’. The idea of associating the art establishment with the *low* business of the market had already become familiar to Keats. His sonnet ‘Addressed to Haydon’ (possibly composed around this time) had clear reverberations of such art discourses:

> Highmindedness, a jealousy for good,
>   A loving-kindness for the great man’s fame,
>   Dwells here and there with people of no name,
> In noisome alley, and in pathless wood:
> And where we think the truth least understood,
>   Oft may be found a ‘singleness of aim’,
>   That ought to frighten into hooded shame
> A money mong’ring, pitiable brood.
> How glorious this affection for the cause
>   Of stedfast genius, toiling gallantly!

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[64] Haydon was inveighing against the pamphlet in part for personal reasons, too. While the Royal Academy rejected his historical painting *The Assassination of Dentatus* in 1809, the same work won him a premium of £105 the following year, 1810, at the British Institution (see *Diary*, V, 587; and Chapter 3). As A. J. Finberg points out, Haydon might also have ‘feared’ that the pamphlet would ‘injure his prospects of patronage’, not least because it attacked those directors of the British Institution who included his early patrons, such as Sir George Beaumont and Lord Mulgrave (*The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.*, 2nd edn, rev., and with a supplement, by Hilda F. Finberg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 246).

What when a stout unbending champion awes
    Envy, and Malice to their native sty?
Unnumber'd souls breathe out a still applause,
    Proud to behold him in his country's eye.

Keats took his direct quotation—'singleness of aim'—from Wordsworth's 1807 poem, 'Character of the Happy Warrior'.[65] As in the older poet's work, Keats's sonnet styled Haydon as a national hero catching 'his country's eye'.[66] The painter appeared 'stedfast', 'stout', and above all 'glorious' to the young poet. Keats might also have drawn inspiration from a poetic glorification of Haydon in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*. Published anonymously in the magazine for 1 July 1816 in honour of Haydon's '*learned and manly Defence of the* ELGIN MARBLES', the poem had celebrated the painter as a great 'SPIRIT of Fire' with a 'strong, lucid, and sublime' mind.[67] The author paid homage to Haydon's 'unbending' and 'dauntless soul' with which to 'trace dark error to its inmost source'—a phraseology prefiguring Keats's lines: 'What when a stout unbending champion awes | Envy, and Malice to their native sty?'.[68] Yet unlike the anonymous poem, Keats's sonnet alluded to Haydon's merits not only as a 'champion' of the Elgin Marbles but also as a combatant in the verbal warfare against the Royal Academy.[69] Haydon was pressurizing the 'money mong'ring, pitiable brood'—of the art establishment—'into hooded shame' mainly through the press. Keats's reference to the '*native* sty' of the envious was also reminiscent of the Academicians' self-interested and partly xenophobic condemnation of those foreign paintings of the renowned Old Masters that were exhibited at the British Institution.

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[65] See Wordsworth, *'Poems, in Two Volumes', and Other Poems, 1800–1807*, p. 85; l. 40. The poem first appeared in his 1807 two-volume *Poems* (I, 31–36); see also above at n. 44. According to Lady Beaumont's letter to Wordsworth of 2 June 1814, Haydon once 'spoke with enthusiasm of the happy Warrior' and repeated part of the poem to the Beaumonts (Robert Woof, ed., *William Wordsworth: The Critical Heritage, 1793–1820* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 256). On 26 December 1842, Haydon also reckoned the 'Character of the Happy Warrior' as one of the 'finest productions' by Wordsworth (*Diary*, V, 234).

[66] Wordsworth notes that the poem was '*written soon after tidings had been received of the Death of Lord Nelson*' because of the author's '*respect for the memory of his great fellow-countryman*', though, he adds, '*the Verses must suffer from any connection in the Reader's mind with a Name so illustrious*' (*'Poems, in Two Volumes', and Other Poems, 1800–1807*, p. 86).

[67] 'To Mr. Haydon: On Reading his Admirable Letter, Containing a Learned and Manly Defence of the Elgin Marbles', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.1 (1 July 1816), 109. The author of this anonymous poem was probably the actress Maria Foote (see Appendix II, pp. 280–81).

Haydon's own attack on the 'Catalogue deraisonné', as he contemptuously called it, is significant, especially because he disapproved the pamphlet's usage of the term 'Mart'—the very word which Keats used in his first draft of the 'Great Spirits' sonnet.[70] Haydon's criticism first appeared in the *Annals of the Fine Arts* for 1 October 1816, and it was soon reprinted in part in the *Examiner* for 6 October.[71] In both the original essay in the *Annals* and the extracts in the *Examiner*, Haydon expressed a strong dislike for the 'allegory' invented by the anonymous authors of the pamphlet.[72] The allegory told the story of an imaginary 'College for Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture' in Africa (which self-evidently hinted at the Royal Academy in England). This somewhat idiosyncratic story in the pamphlet ran that, as the academic 'College' had flourished since the day of its establishment, more and more artists asked for its support, but that failing to benefit from it, many of them were finally 'exposed to distress':

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[68] 'To Mr. Haydon', p. 109. In his copy of Keats's 1817 volume, Woodhouse glosses the words 'What when' as 'what happens, when &c' (*MYRJK*, I, 250).

[69] In the Elgin Marbles controversy, Haydon blamed, in particular, the connoisseur Richard Payne Knight for his underestimation of the sculptures (see Chapter 2).

[70] [Haydon], 'A Catalogue Raisonnée (Raisonné) of the Pictures', p. 203.

[71] See *Examiner*, 6 October 1816, pp. 635–37.

[72] [Haydon], 'A Catalogue Raisonnée (Raisonné) of the Pictures', p. 192.

> To assist them in this conjuncture, a number of wealthy men formed themselves into a Society, for the laudable purpose of furthering the intentions of the College, and opened a Loe, or Mart, for Paintings, which the Artists were unable to dispose of at their own Institution.[73]

The directors of the 'Loe, or Mart', the story in the pamphlet went on to reveal, 'ransacked' paintings 'by the deceased Artists'; most of those works were, in the eyes of the magisterial members of the 'College', no more than 'an assemblage of grossness and slime'.[74] Needless to say, the anonymous authors were implicitly referring to the Old Masters exhibition at the British Institution. It is remarkable that the now obsolete word 'loe'—here apparently synonymous with 'mart' (market)—also at the time had the connotations of a 'great Heap of Stones' and, more specifically, of 'a burial mound'.[75] The pamphlet was denouncing the works by 'the deceased Artists' at the British Institution, precisely as if they were a 'great Heap of Stones' of no artistic value. The satirical authors regarded those celebrated pictures as an insignificant 'assemblage of grossness and slime' of the past. In this cunning way, the notorious pamphlet called attention to the superiority of the 'high' art of the living Royal Academicians in England, over the 'low' ('loe') art of the dead Old Masters of the Continent.

In short, as Andrew Hemingway observes, Haydon's passionate, masculine 'campaign for High Art' in early nineteenth-century England was directed mostly against a sort of 'aesthetic effeminacy' of the Academic portraitists.[76] At one glance at the satirical pamphlet,

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[73] [Robert Smirke, et al.], *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures Now Exhibiting in Pall Mall: Part Second* ([London]: [n. pub.], 1816), p. iv.

[74] Ibid., p. vii.

[75] Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London: Bell, et al., 1721), s.v. 'loe'; *OED,* s.v. 'low, *n.1*', 1. As a variant of the noun 'low', the *OED* lists the spelling 'loe'. Keats owned a copy of Bailey's *Dictionary* (see KL, p. 151).

[76] Andrew Hemingway, *Landscape between Ideology and the Aesthetic: Marxist Essays on British Art and Art Theory, 1750–1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 164.

Haydon saw that this was a manifestation of the Academicians' apprehension that the Old Masters exhibition would be the cause of 'lowering and depreciating their supremacy' (*Autobiography*, p. 309). In his essay for the *Annals,* accordingly, Haydon retaliated against the pamphlet, by inventing another and competing allegorical story about the members of the 'College':

> on entering the street where the LOE or MART is situated, to our astonishment, they absolutely dropped each other[']s arms, in a sort of breathless heat. Anxious to see the end of these extraordinary symptoms, we determined to go on, and shortly heard one say to the other, in an irritating tone, '*this will destroy us*'.[77]

As Robert Gittings suggests, in late 1816, Keats was most likely aware of these polemical public discourses about the tensions between the 'high' and 'low' arts.[78] Haydon himself, at least, would have sensed the vulgarity associated with the 'Loe, or Mart' dispute when he encountered the phrase 'in a distant Mart' in Keats's draft. Haydon might have advised that Keats should delete the phrase, in part, to avoid reviving the 'infamous' dispute on account of the term's potential political nuances. Haydon had always wanted to put a psychological and social distance between himself and most of the Academicians who, in his view, were entirely given over to the *low* art of portrait painting (the business of a profitable 'Mart'). We can recall here what Jerome J. McGann calls the 'Romantic Ideology', an illusion that 'only a poet and his works can transcend a corrupting appropriation by "the world" of politics and money'.[79] In the 'Great Spirits' sonnet, Keats proclaimed that Haydon and his noble ideals of High Art would shine most gloriously in their own era: as suggested in another early sonnet to Haydon, Keats expected that the painter should be quite distinct from the 'money mong'ring, pitiable brood' working only to serve the vulgar consumerism of art in a 'distant Mart'.

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[77] [Haydon], 'A Catalogue Raisonnée (Raisonné) of the Pictures', p. 195.

[78] See Robert Gittings, *John Keats* (London: Heinemann, 1968), p. 95.

[79] Jerome J. McGann, *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 13.

THE LITERARY AESTHETICS OF ELLIPSIS

In addition to its political implications, Haydon's advice also indicates some literary-aesthetic advantages of employing ellipsis. This aspect, I want to suggest, had an equally creative and lasting influence on the poetry of Keats. At Haydon's suggestion about the ellipsis in the 'Great Spirits' sonnet, Keats possibly recalled his own earlier experience of translating Virgil's *The Aeneid*, the unfinished great epic comprising a lot of half-lines (hemistichs). It is true that Virgil's half-lines are 'generally ignored by translators'.[80] Yet Keats—if not as a reader of those translations but as a translator himself—was able to confirm the ways in which the omission of words would achieve certain literary effects, through consulting the original Latin work.[81] In his boyhood, Haydon, too, had 'constantly' been 'reading Virgil'.[82] In his account of the famous 'immortal dinner' with Wordsworth, Lamb, and Keats of 28 December 1817, Haydon also remarked that they all enjoyed 'a glorious set-to' on, among others, 'Homer, Shakespeare, Milton and Virgil' (*Autobiography*, pp. 316–17). Furthermore, in discussing the reciprocity of the sister arts of poetry and painting, the *Annals of the Fine*

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[80] K. W. Gransden, 'Introduction', in *Virgil in English*, ed. by K. W. Gransden (London: Penguin Books, 1996), pp. ix–xxx (p. xiv).

[81] Cowden Clarke notes that Keats was 'mayhap under fourteen' when he attempted an English translation of *The Aeneid* ('Recollections of Keats', p. 88). For Keats's now-lost translation of Virgil's epic, see also *KC*, II, 55, 147; and *JKNL*, pp. 42–43.

[82] James Elmes, 'Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 5.17 (1 August 1820), 335–78 (p. 341). For Haydon's observations on Virgil, see, for example, *Diary*, I, 168–70. As Roy Park notes, Haydon was able to 'read in five languages: English, French, Italian, Latin and Greek' (A. N. L. Munby, ed., *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, 12 vols (London: Mansell, 1971–75), IX: *Poets and Men of Letters*, ed. by Roy Park (1974), 519).

Arts—Haydon's mouthpiece magazine—praised Raphael as 'the Virgil of Epic painting';[83] both the celebrated classical poet and the Renaissance master indeed successfully represented impressive, intermediate points between excess and deficiency in their works.

It was actually the last lines of the 'Great Spirits' sonnet that made a deep impression on Wordsworth in January 1817:

> These <will> These will give the World another heart
> And other Pulses—hear ye not the hum
> Of mighty workings?——————————
> Listen awhile ye Nations and be dumb!—[84]

Responding to Haydon (who had copied out the sonnet for the older poet on 31 December 1816), Wordsworth commented that the poem was not only 'of good promise', 'vigorously conceived and well expressed' but also was 'very agreeably concluded' (*MY,* II, 361). The conclusion of the sonnet might have reminded Wordsworth of what he himself had called the state of 'astonished suspension of mind' (*MY,* II, 273)—a phrase he had employed to describe his aesthetic experience of seeing the crepuscular yet expressive vision of Haydon's picture-in-progress, *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem* (1820). Wordsworth observed that Haydon's picture successfully represented 'the exact point' (*MY,* II, 274)—as Keats's elliptical work seemed to address it—between whole and detail, grandeur and tenderness, and visibility and invisibility. Just like Wordsworth, Hazlitt also remarked on the force of a psychological suspension in Haydon's earlier painting, *The Judgement of Solomon* (Figure 1.3). The critic regarded the painter's work as a fine specimen of 'the *disjecta membra poetæ*' with intense inherent expressivity (*CWWH*, XVIII, 20); the canvas's very atmosphere of obscurity—or a certain pictorial ellipsis—drew the spectator's attention most engagingly.

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[83] [Anon.], 'An Essay on the Life and Works of Raffaelle', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.2 (1 October 1816), 113–39 (p. 113). Earlier in the same magazine, Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth, had also observed that 'Virgil was, perhaps, the source from which that simplicity and elegance were in some measure derived, which characterise the works of Raphael' ('On the Affinity between Painting and Writing, in Point of Composition', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.1 (1 July 1816), 1–20 (p. 9)).

[84] Haydon's transcript of the 'Great Spirits' sonnet in his letter to Wordsworth of 31 December 1816 (Grasmere, Dove Cottage, Wordsworth Trust, WLL / Haydon, Benjamin Robert / 8). *CTT* (II, 30–31) reproduces only the first two lines of the sonnet, which is quoted in full in the original letter.

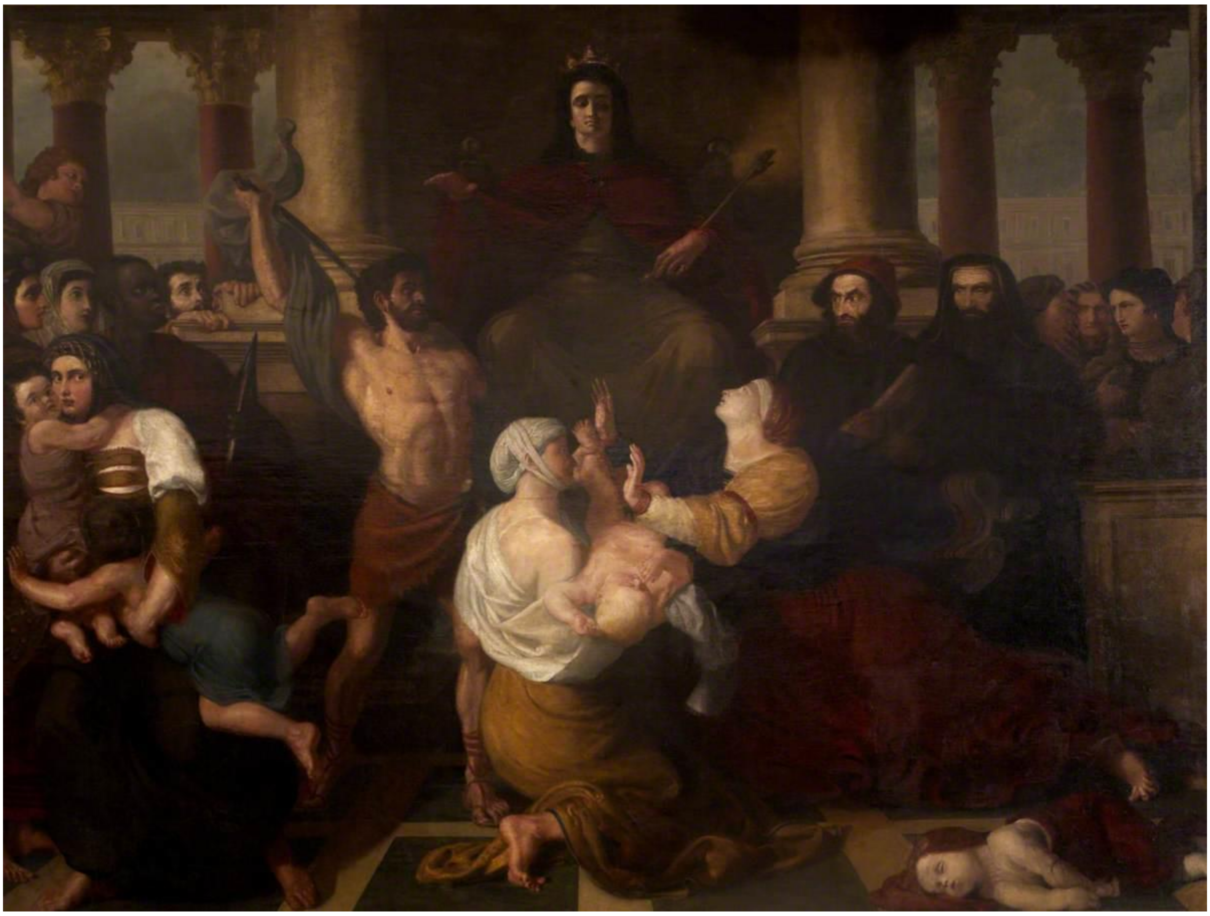

Figure 1.3 Benjamin Robert Haydon, *The Judgement of Solomon,* 1814, oil on canvas, 289.5 × 390 cm, courtesy of the Plymouth City Council[85]

Haydon himself believed that 'an essential and vital principle' in art was 'to represent the event, doing and not done' (*Diary*, II, 215), that is—as in the 'Great Spirits' sonnet—to envision the future through the present (and the past): 'our power of exciting attention depends', Haydon went on to write, 'upon the suspense we keep the mind in' between those tensions of actualities and potentialities (*Diary*, II, 215–16). In one of his lectures, too, Haydon emphasized the significance of an artistic, intermediate 'point between' two extremities:

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[85] For discussion of this picture, see also Frederick Cummings, 'Poussin, Haydon, and *The Judgement of Solomon*', *Burlington Magazine*, 104.709 (April 1962), 146–52, 155; and *BRH*, pp. 10–12, 25–28.

> As a painter has but one moment,—first, it must be a subject of palpable and gross interest, big with the past and pregnant with the future; next, your actions must be doing, your passions expressing, your lights and shadows fleeting, something must have passed, and something must be coming, and you choose the point of interest—the point between. (*Lectures*, I, 318)

Indeed, it was not until the mid-1830s that Haydon delivered his lectures on art. However, as Michael Pidgley has shown, Haydon seemed to owe the idea of 'the point between' to his early mentor Henry Fuseli, who had declared: 'The middle moment, the moment of suspense, the crisis, is the moment of importance, big with the past and pregnant with the future'.[86] Strictly speaking, Fuseli, too, had borrowed the idea from the German art critic Gotthold Ephraim Lessing—well-known for his theory of the 'pregnant moment' in *Laokoon* (1766):

> The painter can only employ, in his compositions of co-existing bodies, one single moment of the action, and he must therefore select, as far as possible, that which is at once expressive of the past, and pregnant with the future.[87]

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[86] Michael Pidgley, *The Tragi-Comical History of B. R. Haydon's 'Marcus Curtius Leaping into the Gulf': A Bi-Centenary Tribute to Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786–1846)* ([Exeter]: Exeter College of Art and Design, 1986), p. 5; *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli, Esq.*, III, 94.

[87] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon; or the Limits of Poetry and Painting*, trans. by William Ross (London: Ridgway & Sons, 1836), p. 152. This edition was the first complete English translation of Lessing's 1766 book. According to Ian Jack, before this time, it had been 'not common' to refer to the treatise in England (*KMA*, p. 281, n. 1). However, the fact is that Thomas De Quincey had made a

‘A Sonnet is a moment’s monument’, Dante Gabriel Rossetti writes.[88] Keats’s sonnet also captures a ‘moment’ of his own era. The poem addresses the pregnant ‘point between’ the shadows of the past and the lights of the future: the lines evocatively allude both to the gloomy recollections of the *Catalogue Raisonné* and to the hopeful anticipations of something about to materialize on ‘the Forehead of the Age to come’. Keats’s work, in this way, gives prominence to the terrestrial presence of the ‘Great Spirits’, whose high callings on earth make a decided contrast with the low businesses ‘in a distant Mart’—or ‘loe’.

From an aesthetic viewpoint, Haydon’s advice was significant in the respect that he gave further acoustic force to Keats’s sonnet. Haydon helped to enhance the audibility of the still indistinct, murmuring ‘hum | Of mighty Workings’, enabling readers to pay attention not only to the *heard* sounds but also to those *unheard* in the elliptical space. It is meaningful that, even after deleting the phrase ‘in a distant Mart’, Keats never left that part completely blank but replaced it with dashes, so that readers could notice the absence of a few words and would possibly fill in the gaps in an imaginative way. In this sense, in the words of Jennifer Ann Wagner, the ellipsis in Keats’s sonnet serves precisely as ‘a sort of chamber or ear to catch’ the sound of those potential creations that would await their embodiment hereafter on earth.[89]

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partial free translation of it in 1826 and 1827 for *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* and that Fuseli, the Swiss-born painter, himself was able to read the original work. Andrei Pop notes that, ‘by the 1790s’, Fuseli had thoroughly ‘digested’ Lessing’s argument (*Antiquity, Theatre, and the Painting of Henry Fuseli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 92). It is highly plausible that Haydon, who entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1805, imbibed Lessing’s idea of the ‘pregnant moment’ under the mentorship of Fuseli. In 1765, Fuseli had also translated the German art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* into English.

[88] ‘Sonnet on the Sonnet’, in *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Collected Poetry and Prose,* ed. by Jerome McGann (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 127; l. 1.

[89] Jennifer Ann Wagner, *A Moment’s Monument: Revisionary Poetics and the Nineteenth-Century English Sonnet* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996), p. 86.

As well as removing the air of vulgarity from Keats's sonnet, Haydon seems to have been keen on introducing an intensively suggestive 'point between' on the poet's *canvas*. In Keats's work, Haydon's ellipsis indeed created a middle point of suspension between the audible and the inaudible, the visible and the invisible, and the clear and the obscure. Perhaps it was Keats's allusion to 'Raphael's Whispering' that motivated Haydon to suggest the omission in the poem. After all, Haydon admired Raphael's finesse in which, as he saw it, 'the effect has not yet reached the extremities' (*Lectures*, I, 318): the Old Master's art of representation appeared to have been halted in an elliptical yet expressive manner. Haydon is also likely to have recalled the telling conclusion of 'On First Looking into Chapman's Homer' (which he might have read before receiving the 'Great Spirits' sonnet):

> like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
> He star'd at the Pacific—and all his men
> Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien. (11–14)[90]

Paradoxically enough, it is the silence of those voyagers that readers would find most eloquent in these lines: as a result, readers themselves would take part in the voyagers' 'wild surmise' into the open-ended, highly imaginable prospect—which the poet suggests only in an elliptical way.[91] We need to remember the fact that Keats and Haydon were living in an age that marked a growing aesthetic 'taste for fragments' in literature: in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1813, Francis Jeffrey actually defended this specific literary taste, notwithstanding the possibilities that '*ellipsis*' and 'obscurity' could perplex 'humble readers'.[92] As Marjorie Levinson has argued, the ellipsis (or some ambiguous and crepuscular phraseology) often functions as a device that would enhance the potency of poetic prophecy.[93] A striking instance of it would indeed seem to be the 'Great Spirits' sonnet, characterized by the young poet's prospective orientation.

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[90] Keats wrote 'On First Looking into Chapman's Homer' in October 1816 (see *TKP*, p. 116); see also [Cowden Clarke], 'Recollections of Keats', p. 97.

[91] For discussion of this trope, see also J. R. Watson, 'Keats and Silence', in *Keats: Bicentenary Readings*, ed. by Michael O'Neill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 71–87.

KEATS'S OTHER EARLY WRITINGS

It is true that, as Wolfgang Iser has demonstrated, literary works in general would elicit readers' response in one way or another.[94] Yet elliptical expressions, in particular, could draw attention to the act of 'disambiguation or interpretation', creating—and keeping open—'the possibility of multiple meanings' in text.[95] As Anne Toner points out, the ellipsis mostly works as 'a written acknowledgement of the interactive dynamic of communicative acts' between text and reader.[96] Appreciating the interpretative richness his own ellipsis engendered in the 'Great Spirits' sonnet, Keats wrote to Haydon: 'I glory in it' (*LJK*, I, 118). Haydon's timely advice provided Keats not only with 'a proud pleasure' but also with 'a stimulus to exertion' (*LJK*, I, 118), a motivation to explore, from this time on, further poetic 'point[s] between' in his writings. Keats's early work hereafter began to offer ambivalent points of suspension, by which the poet can communicatively interact with the reader in terms of the potential implications of his crepuscular phraseology. A typical example of this is the dynamic stasis of the pregnant 'poesy' which Keats described as 'might half slumb'ring on its own right arm' ('Sleep and Poetry', 236–37). The visually engaging 'poesy' is suspended precisely between its active power and latent potential: its capacity is still 'half slumb'ring' and not fully developed on the surface of the text, but the remaining 'half' would be awakened and unfolded, the poet hoped, profusely in the mind of the reader.

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[92] [Francis Jeffrey], review of George Gordon, Lord Byron, *The Giaour, a Fragment of a Turkish Tale* (1813), *Edinburgh Review*, July 1813, pp. 299–309 (pp. 299–300). *The Times* for 20 May 1816 also comments that Coleridge's 'Christabel' (published as a fragment) 'interests […] more by what it leaves untold, than even by what it tells' (p. 3).

[93] See Marjorie Levinson, *The Romantic Fragment Poem: A Critique of a Form* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), p. 136.

[94] Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[95] Stanley B. Greenfield, 'Ellipsis and Meaning in Poetry', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 13.1 (Spring 1971), 137–47 (p. 139).

[96] Anne Toner, *Ellipsis in English Literature: Signs of Omission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 20.

The advantages of ellipsis are perhaps more evident in another of Keats's early poems, 'I Stood Tip-Toe upon a Little Hill'. In narrating the love of Cupid and Psyche, Keats suggestively connected his images with elliptical dashes to achieve poetic effects: 'The silver lamp,—the ravishment,—the wonder— | The darkness,—loneliness,—the fearful thunder' (147–48). The poet here deliberately speaks less, intending to express more. Significantly, Keats presented his autograph fair copy of 'I Stood Tip-Toe' to Haydon.[97] Keats did so, presumably, in part as a token of his gratitude for Haydon's literary induction. The poet closes this mythological piece—which Haydon called a poem of 'Diana and Endymion' (*CTT*, II, 30)—in an elliptically suggestive, even unfinished manner:

> Cynthia! I cannot tell the greater blisses,
> That follow'd thine, and thy dear shepherd's kisses:
> Was there a Poet born?—but now no more,
> My wand'ring spirit must no further soar.— (239–42)

The poet leaves the soaring of his imagination in the pregnant realms of uncertainties, mysteries, and doubts: 'but now no more'. These lines foreshadow the equally expressive 'Hymn to Pan' in *Endymion*:

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[97] See H. W. Garrod, 'Note on the First Version of "I Stood Tip-Toe . . ."', in *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, ed. by H. W. Garrod, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), pp. lxxxiv–lxxxviii.

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

In praising the ‘immensity’ of Pan’s fecundity, the poet intimates the ‘unimaginable’, still ‘unknown’ dimensions of the god’s blessings. For the poet, Pan acts as a metaphor for something ‘filling the space between’ the familiar and the unfamiliar. The poet ends his apostrophe elliptically halfway without divulging to the reader the full description of what is about to come into existence: ‘but no more’. Haydon was ‘struck’, Keats later reported to his brothers, ‘with the 1st Book’ of *Endymion* (*LJK*, I, 213).[98] The work indeed consists of the *disjecta membra* which subtly intersect the tangible and the intangible, the heard and the unheard, and the clear and the obscure.[99] Haydon himself often enjoyed the ways in which the imagination, directed towards some space ‘left vacant’, would contribute to ‘fill[ing] the vacancy’ in his own mind (*Autobiography*, p. 345). Perhaps the same sort of aesthetic taste for the elliptical and the fragmentary later encouraged Keats to perceive a specific intensity of the incomplete (in terms of artistic accomplishment), since it appeared to contain ‘so much room for Imagination’ (*LJK*, II, 19). It is worth noting that Keats made this statement in the context of talking about his own recent experience of viewing engravings of medieval frescoes in late 1818 with Haydon.[100]

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[98] Haydon also begged Keats to recite the ‘Hymn to Pan’ for Wordsworth shortly before the ‘immortal dinner’ of 28 December 1817 (see *KC*, II, 143–44); see also above at n. 46.

[99] In his Preface to *Endymion*, Keats wrote that the texture was ‘too sandy’ and was far from the state of ‘completion’ (*PJK*, p. 102). In a letter to Shelley of 16 August 1820, Keats also said that, in writing this poetic romance, his own ‘mind was like a pack of scattered cards’ (*LJK*, II, 323).

In his early work, therefore, Keats seems to have employed ellipses to introduce creative and unstable polarity; by so doing, he was likely to hope to direct readers’ attention to the rich source of his own imaginative openness, beyond the visible—and audible—horizon. The young poet now learned that the intensive suggestiveness of the poetic ‘point[s] between’—like the fragmentary marbles which he was to witness in the spring of 1817 again with Haydon—could perform what Sophie Thomas calls their ‘inexhaustible potentiality’ in the minds of the recipients.[101] While initiating the young Keats into the political dimensions of art discourses of the day, Haydon’s fortuitous advice also helped him to shape an aesthetics of ellipsis that both embodies and ensures the interactions between the poet and the reader, gesturing towards the interpretive work needed to close the gaps between the written and the unwritten. Haydon’s suggestion might also have had significant bearing on the development of Keats’s poetics of the inexpressive (and possibly the sublime too), as we will see in the following chapters.

Haydon’s literary induction for Keats seems to have been part of his own scheme to ‘form a complete school’ of ‘young men of genius’—or ‘some glorious spirits’—now on earth:

> My great object is to form a School, deeply impregnated with my principles of Art, deeply g[r]ounded in all the means, to put the clue into the hands of a certain number

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[100] For more about this subject matter, see Chapter 5.

[101] Sophie Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality: Fragments, History, Spectacle* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 22.

> of young men of genius that they may go on by themselves. […] O God, grant I may form a complete school, grant I may impregnate some glorious spirits with my views so that they may complete them if I am not destined, but grant I may be destined to complete them, & grant the Spirits I impregnate may assist me. (*Diary*, II, 64)[102]

Haydon made this declaration on 31 October 1816, twelve days after his first meeting with Keats. Despite the apparent technical differences between painting and poetry, what the painter called 'glorious spirits' of the age would have included the 'young' poet. Months later, Haydon came to feel convinced that 'Keats is the only man I ever met with who is conscious of a high call and is resolved to sacrifice his life or attain it' (*Diary*, II, 107).[103] The inspirational painter envisioned the immediate future when his sympathetic 'glorious spirits' would ever be 'firmly attached to me' and would continue to work together for the cause of artistic 'glory' and 'greatness' (*Diary*, II, 64). Another of Haydon's significant aesthetic inductions or indeed 'impregnations' for the young Keats was soon to take place—just in front of the Grecian sculptures, arranged under chequered lights and shades in the British Museum.

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[102] For Haydon and his pupils, see also A. N. L. Munby, 'The Bibliophile: B. R. Haydon's Anatomy Book', *Apollo,* 26 (December 1937), pp. 345–47; and Frederick Cummings, 'B. R. Haydon and his School', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 26.3/4 (1963), 367–80.

[103] In writing so, Haydon was also thinking of Wordsworth (who had dedicated to him the sonnet beginning 'HIGH is our calling'); though, at last, the painter reassured himself that 'Keats is more of my own age' (*Diary,* II, 107).

Chapter 2: On Seeing the Elgin Marbles in Dim Light

‘THE MISTINESS OF A DREAM’

Months after making his technical and seemingly felicitous advice about the ‘ellipsis’ in John Keats’s early sonnet, Benjamin Robert Haydon arranged his new friend’s further encounter with the art of expressive in-betweenness by introducing him to the Elgin Marbles, ‘fragmentary’ sculptures brought from the Parthenon at Athens. In Haydon’s view, ‘[Keats’s] knowledge of the Classics was inconsiderable, but he could feel their beauties’ (*Diary*, II, 316).[1] Not least for this reason, the older painter seems to have taken the poet to see the embodiment of classical beauty in the form of sculpture. In England, Haydon was in fact a leading champion of the Elgin Marbles, notwithstanding their state of apparent mutilation. This chapter will explore the aspect of the fragmentary as the form of art representing some expressive point between the visible and the invisible. In her discussion of the fragment in the Romantic period, Anne Janowitz has argued that ‘what begins as a historical fashion for antiquities with a particular structural form of fragmentariness becomes a poetic concern of thematic as well as spatial dimensions, entailing various outcomes within the practice of poem-making’.[2] In what follows, I will draw attention to the fact that, during the early nineteenth century, the ancient Grecian fragments had been displayed in the British Museum so that chequered lights and shadows would be cast upon them. I will then point to the ways in which Keats appears to have reflected those uncertain yet significantly creative polarities in his own immediate poetic responses to the Elgin Marbles.

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[1] As I have noted in the Introduction (p. 9), Haydon gave Keats a copy of Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Grecian History* (new edition; 1805) some time in 1817: the event took place possibly in the spring, that is, around the time when Keats first viewed the Elgin Marbles in Haydon’s company (for the date of the two men’s visit, see below). Amy Lowell suggests that Haydon might have sent him the copy of the book with his own letter of March 1817 (*John Keats*, 2 vols (Boston: Mifflin, 1925), I, 284–85); see also George O’Neil, *Special Hunger* (New York: Liveright, 1931), pp. 104–05; and *LJK*, I, 124–25.

[2] Anne Janowitz, ‘The Romantic Fragment’, in *A Companion to Romanticism*, ed. by Duncan Wu (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 442–51 (p. 445). For recent studies of Keats and the fragment, see also Alison Pearce, ‘“Magnificent Mutilations”: John Keats and the Romantic Fragment’, *Keats-Shelley Review*, 21 (2007), 22–34; and Sophie Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality: Fragments, History, Spectacle* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 20–39.

It is most likely that Keats first viewed the sculptures with Haydon on Sunday, 2 March 1817. John Barnard seems to have resolved the long-standing debate as to whether the two men visited the British Museum on Saturday or Sunday (that is, 1 or 2 March). As Barnard notes, at the time, ‘Saturday was a day for general “cleansing” of the Museum’ and the building was actually ‘closed to the public’ on both Saturday and Sunday; nevertheless, he considers it plausible that the two men were admitted to the exhibition room on the Sunday ‘by special permission’ accorded to Haydon for his long and successful defence of the Elgin Marbles.[3] Keats was elated at his plan to accompany this ‘worthy Gentleman M^{r} Haydon’ (*LJK*, I, 116) to the British Museum—the prestigious and indeed special shrine of antiquities. Haydon had presented himself on the first day when a new gallery, built specifically to accommodate the Elgin Marbles, had been opened to the public earlier in January.[4] Arguably to the poet’s delight, by 1 March (the day before he visited the museum), presentation copies of his first volume of poems had also been ready and some copies had already been in his own hands.[5] In that collection, the young poet had paid tribute to England's epochal 'Great Spirits', including the painter himself. Similarly, as it were, Greece's original sculptures might have appeared to the visitors to be sojourning *now on earth* and to be about to give the public *another heart and other pulses*.[6]

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[3] John Barnard, ‘First Fruits or “First Blights”: A New Account of the Publishing History of Keats’s *Poems* (1817)’, *Romanticism*, 12.2 (July 2006), 71–101 (p. 90); see also *TKP*, pp. 132–35; and *JKNL*, p. 150. Barnard’s theory of ‘special permission’ might also help to elucidate a somewhat ambiguous reference in Keats’s letter to Haydon of 3 October 1819. ‘If in the course of a fortnight you can procure me a ticket to the british musœum [*sic*]’, Keats writes, ‘I will make a better use of it than I did in the first instance’ (*LJK*, II, 220). There is no record that such a ‘ticket’ was issued at the time (see *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. by Maurice Buxton Forman, 4th edn, with revisions and additional letters (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 432, n. 4). Nevertheless, Keats’s wordings appear to make sense if he recollected and alluded to his own ‘first’ entrance to the British Museum with Haydon under some special licence (as Barnard has suggested).

[4] See *CTT*, I, p. ix, n.; and *Monthly Magazine*, 1 January 1817, p. 539. Designed by the architect Robert Smirke, the temporary gallery of the Elgin Marbles in the British Museum had been in use

'My heart beat!', Haydon remembered the time when he had first seen the Elgin Marbles in 1808: 'I felt the future', he said, referring to a time when 'they would prove themselves the finest things on earth' (*Autobiography*, pp. 77–78). Haydon elsewhere recalled his own 'first introduction' to the sculptures as having 'the mistiness of a dream' (*Diary*, II, 21).[7] As if responding to the painter's sense of mistiness, shadowiness, and dream-like twilight, Keats's sonnet 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles' expressed his own feelings of ambiguity, uncertainty, and awe-inspiring obscurity:

> My spirit is too weak—mortality
> Weighs heavily on me like unwilling sleep,

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between 1817 and 1831 (see Beth Cohen, 'Displaying Greek and Roman Art in Modern Museums', in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture*, ed. by Clemente Marconi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 473–98 (p. 477)).

[5] See Barnard, 'First Fruits or "First Blights"', p. 90; and *JKNL*, p. 147. Keats's volume was published later, on 10 March 1817 (see John Barnard, 'The Publication Date of Keats's *Poems* (1817)', *Keats-Shelley Review*, 28.2 (September 2014), 83–85).

[6] Keats's expression—'give the world another heart, | And other pulses' ('Addressed to the Same', 11–12)—in the 'Great Spirits' sonnet recalls his experience of practical anatomy as a surgeon-apothecary. As it happens, Haydon was also interested in the ways in which the Elgin Marbles seemed to attest to their anatomical accuracy. He called attention to 'the effect of parts beneath the Skin acting above it', arguing for 'the consequences of the internal organization influencing external covering' (*Diary*, II, 12); see also ibid, I, 233, II, 511–14; and Frederick Cummings, 'Charles Bell and *The Anatomy of Expression*', *Art Bulletin*, 46.2 (June 1964), 191–203.

[7] The entry is dated 25 May 1816.

And each imagined pinnacle and steep
Of godlike hardship tells me I must die
Like a sick eagle looking at the sky.
Yet ’tis a gentle luxury to weep
That I have not the cloudy winds to keep
Fresh for the opening of the morning’s eye.
Such dim-conceived glories of the brain
Bring round the heart an undescribable feud;
So do these wonders a most dizzy pain,
That mingles Grecian grandeur with the rude
Wasting of old time—with a billowy main—
A sun—a shadow of a magnitude.

While the sense of dejection pervades the octet, the sestet intimates—albeit vaguely—some potential luminosity: ‘dim-conceived glories of the brain’. Although an early-twentieth-century commentator recognized in the sonnet ‘some of the finest detailed criticism on the Elgin Marbles that had ever been expressed’, the poem is, as a matter of fact, far from descriptive.[8] The lines seem concerned with the *in*articulate, the *in*effable, and indeed the ‘*un*describable’ (by employing these tropes, the poet might also have intended to show dutiful respect for his friend the eloquent expounder of art).[9] Viewed in this light, it is somewhat debatable whether, as Grant F. Scott has claimed, Keats’s sonnet ‘properly belongs’ to the genre of ekphrasis.[10] According to the *OED*, ekphrasis is ‘a literary device in which a painting, sculpture, or other work of visual art is described in detail’, rather than hinted at in passing.[11] After all, Keats’s sonnet tells more of his own sublime experience occasioned ‘On Seeing the Elgin Marbles’ than of his analytical judgement specifically ‘On the Elgin Marbles’. Thus, the work seems to depart from tradition, standing instead as a unique ‘quasi’-ekphrastic poem.[12]

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[8] [Anon.], ‘Keats as Art Critic’, *Observer*, 16 October 1910, p. 10. This article gives a summary of the classical scholar and archaeologist Ernest Arthur Gardner’s lecture on Greek art at the University College, London, of 15 October 1910.

[9] On 1 April 1808, Joseph Farington mentioned Haydon’s ‘decided manner of giving His opinion, & with authority’ (*DJF*, IX, 3252); see also Timothy Webb, ed., *English Romantic Hellenism, 1700–1824* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), pp. 219–21.

In the words of Richard Woodhouse, to appreciate Keats’s ‘cloudy’, ambiguous, and seemingly *intro*verted (as against descriptively *ek*phrastic) sonnet, the reader would need to ‘be three fourths of a poet himself—at least in imagination’: ‘To the cold-hearted it is, as the statues are, *All Greek!*’[13] In transcribing Keats’s sonnet, Woodhouse considered that ‘it would not be easy to convey a better impression (not description) of the effect produced by the sight of these reliques of Greece’s best times, on a person, of an ardent soul, alive to all beauty & Excellence’.[14] Woodhouse’s commentary reinforces the point that Keats’s sonnet was a work of ‘impression (not description)’, that is, that it was less explicit than implicit. Perhaps the reader would sympathize with the poet—and re-create a mental landscape through being ‘three fourths of a poet himself’—especially in imagining into the last lines. There, with elliptical dashes, the poet associates the image of ‘the rude | Wasting of old time—with a billowy main— | A sun—a shadow of a magnitude’. In fact, as we will see, critical attention has tended to focus on this somewhat fragmentary conclusion, including the enigmatic phrase at the end: ‘a shadow of a magnitude’.[15]

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[10] Grant F. Scott, *The Sculpted Word: Keats, Ekphrasis, and the Visual Arts* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994), p. 46.

[11] *OED*, S.V. ‘ekphrasis, *n.*’

[12] In this respect, it seems appropriate to see in the sonnet what Stephen Cheeke calls ‘a sculptural turn’, a motivation to establish the ‘modern’ in the light of ‘ancient’ Greek statuary (‘Romantic Hellenism, Sculpture and Rome’, *Word & Image*, 25.1 (January–March 2009), 1–10 (p. 8, n. 3)).

[13] Woodhouse’s annotation to his own transcript of Keats’s ‘On Seeing the Elgin Marbles’, reproduced in *MYRJK*, VI, 442.

[14] Ibid., VI, 442.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, Friedrich Schlegel famously observed that ‘[t]he romantic kind of poetry is still in the state of becoming’ and that ‘it should forever be becoming and never be perfected’.[16] Itself standing as a virtual fragment—notwithstanding its actual length or its seeming condition of formal completion—what Schlegel called the ever ‘progressive’ poetry of romanticism would continue to ‘hover at the midpoint between the portrayed and the portrayer’.[17] In the words of William Wordsworth, it is ‘something evermore about to be’.[18] In this sense of ‘resistance’ to fixation, we might be able to see Keats’s sonnet as a creatively protean, ingeniously fragmented work on the fragments: it subtly ‘mingles’ (as the poet himself puts it) the bright and the gloomy and seems to develop through those dialectical tensions towards some potential ‘opening’ (illumination). Keats’s intuition of this sort of telling expressivity in the Grecian fragments also anticipates a dynamic stasis in his ‘Ode on a Grecian Urn’:

> Bold lover, never, never canst thou kiss,
> Though winning near the goal—yet, do not grieve;
> She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,

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[15] Here, Keats’s ‘fragmentary’ rhetoric also seems to allude to the physical contours of the sculptures.

[16] Friedrich Schlegel, *Philosophical Fragments*, trans. by Peter Firchow (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 32.

[17] Ibid., pp. 31–32.

[18] William Wordsworth, *The Thirteen-Book ‘Prelude’*, ed. by Mark L. Reed, 2 vols (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), I, 190; VI. 542. Prefiguring the poet in Keats’s ‘Elgin Marbles’ sonnet, in crossing the Alps, Wordsworth was also first ‘lost as in a cloud, | Halted without a struggle to break through’; the older poet then seemed to ‘recognize’ some potential ‘glory’ in obscurity (ibid., I, 190; VI. 529–30, 532); see also Nicholas Roe, ‘A Rhinoceros among Giraffes: John Keats, Benjamin Haydon, and the Elgin Marbles’, *Essays in English Romanticism*, 33 (2009), 93–112 (p. 107).

For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair! (17–20)

Keats stationed—and suspended—his lovers precisely at the intermediate moment between the fulfilled and the unfulfilled; thus, the lines would enable readers to complete the half-adumbrated, fragmentary, and perhaps also elliptical picture in their own minds.

As mentioned above, this chapter will examine Keats's 'dimly' expressed sonnet against a backdrop of the fact that early-nineteenth-century spectators saw the Elgin Marbles often in dim light. Before being housed in the British Museum, the sculptures had been moved from place to place in the metropolis. As Nicholas Roe has recently pointed out, their repositories (including the temporary gallery which Keats and Haydon visited together) were 'quite different from the modern display' and 'were not', importantly, 'always as spacious and well-lit as now'.[19] I will argue that, in particular, Keats's phrase 'a shadow of a magnitude' had itself attuned significantly to a taste of the time which appreciated sculpture—as in the cases of painting and poetry—as an art of light and shade. It is also notable that the whole lines appear to work as Keats's implicit and arguably dexterous application of a Haydonesque aesthetics of chiaroscuro effects: after all, as Woodhouse noted, Keats wrote the poem at the very 'Instigation' of Haydon, the (virtual) addressee.[20]

SCULPTURE AS AN ART OF LIGHT AND SHADE

Transported by Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin, in the early 1800s from Greece to England, the fragmentary sculptures had undergone a 'chequered' history before being installed in the British Museum. Lord Byron's 1812 poem *The Curse of Minerva* judged Lord

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[19] Nicholas Roe, 'A Rhinoceros among Giraffes: John Keats and the Elgin Marbles', in *Grasmere, 2009: Selected Papers from the Wordsworth Summer Conference*, ed. by Richard Gravil (Penrith: Humanities-Ebooks, 2009), pp. 200–21 (p. 200). This remark is not in the version of Roe's paper published in the *Essays in English Romanticism* in the same year, 2009 (see above at n. 18).

[20] Woodhouse's annotation to his own transcript of Keats's 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles', reproduced in *MYRJK*, VI, 442; see also *KC*, II, 141.

Elgin's delivery as an act of vandalism, accusing him as a 'plunderer' of the celebrated works of art.[21] In a similar vein, in a poem published the following year, the brothers James and Horace Smith deplored the '*Dilapidation*' of the now 'Spoil'd Parthenon': 'Poets unborn shall sing [Lord Elgin's] impious fame', the authors declared, predicting an adverse fate for the 'ravager' of the temple.[22] The authenticity of the sculptures themselves had also been called into question. Even the prominent connoisseur Richard Payne Knight obstinately persisted in downplaying the artistic value of the fragments. He regarded the works as being 'in the second rank', insisting that they were not the originals by the Greek sculptor Phidias but were Roman copies made in the age of Hadrian.[23] Meanwhile, Haydon, an 'indefatigable' champion of the Elgin Marbles, continued to declare their truth and beauty: as Woodhouse commented, in early nineteenth-century England, he was actually 'one of the first to discover' their original and 'unrivalled excellence'.[24] Haydon not only defended what he called 'our Elgin Marbles' (*Diary*, I, 480) but also castigated 'Mr. Payne Knight's complete want of judgment in refined Art'.[25] History has perhaps proved the validity of the artist's

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[21] *Lord Byron: The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann and Barry Weller, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980–93), I, ed. by Jerome J. McGann (1980), 323; l. 105.

[22] 'Ode XV: The Parthenon: On the Dilapidation of the Temple of Minerva at Athens', in 'The Authors of Rejected Addresses, or the New Theatrum Poetarum' [James Smith and Horace Smith], *Horace in London: Consisting of Imitations of the First Two Books of the Odes of Horace* (London: Miller, 1813), pp. 59–62 (pp. 59, 62). For the authorship of this book, see Fiona Robertson, 'Smith, Horatio [Horace] (1779–1849)', in *ODNB*.

[23] *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles; &c.* (London: Murray, 1816), p. 92; see also ibid., p. 93; and Andrew Ballantyne, 'Knight, Haydon and the Elgin Marbles', *Apollo*, n.s., 128.319 (September 1988), 155–59, 222.

[24] Woodhouse's annotation to his own transcript of Keats's 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles', reproduced in *MYRJK*, VI, 442.

[25] Benjamin Robert Haydon, 'On the Judgment of Connoisseurs Being Preferred to that of Professional Men,—Elgin Marbles, &c.', *Examiner*, 17 March 1816, pp. 162–64 (p. 164). This essay also appeared in the *Champion* on the same day and was published as a pamphlet later in the year.

‘professional’ judgement over the connoisseur’s. In the *Morning Chronicle* for 6 July 1816, there appeared what Ian Jack calls ‘an acceptable epigram on the Elgin Marble controversy’ (*KMA*, p. 56):[26]

> While DAY believes them ’bove all price,
> KNIGHT thinks a small sum would suffice:
> Thus, still we find, that Day and Knight
> Differ as *darkness* does from *light*.[27]

Earlier on 7 June, the British government had decided to purchase the sculptures at the price of £35,000, much more than the ‘small sum’ in the connoisseur’s estimation.[28] Perhaps suggested by Haydon, these verses were also reprinted later in his mouthpiece magazine, the *Annals of the Fine Arts*.[29] In any case, the contention between Haydon and Knight—or between ‘*light*’ and ‘*darkness*’—resulted successfully for the artist. The sestet of Keats’s sonnet ‘To Haydon with a Sonnet Written on Seeing the Elgin Marbles’ followed the very idea of juxtaposing the *bright* perception of the one and the *dark* ignorance of the other:

> Think too that all those numbers should be thine;
>   Whose else? In this who touch thy vesture’s hem?
> For when men star’d at what was most divine

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[26] To be precise, Jack does not refer to the original version in the *Morning Chronicle* but only to a reprint of the poem in the *Annals of the Fine Arts* (see below at n. 29).

[27] ‘On the Evidence Given before the Committee, Respecting the Value of the Elgin Marbles’, *Morning Chronicle*, 6 July 1816, p. 3. ‘DAY’ in line 1 presumably alluded to the miniature painter and art dealer Alexander Day. As against Knight, Day recognized the value of the sculptures as ‘in the first class’ (*Report from the Select Committee*, p. 136).

[28] See *Examiner*, 9 June 1816, p. 357.

[29] See *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.2 (1 October 1816), 265. For Haydon’s substantial editorship of the *Annals*, see Appendix III, pp. 301–06.

With browless idiotism—o'erweening phlegm—
Thou hadst beheld the Hesperean shine
Of their star in the east and gone to worship them. (9–14)

Keats honoured Haydon's artistic taste which saw through the 'most divine' merits of the Elgin Marbles, contrasting it with the 'browless idiotism' of Knight and others. The last two lines are especially meaningful. There, Keats not only compared Haydon to one of the biblical magi (wise men).[30] The poet also cunningly alluded to the conclusion of—and indeed the last sentence in—the painter's polemical essay on the Elgin Marbles: 'Pilgrims from the remotest corners of the earth will visit their shrine, and be purified by their beauty'.[31] As such, Haydon's essay seemed to have a considerable impact on his contemporaries.[32] He also tactically sought to make his argument sound authoritative. Two weeks after the publication of the essay in both the *Examiner* and the *Champion*, he arranged for Wordsworth's sonnet 'TO B. R. HAYDON' to appear in the two newspapers; readers were then likely to have taken it as the already renowned poet's strong endorsement of the painter's 'bright reward' in the immediate future.[33]

Once the government had resolved to purchase the Elgin Marbles, the next question to be discussed was how to display them in the British Museum.[34] Immediately responding to this matter, the *Examiner* insisted on the necessity of having 'one long sky-light in the centre' of the temporary gallery, so that the sculptures would ‘have a fine light and shadow’:

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[30] See *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. by Miriam Allott (London: Longman, 1970), p. 106.

[31] Haydon, 'On the Judgment of Connoisseurs', p. 164; though, the sentence is followed by a lengthy 'P. S.' Keats once said that he also 'may answer […] like Haydon in a Postscript' (*LJK*, I, 156).

[32] On 10 June 1830, Haydon called it his 'now famous letter' (*CTT*, II, 134); see also Appendix II, pp. 272, 280–81.

[33] William Wordsworth, 'To B. R. Haydon, Painter', *Examiner*, 31 March 1816, p. 203. In both the *Examiner* and the *Champion*, Haydon specified that the sonnet was 'published by the Poet's permission'. For more about this sonnet, see Chapter 1, pp. 33–34; and Appendix II, p. 280.

[34] See *Diary*, II, 520.

> The Managers and Trustees of the British Museum may rest assured, that one line of light without interruption, running the whole length of the building, will throw the most undisturbed and even light, will produce the broadest masses of light and shadow.[35]

The *Examiner* thus urged the importance of those ‘broadest masses of light and shadow’ that would be cast upon the Elgin Marbles. In fact, as Thomas Hood remarked in 1823, sculpture was understood at the time often as an art of ‘light and shade’: in ‘the repository of the Elgin Marbles’ in the British Museum, too, the author suggested that spectators should enjoy the interplay of clarity and obscurity, as well as the sublimity which would be awakened in their minds by the ‘pale’, ‘shadowy’ and twilit presence of the sculptures.[36] In the early twentieth century, Thomas Hardy imagined how the sculpted gods from the Parthenon had been displaced to the British Museum a hundred years earlier, ventriloquizing:

> O it is sad now we are sold—
> We gods! for Borean people’s gold,
>   And brought to the gloom
>   Of this gaunt room
> Which sunlight shuns, and sweet Aurore but enters cold.[37]

The temporary gallery—with a skylight window on the roof—did not actually block out

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[35] ‘Arrangement of the Elgin Marbles at the British Museum’, *Examiner*, 23 June 1816, p. 399.

[36] ‘T.’ [Thomas Hood], ‘Thoughts on Sculpture’, *London Magazine*, February 1823, p. 217. For the authorship of this essay, see Frank P. Riga and Claude A. Prance, *Index to the London Magazine* (New York: Garland, 1978), p. 73.

[37] Thomas Hardy, ‘Christmas in the Elgin Room: British Museum: Early Last Century’, *The Times*, 24 December 1927, p. 9. The poem is dated ‘1905 and 1926’.

‘sunlight’ completely.[38] Nevertheless, a constant ‘gloom’ would have pervaded over the space, a situation that was in any case totally different from the way in which the sculptures had adorned the temple outdoors of the Acropolis of Athens. We should remember, anyway, that it was to this somewhat crepuscular exhibition room in the British Museum that Haydon took Keats in early March 1817 (Figure 2.1).

Haydon himself believed that the most effective way to taste ‘the excellence of the Greeks’ through art was to look at their productions ‘in all lights and shadows’ (*Diary,* I, 49). In his view, artworks should engage the imagination of the spectator not only with their visible physicality but also with their invisible potentiality. ‘The great thing in Art’, Haydon maintained on 16 January 1817, ‘is to know what *to do,* and what to *leave* for the mind to make up by association’ (*Diary*, II, 79). This statement recalls his advice that Keats should delete a phrase in his early sonnet, by which the poet could ‘*leave*’ a hermeneutic gap to be filled up by the reader. In the early 1810s, before the Elgin Marbles were moved to the British Museum, Haydon had also ‘used to go down in the evenings’ to their temporary storage at Burlington House with ‘a lantern’ in his hand:

> As the light streamed across the room and died away into obscurity, there was something solemn and awful in the grand forms and heads and trunks and fragments of mighty temples and columns that lay scattered about in sublime insensibility—the remains, the only actual remains, of a mighty people. The grand back of the Theseus would come towering close to my eye and his broad shadow spread over the place a depth of mystery and awe. (*Autobiography*, pp. 124–25)

In a room dimly-lighted with his own lantern, Haydon enjoyed viewing the shadowy and awe-inspiring presence of ‘mighty temples and columns’, as well as the imposing statue of the legendary hero Theseus, which appeared to 'come towering close' to his sight (Figure 2.2). It was precisely as if foreshadowing Keats's envisioning of 'each imagined pinnacle' of 'godlike' sublimity in the British Museum. Haydon had thus often appreciated the interplay of 'light' and 'shadow' which, by turns, had revealed to him certain regions of intangibility beyond the fragmentary contours of the sculptures. Arguably convinced of the intensity of those tensions between visibility and invisibility, the painter afterwards led his friend the poetic pilgrim to the new artistic shrine of these antique fragments.

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[38] See Emma Peacocke, *Romanticism and the Museum* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2015), pp. 130–31.

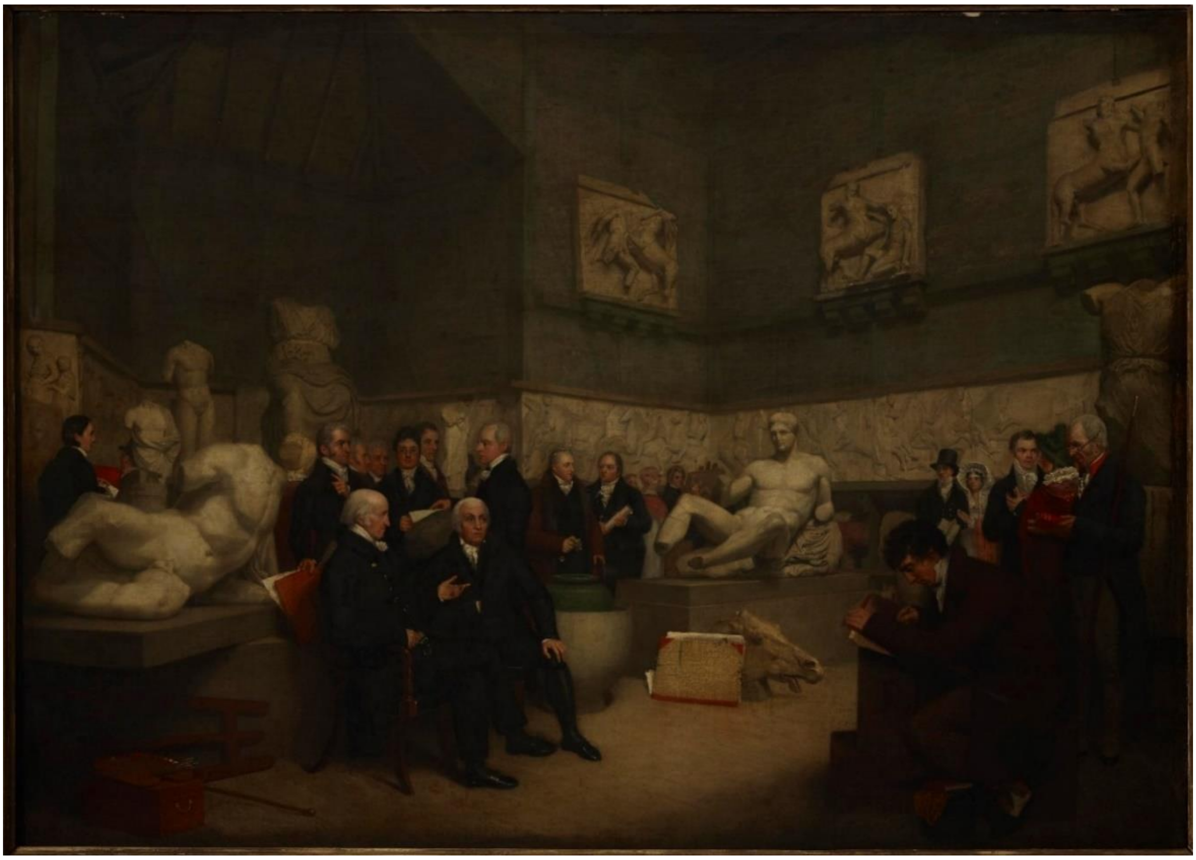

Figure 2.1 Archibald Archer, *The Temporary Elgin Room, 1819,* 1819, oil on canvas, 94 × 132.7 cm, © The Trustees of the British Museum[39]

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[39] The leftmost figure (in profile) is considered to represent Haydon, who appears to keep a certain distance between himself and the rest of the visitors to the exhibition room. For identification of other portraits in this painting, see Ian Jenkins, *Archaeologists & Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum, 1800–1939* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), p. 37.

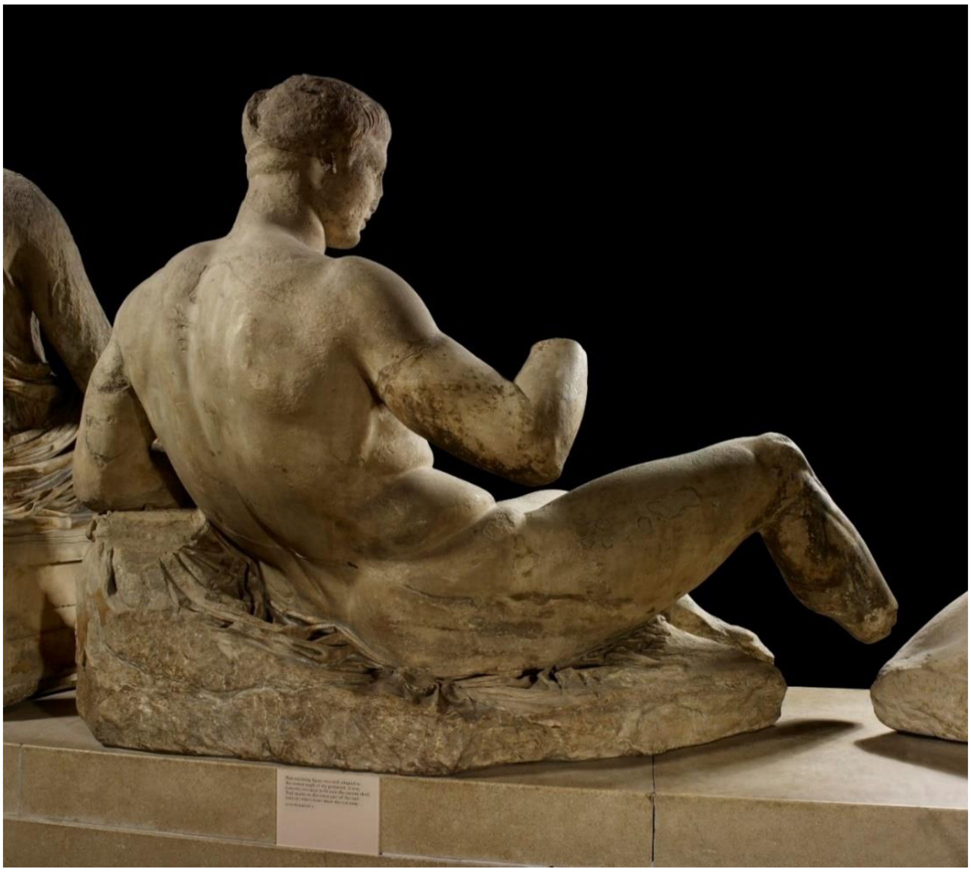

Figure 2.2 Marble Statue from the East Pediment of the Parthenon (East Pediment D), 438–432 BC, marble, © The Trustees of the British Museum[40]

From his early days at the Royal Academy Schools, Haydon had shown a specific interest in the creative possibilities of shadows cast upon artworks. The *Autobiography* reads that the young painter 'studied the effect of candle-light upon each other', examining 'how the shadows could be best got as clear as they looked' (p. 111). In this respect, Haydon was most likely following the manner of Sir Joshua Reynolds. In his *Discourses* at the Royal Academy, Reynolds had declared the advantages of using candlelight for artists: 'By candlelight, not only objects appear more beautiful, but from their being in a greater breadth of light and shadow, as well as having a greater breadth and uniformity of colour, nature appears in a higher style'.[41] Haydon's close observations of the Elgin Marbles in dim light taught him 'what to suppress & what to exhibit' (*Diary*, II, 511)—or what to darken and what to highlight—in art. By mastering this 'chiaroscuro' technique, the artist seems to have sought to impress the spectator most intensively. It is also significant that the juxtaposition of clarity and obscurity was to be his lifelong matter of interest—as inferred from one of his lectures delivered after the mid-1830s:

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[40] 'In the early nineteenth century [this sculpted figure] was identified as Theseus, but most scholars now see him as Dionysos on a panther-skin, or perhaps as Herakles on a lion-skin' (B. F. Cook, *The Elgin Marbles*, 2nd edn (London: British Museum Press, 1997), p. 62). For a reproduction of Haydon's 1808 sketch of this statue 'under the play of light and shade' (*BRH*, p. 89) at Gloucester House, Park Lane, see *BRH*, p. 6 (see also Frederick Cummings, 'Phidias in Bloomsbury: B. R. Haydon's Drawings of the Elgin Marbles', *Burlington Magazine*, 106.736 (July 1964), 323–28).

> how to find the art of spreading light by light objects, and dark by dark ones; how to give fulness of effect by losing all contour in dark, or light backgrounds [...] has been the object of all my life to ascertain, and the object of all these Lectures to convey to you. Of such power is light and shadow alone independent of all colour or form, that without either it can be made to excite feelings of awe and mystery; imagination comes in, and you people the awful void. (*Lectures*, I, 291)

Haydon found ample room for creative 'imagination' in the 'awful void' of mystery, created by a skilful disposition of light and shade in artworks. Obviously, the adjective 'awful' is not concerned with the dreadful or the appalling but with the sublime or the majestic. Like that which is incomplete, elliptical, and fragmentary, the crepuscular in art is also likely to draw the attention of spectators who would surmise the potentialities in 'the awful void'. We can mark a similar aesthetic attitude in Keats's sonnet. The poem's elliptical, 'staccato conclusion' (which, as Andrew Motion says, arguably repeats the 'fragmentariness' of the sculptures themselves) is exactly 'losing all contour in dark, or light backgrounds':[42] this suggestive rhetoric would then help to ‘give fulness of effect’ in the minds of readers.

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[41] *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight*, 3rd edn, corrected, 3 vols (London: Cadell, Jun. and Davies, 1801), II, 155–56.

[42] Andrew Motion, *Keats* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), p. 152.

The way Haydon argued for the imaginative creativity of obscurity was reminiscent of Edmund Burke’s discussion of the sublime. ‘The most wonderful man of the last age was certainly Burke’, Haydon wrote: ‘On all matters of art he seems as if absolutely inspired by the spirit of Phidias’ (*Lectures*, I, 29).[43] In *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), Burke had declared that ‘darkness is more productive of sublime ideas than light’.[44] More specifically, Burke had observed that ‘dark, confused, uncertain images have a greater power on the fancy to form the grander passions than those which are more clear and determinate’.[45] What Burke had considered as sources of the sublime—such as ‘*Vacuity, Darkness, Solitude and Silence*’—would mostly have appeared to engage ‘the fancy’.[46] Likewise, Haydon’s ‘awful void’ would stimulate the spectator’s sympathetic imagination. In seeing the Elgin Marbles in July 1818, Haydon commented that his ‘self-possession is lost in the superior occupation of a predominating idea’ (*Diary*, II, 201). ‘The more I study them’, he had also noted earlier in September 1808, ‘the more do I feel my own insignificance’ (*Diary*, I, 16). Haydon’s views about disinterested imagination as such were likely to have helped Keats to shape his own idea of ‘*Negative Capability*’—or his ‘[h]umility and capability of submission’ to the sublime, the obscure, the uncertain, the mysterious, and the doubtful (*LJK*, I, 193, 184).[47]

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[43] For Haydon’s remarks on Burke, see also *Diary*, I, 446, II, 55, 517; and *Lectures*, I, 30–33.

[44] [Edmund Burke], *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: Dodsley, 1757), p. 62.

[45] Ibid., p. 49.

[46] Ibid., p. 50.

[47] For Haydon’s possible influence on Keats’s notion of Negative Capability, see the Introduction, pp. 3–5. Earlier studies of Keats and the sublime have not taken much into consideration Haydon’s interest in this aesthetic concept. Even the work by Stuart A. Ende and by James B. Twitchell does not, in the first place, mention Keats’s ‘Elgin Marbles’ sonnets (see, respectively, *Keats and the*

The poet in ‘On Seeing the Elgin Marbles’ also seems to have ‘lost’ his ‘self-possession’. To borrow Scott’s words, ‘perceiver and perceived’ are sympathetically ‘fused’ at the end of this poem (and we remember that what Schlegel called romantic poetry would always ‘hover at the midpoint between the portrayed and the portrayer’).[48] The poet throws himself forward into the ‘awful void’—or some imaginative capacity—of the fragmentary sculptures in dim light. At the same time, he tries to transfigure his initial cognitive confusion into a glimpse of intellectual illumination. Here, we might recall Keats’s marginalia in his copy of John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. In one of his annotations, Keats contemplated the advantages of making sympathetic ‘semi-speculations’ into text:

> One of the most mysterious of semi-speculations is, one would suppose, that of one Mind’s imagining into another[.] Things may be described by a Man’s self in parts so as to make a grand whole which that Man him-self [*sic*] would scarcely inform to its excess. A Poet can seldom have justice done to his imagination—for men are as distinct in their conceptions of material shadowings as they are in matters of spiritual understanding—it can scarcely be conceived how Milton’s Blindness might here ade [*for* aid] the magnitude of his conceptions as a bat in a large gothic vault—.[49]

Keats elsewhere regarded Milton’s artistry as that of textual ‘statu[a]ry’.[50] The younger poet was likely to have recollected his own intense experience of seeing the Elgin Marbles when he afterwards witnessed Milton’s poetics of gigantic and sculpturesque potency. Like the

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Sublime (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976) and *Romantic Horizons: Aspects of the Sublime in English Poetry and Painting, 1770–1850* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1983)).

[48] Scott, *The Sculpted Word*, p. 67.

[49] Quoted from *KPL*, p. 74. Keats’s annotation refers to *Paradise Lost*, I. 59–94.

[50] Quoted from *KPL*, p. 142. Keats’s annotation refers to *Paradise Lost*, VII. 422–23. For Haydon’s possible influence on what Keats called the Miltonic ‘stationing or statu[a]ry’ (quoted from *KPL*, p. 142), see Chapter 4, pp. 150–54.

awe-inspiring marbles in fragments, the celebrated epic of sublimity also appeared to Keats to encourage 'one Mind's imagining into another'—or into 'the awful void' of the telling text. As a matter of fact, it was months after seeing the Elgin Marbles with Haydon that Keats began making these annotations in his copy of *Paradise Lost*.[51] Here, Keats's poetics seems to have shown significant development: the reader could 'make a grand whole' of a description given not exhaustively but only 'in parts', that is, fragmentarily.

It is notable that Haydon also enjoyed the *poetics* of the fragmentary sculptures. In his later years, he proclaimed that 'they are essentially Shaksperian [*sic*]' (*Lectures*, I, 321). In the painter's view, both the sculptor and the playwright successfully exhibited dynamic tensions between anatomical specificity and potential vastness: 'it is this union of the truths and probabilities of common life, joined to elevated and ideal nature, that goes at once to our hearts and sympathies in the Elgin Marbles, and makes them superior to all the works of art hitherto known in the world' (*CTT*, I, 329). In addition, even before introducing Keats to the sculptures, Haydon had luxuriated in 'many poetical moments' in their temporary storage in Park Lane, where the artefacts had been left 'utterly neglected' by connoisseurs:

> Many melancholy, many poetical moments did I enjoy there, musing on these mighty fragments piled on each other, covered with dirt, dripping with damp, and utterly neglected for seasons together. But I gained from these sublime relics the leading principles of my practice, and I saw that the union of nature and idea was here so perfect, that the great artist, in his works, seemed more like an agent of the Creator to express vitality by marble than a mere human genius. (*Autobiography*, p. 244)

As Haydon recollected, the interior of the outhouse sheltering these 'sublime' fragments had been not only 'damp' and 'dusty' but also 'obscure' (*Autobiography*, p. 305).[52] In this gloomy space lighted by his own lantern, Haydon had indulged in 'poetical' musings from which his 'leading principles' of art eventually germinated—just as the self-same artefacts were to serve as something of a breakthrough in Keats's poetry and poetics, especially in the composition of his Miltonic and indeed sculpturally-inflected epic, 'Hyperion'.[53]

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[51] Beth Lau notes that 'the bulk of evidence suggests early 1818 for Keats's reading and marking of *Paradise Lost*' while conceding that the date might have been earlier, some time in late 1817 (*KPL*, pp. 35, 26, 29).

Presumably, Haydon's 'melancholy' feelings towards the Elgin Marbles were not only a result of his sense of gloominess about their hitherto 'neglected' artistic merits. Like the artist in Henry Fuseli's famous drawing (Figure 2.3), the young and still immature painter was also likely to have experienced a sensation of melancholic despair at seeing the '*Grandeur*' of the ancient art. To the early Haydon, the Grecian artistry would have appeared to be beyond the reach of his own current artistic representation. It is worth noting here that Fuseli was in fact Haydon's early mentor at the Royal Academy Schools. Indeed, in the words of Thomas McFarland, 'melancholy rejects the here-and-now' without being able to find any 'otherness toward which to strive' at first.[54] Nevertheless, it can finally intimate potential ways for the revivification of one's mind.[55] Perhaps in an uncanny way, Keats's apparently personal or private sense of despair—when confronted with the grandeur of the antique art—seems to have been 'pre-coded' in Fuseli's drawing.[56]

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[52] For more about the temporary storage of the sculptures in Park Lane, see *BRH*, pp. 87–88.

[53] For discussion of Haydon's influence on 'Hyperion', see Chapter 4.

[54] Thomas McFarland, *Romanticism and the Forms of Ruin: Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Modalities of Fragmentation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 17.

[55] See, for example, Keats's somewhat vague yet promisingly forward-looking conclusion of the 'Ode on Melancholy': 'His soul shall taste the sadness of her might, | And be among her cloudy trophies hung' (29–30); see also Sophie Thomas, 'The Fragment', in *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide*, ed. by Nicholas Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 502–20 (p. 508).

[56] Thomas has also argued Fuseli's drawing as a 'perfect visual counterpart to Keats's poem' but without drawing on the significance of Haydon as a potential link between the two men in this respect

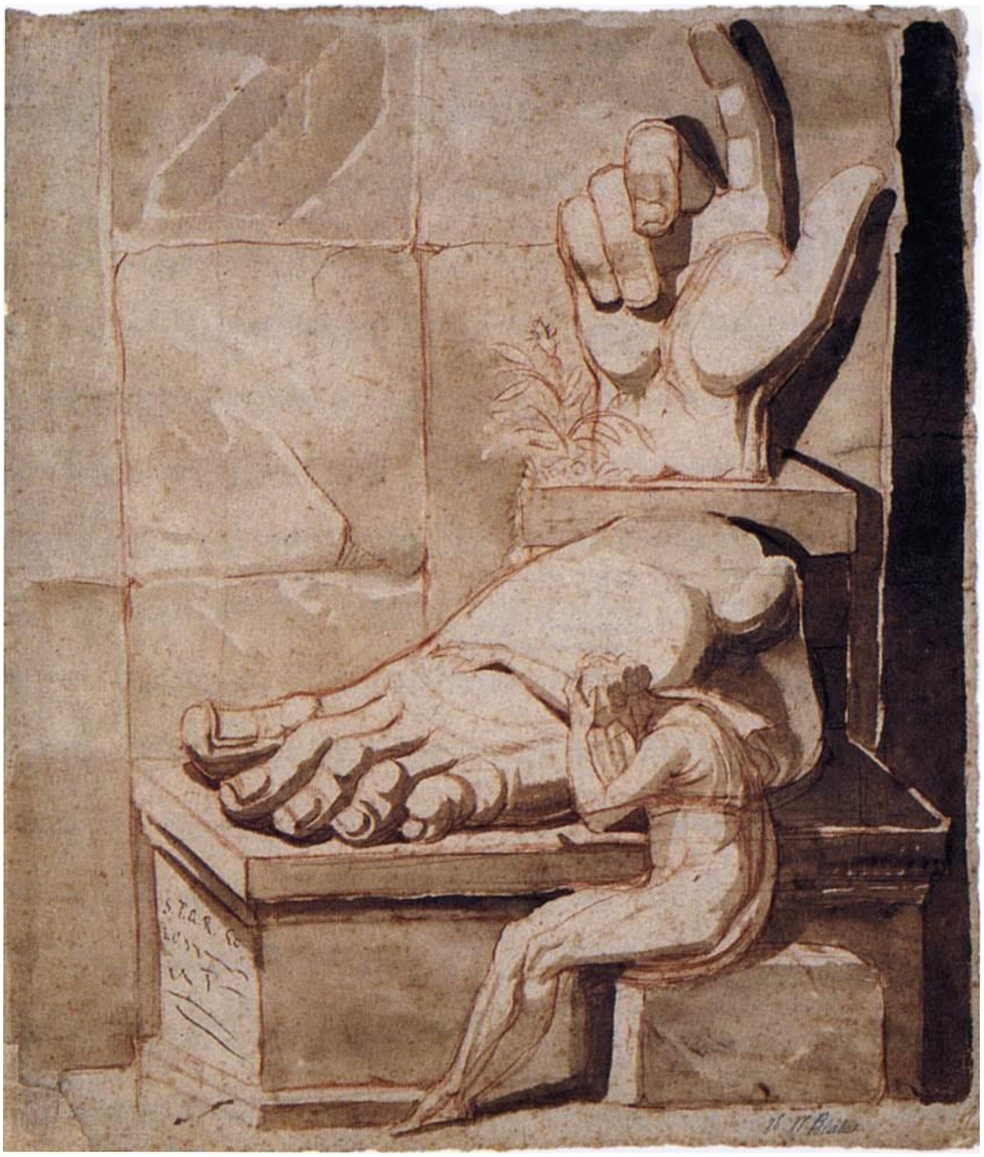

Figure 2.3 Henry Fuseli, *The Artist Moved by the Grandeur of Antique Fragments*, 1778–79, red chalk on sepia wash, 41.5 × 35.5 cm, courtesy of the Kunsthaus Zürich

Reminiscent of the contrast between the *de*jected artist and the sculpted finger pointing *up*wards in Fuseli's work, Keats's sonnet demonstrated his own struggling yet progressive transformation of his original awareness of confusion, failure, and 'dizzy pain' into 'dim-conceived glories' of sublimity. Even 'on the shores of darkness', the poet later declared,

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(*Romanticism and Visuality*, p. 62). For Keats and Fuseli, see also Aveek Sen, '"Frigid Ecstasies": Keats, Fuseli, and the Languages of Academic Hellenism', *Charles Lamb Bulletin*, n.s., 94 (April 1996), 64–78.

'there is light' ('To Homer', 9). Melancholy's potential creativity, involving the conflicts of cognitive lights and shades, was thus arguably Keats's and Haydon's (eventually) shared experience through their respective first encounters with the Elgin Marbles. As we will examine below, the poet's phrase 'a shadow of a magnitude' was also likely to have mirrored his own response to the glorious artefacts in dim light, as well as a Haydonesque aesthetics of chiaroscuro effects.

'A SHADOW OF A MAGNITUDE'

Keats was at a loss for words after seeing the Elgin Marbles: 'Forgive me, Haydon, that I cannot speak | Definitively on these mighty things' ('To Haydon with a Sonnet Written on Seeing the Elgin Marbles', 1–2). Perhaps carrying these implications of his sense of perplexity about the ineffable, the inarticulate, and the indefinite, the sestet of Keats's quasi-ekphrastic sonnet 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles' also presents imagery that has puzzled readers. How can we account for the conclusion from syntactic perspectives? What juxtapositions are these? What dizzy pain? What shadow and magnitude? Like the mysterious Grecian Urn, the elusive and indeed fragmentarily-intimated 'Grecian grandeur' in the poem is likely to invite readers' successive questions aimed at some hermeneutic disambiguation. Perhaps no one might be able to say anything definitively about these mystifying lines, especially about the last set of words: 'a shadow of a magnitude'.

Critics have so far attempted several paraphrases of this single phrase: 'The conception of something so great that it can only be dimly apprehended';[57] 'a fragment ("shadow") of a great culture ("magnitude")';[58] some 'reduce[d] greatness';[59] or 'a glimpse of absolute transcendence'.[60] In 1971, E. B. Murray also rendered the whole sestet into prose:

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[57] *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. by Allott, p. 105.

[58] William Crisman, 'A Dramatic Voice in Keats's Elgin Marbles Sonnet', *Studies in Romanticism,* 26.1 (Spring 1987), 49–58 (p. 53).

[59] A. W. Phinney, 'Keats in the Museum: Between Aesthetics and History', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* 90.2 (April 1991), 208–29 (p. 216).

> These wonders [i.e., the Marbles] bring round my heart a most dizzy pain which mingles Grecian grandeur with the rude wasting of old Time *as* the sun mingles with the waves of the sea *so that* it [the sun] appears as the mere shadow of the magnitude it really is when one looks at it directly.[61]

Thus, it has been normal to interpret Keats's word 'magnitude' as something great, grand, or magnificent. However, Murray and most other critics have missed the point that, in Keats's sonnet, the phrase 'a shadow of a magnitude' is preceded by '[a] sun'. With its indefinite article, the word does not refer to *the* sun, in the first place: it points to a 'star'.[62] We might well recall the conclusion of 'To Haydon with a Sonnet Written on Seeing the Elgin Marbles'. There, the painter figures as an important observer—like a magus—of 'the Hesperean shine | Of their star in the east' (13–14). Keats was familiar with Nathan Bailey's 1721 *English Dictionary*, which not only gives the meaning of the word 'MAGNITUDE' as 'Greatness, Bigness, Largeness' but also mentions that, specifically 'with respect to the Stars', 'it is divided into six Degrees, as of the first, second, &c. Magnitude'.[63] It seems therefore appropriate to consider with Roe that Keats's word 'magnitude' refers to 'the measure of a star's brightness' and that, by the phrase 'a shadow of a magnitude', the poet implies 'a source of radiance so powerful that it cannot be described'.[64] In the somewhat awe-inspiring exhibition room, the poet intuited some unknown mode of luminosity; it was so intense as to make him envision an eclipse that appeared to cast a shadow over his own mind and to cause him 'a most dizzy pain'. In this way, the poet's mystifying conclusion seems to allude to his own cognitive oscillations stimulated by the mighty fragments with their physical and intellectual interplay of light and shade: the artistry suspended the poet's own perception precisely between definability and indefinability, actuality and potentiality, and clarity and obscurity.

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[60] Thomas McFarland, *The Masks of Keats: The Endeavour of a Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 86.

[61] E. B. Murray, 'Ambivalent Mortality in the Elgin Marbles Sonnet', *Keats-Shelley Journal,* 20 (1971), 22–36 (p. 26).

[62] John Keats, *Selected Poems,* ed. by Nicholas Roe (London: Dent, 1995), p. 265.

[63] Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London: Bell, et al., 1721), S.V. 'magnitude'. In 1802, Bailey's *Dictionary* reached its last and thirtieth edition. As Lau notes, it is hard to ascertain the edition of Keats's copy (see KL, p. 151). Keats's familiarity with Bailey's *Dictionary* is evident from the fact that several of the poet's unconventional or incorrect spellings actually accord with the lexicographer's in this work (see Maurice Buxton Forman, 'Keats's Pen-Slips and Unusual Spellings in the Letters', in *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. by Forman, pp. lxvi–lxx).

In truth, from his boyhood, Keats had familiarized himself with astronomy (which would also materialize in several of his writings).[65] As such, 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles', too, might merit scrutiny in terms of his knowledge of 'the Stars'. However, I want to draw attention instead to the fact that, as Alan Osler puts it, 'the real recipient' of Keats's two 'Elgin Marbles' sonnets was no one but Haydon.[66] Both poems arguably served as part of an ensuing intertextual dialogue between the two men after they had visited the British Museum. To be sure, as Theresa M. Kelley says, we should not overemphasize the significance of 'Haydon's mentorship' as 'a determining factor in Keats's preference for Greek art and culture'.[67] Nevertheless, it is notable that Haydon regarded both sonnets—including 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles'—as 'addressed to me' (*KC*, II, 141). Despite the poet's seeming inward-orientation in that quasi-ekphrastic sonnet, Haydon accepted the two poems as Keats's (in)direct responses to his own aesthetic initiation of him into the glorious art of antiquity—entailing various tensions of light and shade.

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[64] Roe, 'A Rhinoceros among Giraffes: John Keats and the Elgin Marbles', p. 216.

[65] See, for example, Nicholas Roe, *John Keats and the Culture of Dissent* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 33–39; and Meegan Hasted, '*Chapman's Homer* and John Keats's Astronomical Textbook', *Explicator*, 75.4 (December 2017), 260–67.

[66] Alan Osler, '"On Seeing the Elgin Marbles"', *Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin, Rome*, 21 (1970), 32–34 (p. 33).

[67] Theresa M. Kelley, 'Keats, Ekphrasis, and History', in *Keats and History*, ed. by Nicholas Roe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 212–37 (p. 214).

Here, it might be worth reviewing the interchange between Keats and Haydon about the two 'Elgin Marbles' sonnets: that is not least because the textual history itself would most tellingly seem to attest to the development of their friendship—indeed even after the poet's death. Haydon had received the drafts from Keats by 3 March 1817, the day after seeing the original sculptures together.[68] Six days later, on 9 March, the two sonnets first appeared in both the *Examiner* and the *Champion*.[69] About a year later, on 1 April 1818, with the poet's permission, the painter then arranged for both poems to be reprinted in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*.[70] In 1844, Haydon further transcribed several sonnets specifically 'addressed to' himself; the works included not only 'To Haydon' but also 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles', a sonnet not exactly of that kind.[71] In the following year, 1845, Haydon again copied out the two sonnets; this time, he did so to ask the publisher Edward Moxon to reprint them in his forthcoming 'New Edition' of *The Poetical Works of John Keats* (*KC*, II, 142).[72] Thus, from time to time, Haydon sought to reinvigorate and disseminate Keats's voice as crystallized in the sonnets 'addressed to me'. On 3 March 1817, as if feeling convinced of the reciprocity of the friendship between the poet and the painter himself, Haydon had marked the visual and significantly pictorial qualities in 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles':

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[68] See *LJK*, I, 122–23; and *Diary*, II, 94–95.

[69] See Appendix II, p. 282.

[70] See ibid.; and *KC*, II, 141–42.

[71] Benjamin Robert Haydon, 'Sonnets Addressed to & Not Written by B. R[.] Haydon: From 1817 to 1841: Twenty Four Years: Copied for Fun: 1844' (New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MA 2987, Gift, Fellows Fund, in memory of Albert A. Tarrant, Jr., from his family and friends; 1976). To be precise, as for the two 'Elgin Marbles' sonnets, it was not Haydon himself but his daughter Mary who transcribed their texts. For more about this manuscript, see Appendix II, pp. 269–70.

[72] As Haydon saw them, the two 'Elgin Marbles' sonnets had been 'removed & suppressed' in the 1840 and 1841 editions of *The Poetical Works of John Keats* by other publishers (*KC*, II, 142; see also the Bibliography, p. 331). Unfortunately, despite Haydon's request, Moxon's 1846 'New Edition' did not contain the two poems, either, for unknown reasons. Both poems were at last reprinted in Richard Monckton Milnes's 1848 *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains, of John Keats* (see *LLL*, I, 27–28),

> Upon my Soul I think the four first lines of the Second [sonnet] contain as fine an image of a Poet's yearning after high feelings, as fine a Picture of restless, sweeping, searching enthusiastic as any in Poetry. (*Diary*, II, 94–95)

Presumably earlier on the same day, Haydon had also thanked Keats for 'the high enthusiastic praise with which you have spoken of me in the first Sonnet' (*LJK*, I, 122).[73] While the poet probably composed 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles' prior to 'To Haydon', the painter nevertheless regarded the former as 'the Second' and the latter as 'the first Sonnet'.[74] In fact, in all the *Examiner*, the *Champion*, the *Annals*, and Haydon's manuscript copies, 'To Haydon' was put before 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles'. Most likely, the somewhat egomaniac artist considered 'To Haydon' to be a poem for himself and 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles' to be Keats's attempt to present a 'Picture' in 'Poetry' in return for his own artistic initiation. As Amy Lowell sees it, 'in whatever order the sonnets were written', it would have

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which was also published by Moxon. In *KC*, Rollins does not reproduce in full Haydon's transcripts in his letter to Moxon, mentioning only that the artist copied out 'somewhat inaccurately the texts of the sonnets from James Elmes's *Annals* [*of the Fine Arts*, 3.8 (1 April 1818), 171–72]' (II, 142). For Haydon's original letter (dated 28 November 1845), see Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Keats 4.7.20. For the publication history of the two poems, see also Hyder Edward Rollins, 'Keats's Elgin Marbles Sonnets', in *Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild*, ed. by Charles T. Prouty (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1946), pp. 163–66; and *TKP*, pp. 132–35.

[73] In this letter, dated 3 March 1817, Haydon told Keats that 'I shall expect you & Clarke & Reynolds to night' (*LJK*, I, 122), which suggests that it was sent earlier on the day.

[74] See *TKP*, p. 132; and Roe, 'A Rhinoceros among Giraffes: John Keats and the Elgin Marbles', p. 203.

been the case that 'Keats was canny enough to send them to Haydon with the one written to him as the first' so as to gratify the older painter.[75]

In a letter to Keats of 3 March 1817, Haydon made more detailed comments on what he called the 'Second' sonnet for himself, 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles':

> Many thanks My dear fellow for your two noble sonnets—*I* know not a finer image than the comparison of a Poet unable to express his high feelings to a sick eagle looking at the Sky!—when he must have remembered his former towerings amid the blaze of dazzling Sun beams, in the pure expanse of glittering clouds!—now & then passing Angels on heavenly errands, lying at the will of the wind, with moveless wings; or pitching downward with a fiery rush, eager & intent on the objects of their seeking———You filled me with fury for an hour, and with admiration for ever […]. (*LJK*, I, 122)[76]

While line 3 of 'To Haydon' also refers to 'eagle's wings', it is clear from the context that Haydon was here talking about the 'sick eagle' in the octet of 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles'. The painter was deeply impressed with the tenor of the sonnet, in which the poet sensed the burden of 'mortality' (contrasted with the 'godlike' immortality of the sculptures) and said somewhat feebly: 'I must die | Like a sick eagle looking at the sky'. Some time after Keats's death, Haydon wrote in the margin of his own 1816 sketch of the poet:

> Keats was a spirit that in passing over the Earth came within its attraction <and fell on it, against its will! and spent like a caught bird, he worried himself> and expired in

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[75] Lowell, *John Keats*, I, 279; see also John Keats, *Poetry Manuscripts at Harvard: A Facsimile Edition*, ed. by Jack Stillinger (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 49.

[76] The word 'fury' seems to denote some inspired passion (rather than anger or madness). In his correspondence with Keats, Haydon used the term in that sense several times (see *LJK*, I, 124, 135).

> fruitless struggles <to regain his former height> to make its dull inhabitants comprehend the beauty of his soarings—[.][77]

Haunted by the very image of the sick eagle/poet struggling in despair before the awe-inspiring sculptures, Haydon recalled his departed friend. In a way that prefigured the Victorian idolization of 'Poor Keats'—a sensitive, gifted poet who died young—Haydon likened the poet to 'a caught bird'. To the surviving artist, contemporary 'dull inhabitants' in this world did not appear to recognize the soaring and towering sense of 'beauty' of this immortal bird (bard).[78]

Haydon might also have taken Keats's 'superb' sonnets 'addressed to me' as the 'worried' young poet's admiration for the high-mindedness of the apparently indefatigable painter himself (*KC*, II, 141). Haydon 'esteem[ed] these sonnets after Wordsworth's', which he appreciated as 'the highest honor Poetry ever bestowed on any artist' (*KC*, II, 142). The older poet had styled Haydon as a man who—with no 'weak-mindedness'—would ever 'be strenuous for the bright reward' in the future.[79] Not long after receiving Keats's sonnets, Haydon also advised him 'never to despair' and instead to believe in the mind's powers of resilience (*LJK*, I, 142). By presenting Keats a copy of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Grecian History*, Haydon seems to have further encouraged him to explore 'the remains of Greece'—which, despite 'the dissolution of the state', still appeared to retain a capacity to 'continue to enlighten and refine the world'—for the poet's next endeavour, *Endymion*.[80]

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[77] For Haydon's annotated sketch from which I have transcribed this note, see Figure 1.1.

[78] The idea of identifying the mortal Keats as a 'spirit' just 'passing over the Earth' also reminds us of the first line of 'Addressed to the Same': 'Great spirits now on earth are sojourning'.

[79] Wordsworth, 'To B. R. Haydon, Painter', p. 203. This sonnet arguably influenced Keats's another early sonnet 'Addressed to Haydon', beginning 'Highmindedness' (see Chapter 1, p. 34).

[80] Oliver Goldsmith, *The Grecian History, from the Earliest State, to the Death of Alexander the Great*, new edn, 2 vols (London: Robinson, et al., 1805), I, p. iv. For this copy, see also above at n. 1.

On 2 March 1817 at the British Museum, Haydon would have expounded to Keats at length and with evident pride about what he had long championed. About a month earlier, on 23 January, Haydon had attended the Grand Duke Nicholas (the future Tsar of Russia) 'throughout his examination' of the Elgin Marbles at the temporary gallery: it is remarkable that, in *The Times* for 25 January, a report of the royal visit concluded that 'no man' but Haydon would be 'more able to explain the grand principles and higher beauties of art, whether displayed in painting or sculpture'.[81] In the wake of the audience with the illustrious visitor from Russia, Haydon also translated his own polemical essay on the sculptures into both French and Italian in 1818.[82] In the same year, 1818, Haydon's renown further reached Germany: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe ordered 'black chalk copies' of the Elgin Marbles 'from the school of the London painter, Haydon', and the German writer was 'duly amazed' by the accomplishment of the drawings.[83]

According to the *OED*, it was indeed Haydon himself who coined the phrase 'Elgin Marbles' in 1809 (until then, the artefacts had been referred to, for example, as '*Lord* Elgin's

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[81] *The Times*, 25 January 1817, p. 2.

[82] Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Sentiment des connoisseurs sur les ouvrages de l'art, comparé avec celui des artistes; et plus particulièrement sur les marbres de Lord Elgin* (London: Schulze and Dean, 1818); and Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Giudizio dei Conoscitori delle Belle Arti, Comparato con quello dei Professori di esse; e Massime Relativamente ai Marmi di Lord Elgin* (London: Schulze and Dean, 1818). For Haydon's original essay in English, see above at n. 25. Haydon also translated into French two more essays written by him on the Elgin Marbles (see Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Comparaison entre la tête d'un des chèvaux de Venise, qui etoient sur l'arc triomphale des Thuilleries, et qu'on dit être de Lysippe, et la tête du cheval d'Elgin du Parthenon* (London: Bulmer, 1818); and Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Erreur de Visconti relative a l'action de la statue de l'Ilissus dans la collection d'Elgin, au Museum Britannique* (London: Bulmer, 1819)). For the original essays in English, see, respectively, *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.9 (1 June 1818), 177–85; and 4.12 (1 April 1819), 49–59.

[83] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethe on Art*, ed. and trans. by John Gage (London: Scolar Press, 1980), p. 93. For Goethe's letters to Haydon about the chalk drawings, see also *CTT*, I, 340; and *Diary*, III, 586–87.

Collection of Grecian *Antiques*').[84] As the painter John Constable had noticed a year earlier, Haydon's 'authoritative manner' of speaking—in addition to '[h]is forwardness in conversation'—had been making a conspicuous impact on his contemporaries: 'He is possessed with a notion that the eyes of all the world are upon Himself' (*DJF*, IX, 3261). This backdrop arguably provided Keats with a hint to conclude his early sonnet 'Addressed to Haydon': 'Unnumber'd souls breathe out a still applause, | Proud to behold him in his country's eye' (13–14). It is most likely that, in the temporary gallery in the British Museum, Haydon gave to Keats a detailed explanation of the artistic excellence of the Elgin Marbles, their anatomical accuracy, their chequered history hitherto, his own triumphant victory over the judgement of connoisseurs, and the genesis of his artistic principles revealed at the candle-lit outhouse, where he had long been envisioning some imaginary pinnacles, godlike sublimity, and the glories of ancient Greece: significantly, those images would have been brought forth in his mind by association with the clarity and obscurity of the fragmentary sculptures in dim light.

In his conversations with Keats in the temporary gallery, Haydon might also have insisted upon something 'revolutionary' embodied in the Elgin Marbles. In his 1816 essay, Haydon had proclaimed that the sculptures would 'produce a revolution' in various branches of the fine arts in England: 'The Elgin Marbles will as completely overthrow the old antique, as ever one system of philosophy overthrew another more enlightened'.[85] Living in the aftermath of Napoleon's rise and fall, Haydon anticipated some sort of 'revolution' in the sister arts of poetry and painting, too. Two weeks after visiting the British Museum together,

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[84] *Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1803, pp. 725–26. The *OED* (S.V. 'Elgin Marbles, *n*.') cites the entry for November 1809 in Haydon's *Diary* (I, 95).

[85] Haydon, 'On the Judgment of Connoisseurs', pp. 163–64. For this remark's potential influence on 'Hyperion', see Chapter 4.

Haydon perused Keats's presentation copy of his first volume of poems.[86] The painter especially delighted in 'Sleep and Poetry', in which the young poet boldly challenged 'the monotony of the Pope School' (*Diary,* II, 63), or a literary *ancien regime*: 'I have read your Sleep & Poetry—it is a flash of lightening that will sound men from their occupations, and keep them trembling for the crash of thunder that *will* follow' (*LJK*, I, 125).[87] We can perceive Haydonesque echoes of the idea of 'the crash of thunder that *will* follow' in Keats's 'To Haydon with a Sonnet Written on Seeing the Elgin Marbles'. While admitting that he has not yet 'eagle's wings' (3) with which to span and rule some poetic demesne at present, the poet still asked the painter to

> think that I would not be overmeek
> In rolling out upfollow'd thunderings,
> Even to the steep of Heliconian springs,
> Were I of ample strength for such a freak. (5–8)

Keats's (and Haydon's) association of the Elgin Marbles with certain potential revolutionary 'thunderings' possibly inspired another sonnet on the sculptures in the summer of 1817:

> Phidias! thou hast immortaliz'd thy name
> In these thy handy-works, and they will tell
> Loud as ten thousand thunderings thy fame
> Wherever truth and beauty deign to dwell.[88]

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[86] For this presentation copy, see Barnard, 'First Fruits or "First Blights"', p. 101, n. 200; *JKNL,* p. 414, n. 25; and the Introduction, pp. 8–9.

[87] For Haydon's comments on 'Sleep and Poetry', see also *Diary,* II, 101.

[88] 'Sonnet', in [P. Gellatly], *Evening Hours; a Collection of Original Poems* (London: Chappell, 1817), p. 102. Although both Scott and William A. Ulmer specify that the sonnet first appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1818, it had actually been published months earlier (some time

Notwithstanding the presence of ‘all-devouring Time’ in this mortal world, the author proclaimed, the ‘truth and beauty’ of the Elgin Marbles would ensure the sculptor’s immortal fame:[89] the renown of Phidias appeared to resound hereafter like ‘ten thousand thunderings’ on earth and in England in particular.

While being overwhelmed—and feeling, possibly, belated as well—at the surpassing workmanship of the ancients, Keats, Haydon, and other visitors to the temporary gallery also seemed to sense that they were standing precisely at the threshold of ‘a new & a glorious Aera in British Art’ (*Diary*, II, 195). Those spectators were witnessing, besides the twilight, eclipsing glory of old time, the dawn of a new aesthetics that the Elgin Marbles appeared to exemplify:[90]

> A nation’s fame here urn’d in marble lies!
> The silent glory of departed days
> Lives like the sun in eve’s unclouded skies,
> When lovely light around the spirit plays,
> While the rapt soul inhales the radiant rays.
> Pause here, and mark how giant Art doth wage

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between July and August 1817) in this collection (see, respectively, *The Sculpted Word*, pp. 60–61, 192, n. 25; and *John Keats: Reimagining History* (Cham: Macmillan, 2017), pp. 150, 172, n. 6). For the publication date of the collection, see *Critical Review*, June 1817, p. 651; and *European Magazine*, August 1817, p. 181. For the authorship of this volume, published anonymously, see the publisher’s advertisement in the back matter of J. M. Bartlett’s *The Emigrant’s Return; a Ballad: And Other Poems* (London: Chappell and Son, 1820), p. 157.

[89] ‘Sonnet’, p. 102.

[90] ‘All times after the lost, bright world of Greece and Rome’, Peter Davidson writes, ‘are “twilight ages”’: ‘Those who lived in the overshadowed world after the fall of the Western Empire had to look back to the full sunlight of antiquity for wisdom in every field of human endeavour—medicine, poetry, law’ (*The Last of the Light: About Twilight* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), p. 9).

Battle with Time, who on his offspring preys—
Their names are read upon the sculptured page,
Whose works illume the world in this far distant age.[91]

Confronted with the ‘giant Art’ of Greece, spectators in the gallery would thus have moulded in their own minds a bright future of English art, which they were envisioning as being ‘urn’d’—enshrined—in ‘marble’. Possibly alluding to the etymology of the word ‘marble’ (‘shining’, ‘gleaming’, and ‘flashing’), these lines from the 1823 poem entitled ‘The Elgin Gallery’ called attention to how the potential ‘radiant rays’ of the sculptures would ‘illume’ visitors, or pilgrims, to the awe-inspiring sanctuary in the British Museum.[92]

Picturing the glorious sunset of antiquity—indeed ‘like the sun in eve’s unclouded skies’—as well as some emerging aesthetics under ‘the morning’s eye’, Keats’s ‘On Seeing the Elgin Marbles’ suggested ineffable points between various lights and shades. The sonnet juxtaposed mortal dimness with heavenly glories, the rude with the wondrous, and the obscure with the clear. The poet’s gazing at *a* sun (instead of *the* sun) not only intimated his encounter with a bright star in the eastern twilight. The self-same gesture also marked his discovery of some potential mode of being as a poet, rather than something already existing: to borrow his own words, Keats was contemplating a yet uncertain ‘Shadow of reality to come’ as a newly-fledged poet (*LJK*, I, 185). Without seeking to unperplex the complexities of the ‘undescribable feud’ in his mind, the negatively capable poet was finally accepting his cognitive confusion as ‘a gentle luxury’. As a result of reproducing the likeness of what he envisaged in the dim space as ‘a shadow of a magnitude’, Keats thus successfully finished a poetic portrait of light and shade. In this respect, it seems significant that Haydon—like the mysterious priest in the ‘Ode on a Grecian Urn’—had led the literary pilgrim to the shrine of antiquity, afterwards appreciating the two occasional sonnets as a high honour to his own artistic induction of him into the ‘awful void’ of creative uncertainty.

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[91] John Bull, ‘The Elgin Gallery’, *London Magazine*, July 1823, pp. 26–31 (p. 27). The author’s name, John Bull, might have been a pseudonym (see Riga and Prance, *Index to the London Magazine*, p. 82).
[92] *OED*, s.v. ‘marble, *n.* and *adj.*’, etymology.

TOWARDS A NEW MYTHOPOEIA

It is noteworthy that, for several years since 1815, Europe had been associating the earth-shaking, the phenomenal, and indeed the revolutionary with the image of sunset. The eruption of Mount Tambora, Indonesia, in 1815 not only brought abnormally cold weather across the Northern Hemisphere, especially in the so-called ‘year without a summer’ of 1816. The subsequent ‘solar-dimming effect of the aerosol cloud’ in the air also gave rise to a ‘spectacular’, ‘exceptional’, and literally ‘atmospheric’ series of sunsets (Figure 2.4).[93] ‘The setting sun will always set me to rights’, Keats said on 22 November 1817, ‘nothing startles me beyond the Moment’ (*LJK*, I, 186). The evanescent intensity of the sunset would remind him of his own existential mortality, transience, and perhaps fragmentariness as well. In the company of Haydon—the artistic preacher of chiaroscuro effects—Keats surmised the pregnant potentialities of the Elgin Marbles in a somewhat obscure twilight.[94] The image of a solar eclipse in the poet’s timely, quasi-ekphrastic sonnet also possibly alluded to those ‘spectacular’ sunsets and climate ‘thunderings’ at the time.

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[93] William K. Klingaman and Nicholas P. Klingaman, *The Year without Summer: 1816 and the Volcano that Darkened the World and Changed History* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2013), pp. 20–21; see also Aden Meinel and Marjorie Meinel, *Sunsets, Twilights, and Evening Skies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 149.

[94] Haydon respected Sir Joshua Reynolds, Henry Fuseli, and John Opie as his own ‘distinguished predecessors’ (*Lectures*, I, 171). These figures had expounded the advantages of light and shade in their lectures at the Royal Academy (see *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight*, I, 84, 264–65, II, 34, 47, 55, 58, 86, 155–56; *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli, Esq.*, ed. by John Knowles, 3 vols (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1831), II, 273–301; and John Opie, *Lectures on Painting, Delivered at the Royal Academy of Arts* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1809), pp. 91–127).

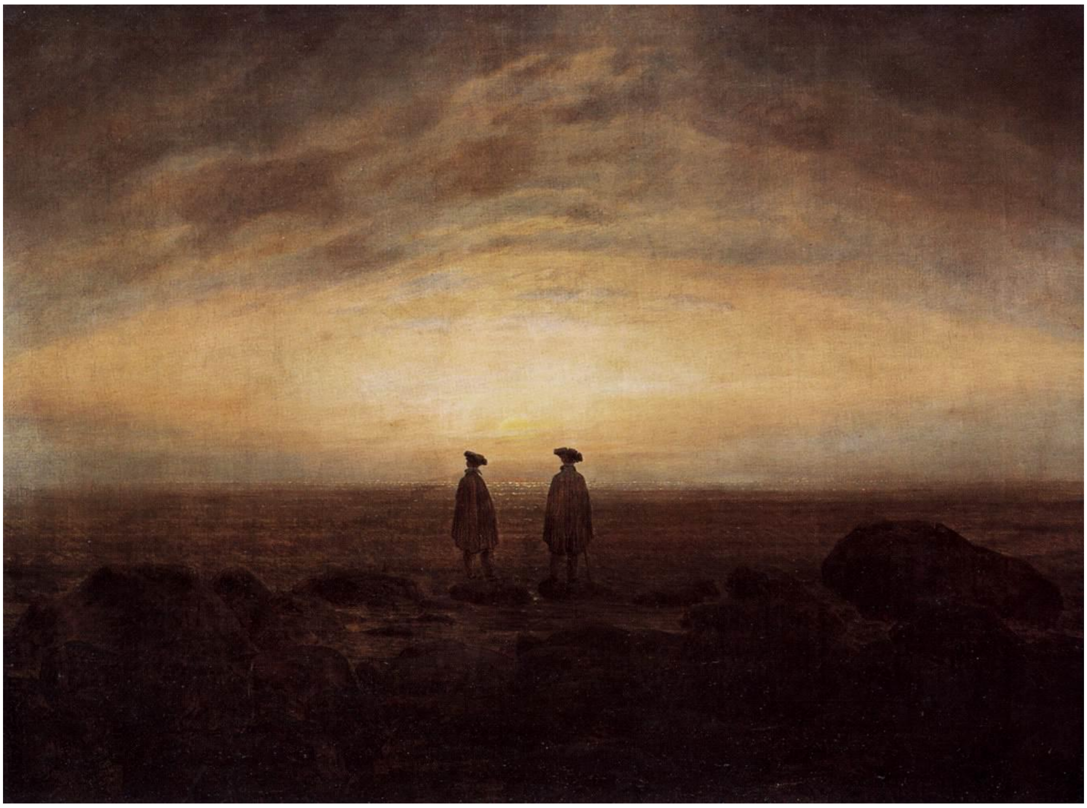

Figure 2.4 Caspar David Friedrich, *Two Men by the Sea*, 1817, oil on canvas, 51 × 66 cm, courtesy of the Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin

Corresponding to the legend of the eagle flying towards the sun to rejuvenate its own eyes and feathers, the poet—who felt ‘a most *dizzy* pain’ at those glorious sculptures in March 1817—was able to identify it later as an illuminating, prophetic, ‘Delphian pain’ needed for his own poetic renovation (‘Hence Burgundy, Claret, and Port’, 10).[95]

Towards the end of the following month, April 1817, encouraged again by Haydon, Keats began a vast, ‘ANTIQUE SONG’ of Greece: *Endymion*.[96] Written in the Isle of Wight shortly before this poetic romance, his sonnet ‘On the Sea’ served as a sort of prelude to the work. In a letter to John Hamilton Reynolds of 17 April, Keats transcribed the sonnet and accompanied it with a (mis)quotation from Shakespeare’s *King Lear,* which had ‘haunted me intensely’: ‘Do you not hear the Sea?’ (*LJK*, I, 132).[97] Whether accidental or intentional, Keats’s addition of the word ‘not’ to the original play generated specific syntactic energy that is reminiscent of the elliptical interrogation in the ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet: ‘Hear ye not the hum | Of mighty workings?——’ (‘Addressed to the Same’, 12–13). Engaged intensely by hearing the haunting and highly expressive ‘old shadowy sound’ (‘On the Sea’, 4) of the billowy ocean—which had earlier shipped the antique sculptures from Greece to England—the poet was now embarking for another pilgrimage to some obscured shores of mythology.

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[95] Keats wrote ‘Hence Burgundy, Claret, and Port’ on 31 January 1818 (see *TKP*, p. 164). For the symbolism of the eagle, see Michael Ferber, *A Dictionary of Literary Symbols*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 66–68; see also Beth Lau, ‘Keats’s Eagles and the Creative Process’, *Romanticism Past and Present*, 10.2 (Summer 1986), 49–63.

[96] As Keats himself noted (see *LJK*, I, 189), the motto for *Endymion*—‘THE STRETCHED METRE OF AN ANTIQUE SONG’—was taken from William Shakespeare’s seventeenth sonnet: ‘a poet’s rage | And stretchèd metre of an antique song’ (11–12).

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[97] The original line in the tragedy reads: ‘Hark, do you hear the sea?’ (IV. 5. 4).

Chapter 3: *Endymion* in the Shadow of *Christ's Entry*

POETIC OBSCURITY AND THE IDEA OF POSTERITY

In the previous two chapters, we have seen how John Keats's early friendship with Benjamin Robert Haydon materialized in several of his own elliptical, fragmentary, and visually engaging sonnets. Even before getting acquainted with Haydon, Keats had regarded the sonnet as a form in which lines should be 'swelling loudly | Up to its climax and then dying proudly' ('To Charles Cowden Clarke', 60–61).[1] In a manner of speaking, Haydon encouraged Keats further to heighten the climactic tension in short lines and then to leave the conclusion pregnant with anticipation: this was the painter's idea of poetics by which the poet could engage the reader to imagine into a space between mystified lights and shades in text. This chapter will discuss Keats's longest poem, *Endymion*, which comes after those early sonnets. In 1963, Walter Jackson Bate called Keats's work an 'almost Haydonesque poem' in terms of its 'sprawl[ing]' structural looseness and vastness.[2] As against Bate's distinctly ironic implications, this chapter will draw attention to Haydon's formative and significantly creative influence on Keats's texture. With indeed a Haydonian ardour and ambition, Keats began his huge poetic *canvas*; as I seek to show, the poet's work seems to have carried visionary and specifically prophetic overtones—as embodied in the painter's gigantic work-in-progress of *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem* (1820).

In the literary and artistic milieu of the English Romantic period, Haydon was recognized not just as an 'artist' but also as an 'author' of pictorial narratives.[3] The impact of this ‘literary’ painter on the young poet might well have affected the way Keats enjoyed William Wordsworth’s *The Excursion* (1814): in fact, as well as Haydon’s art, Wordsworth’s poem was an essential inspiration for *Endymion*.[4] Through the painter’s advice for the young poet’s early work, Keats was likely to have learnt to take heed of the advantages of ellipsis: in reading a mythological passage in *The Excursion*—a model for his own mythopoeia—Keats was actually thinking about further possibilities of elliptical expressions. As Haydon and other contemporaries recorded, Keats favoured the older poet’s Book IV, including the following lines portraying an imaginative, ‘lonely Herdsman’ of ‘pagan Greece’:

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[1] Keats wrote 'To Charles Cowden Clarke' in September 1816, a month before he met Haydon (see *TKP*, p. 116).

[2] Walter Jackson Bate, *John Keats* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 168.

[3] *The Life of Mary Russell Mitford, Authoress of 'Our Village', Etc., Related in a Selection from her Letters to her Friends*, ed. by A. G. L'Estrange, 3 vols (London: Bentley, 1870), I, 287.

> his Fancy fetched,
> Even from the blazing Chariot of the Sun,
> A beardless Youth, who touched a golden lute,
> And filled the illumined groves with ravishment.[5]

According to Benjamin Bailey, who accommodated the young poet in Oxford during the composition of Book III of *Endymion*, ‘Keats said this description of Apollo should have ended at the “golden lute”, & have left it to the imagination to complete the picture,—*how* he

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[4] Keats’s letter to Haydon of 10 January 1818 mentions the painter’s work, *The Excursion*, and William Hazlitt’s criticism as ‘three things to rejoice at in this Age’ (*LJK*, I, 203). Keats probably began reading *The Excursion* ‘in the fall of 1816’ and is likely to ‘have continued reading or rereading that poem in the spring and summer of the following year’ (*KRRP*, pp. 28–29). For the influence of *The Excursion* on Keats, see ibid., pp. 48–59.

[5] William Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, ed. by Sally Bushell, James A. Butler, and Michael C. Jaye (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), pp. 153–54; IV. 846–47, 853–56. In his own copy of *The Excursion* (now at the Cornell University Library), Haydon annotated: ‘Poor Keats used always to prefer this passage to all others’ (quoted from ibid., p. 399). Haydon made this note against lines 854–55 of Book IV. For Keats’s reception of Book IV of *The Excursion*, see also [Leigh Hunt], ‘Mr. Keats’s Poems, &c.—(Continued)’, *Examiner*, 6 July 1817, pp. 428–29 (p. 429); and Derek Lowe, ‘Wordsworth’s “Unenlightened Swain”: Keats and Greek Myth in *I Stood Tip-Toe upon a Little Hill*’, *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 57 (2008), 138–56.

“filled the illumined groves”’ (*KC*, II, 276). With such an ellipsis, Keats thought, Wordsworth could have left room ‘to complete the picture’ more fully for readers without obtruding a single specific imagery on them.[6] This idea was part of the backdrop, as I see it, of the creation of the sometimes notoriously obscure and partly elliptical texture of Keats’s *Endymion*.

I will argue in this chapter that, stimulated by Wordsworth and especially by Haydon, Keats carried out a poetic test of even more elliptical, suggestively obscure language in *Endymion* than in his earlier work. In truth, Romantic writers tended to be censured for obscurity in their writings.[7] Even Francis Jeffrey, notwithstanding his sympathetic attitude towards Keats, could not help but remark an ‘excessive obscurity’ in his style.[8] Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the long Romantic period had also seen a specific defence of obscurity. The first influential writer on the subject was Edmund Burke. In analysing the criteria of the aesthetics of the sublime, Burke championed the ‘judicious obscurity’ and ‘significant and expressive uncertainty’ in the work of John Milton;[9] among the followers of Burke’s endorsement, there was also Sir Joshua Reynolds.[10] Furthermore, it was perhaps equally important for the Romantics—the heirs of the Elizabethans in many ways—that the poet and playwright George Chapman, too, had made a powerful defence of obscurity:

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[6] On 3 February 1818, Keats argued that poetry should be ‘unobtrusive’ towards readers, criticising the Wordsworthian egotistical sublimity which appeared to impose ‘a palpable design upon us’ (*LJK*, I, 224).

[7] See, for example, John Press, *The Chequer’d Shade: Reflections on Obscurity in Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 3; and Andrew Bennett, *Keats, Narrative and Audience: The Posthumous Life of Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 29–30, 192, n. 42.

[8] [Francis Jeffrey], review of John Keats, *Endymion: A Poetic Romance* (1818) and *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems* (1820), *Edinburgh Review*, August 1820, pp. 203–13 (p. 203).

[9] [Edmund Burke], *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: Dodsley, 1757), p. 44.

[10] In his seventh *Discourse* at the Royal Academy, Reynolds declared: ‘We will allow a poet to express his meaning, when his meaning is not well known to himself, with a certain degree of obscurity, as it is one source of the sublime’ (*The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight*, 3rd edn, corrected, 3 vols (London: Cadell, Jun. and Davies, 1801), I, 193–94).

> Obscuritie in affection of words, and indigested conceits, is pedanticall and childish; but where it shroudeth itselfe in the hart of his subject, uttered with fitnes of figure, and expressiue epethites; with that darknes wil I still labour to be shaddowed.[11]

Chapman's first published poem, *The Shadow of Night* (1594), was criticised precisely for its phraseological obscurity.[12] In publishing his second poem the following year, he sought to combat the criticism by making the self-defence as quoted above. An admirer of Chapman's translation of Homer, Keats also appreciated the 'expressiue' potentialities in obscurity. For example, John Milton's *Paradise Lost* gave him the impression that it successfully intensified its own beauties because the words were, as the younger poet saw them, 'put in a Mist'.[13] In Keats's view, Milton shrouded expressions in his sublime epic, so that the 'darknes' should appear to be more visually engaging to the mind's eye. Despite obscurity's potential for confusing readers, Keats often luxuriated in 'being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts' (*LJK*, I, 193) with respect to those 'shaddowed' passages that would help to stir his imagination.

This chapter aims to demonstrate that, in *Endymion*, Keats employed obscurity to indicate his own dim sense of futurity and, more specifically, of posterity. In 1814, the Rev. John Mitford declared that 'some degree of obscurity must always attend the *prophetic poem*'.[14] For Keats, writing a long poem was a prognostic 'test' of his own 'poetical fame':

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[11] Quoted from 'Dedication to Chapman's *Ovid's Banquet of Sence*', in Sir Egerton Brydges, *Restituta; or, Titles, Extracts, and Characters of Old Books in English Literature, Revived*, 4 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814–16), II (1815), 53–54 (p. 54).

[12] See Havelock Ellis, *Chapman* (Bloomsbury: Nonesuch Press, 1934), p. 14.

[13] Quoted from *KPL*, p. 77. Keats's annotation refers to *Paradise Lost*, I. 321.

[14] John Mitford, 'Essay on the Poetry of Gray', in *The Poems of Thomas Gray*, ed. by John Mitford (London: White, Cochrane, 1814), pp. cxi–clxxxiv (p. cliv).

he considered the composition of *Endymion* a touchstone to judge whether he could make ‘a Poet’ in the end (*LJK*, I, 169). In his precursory mythological attempt, ‘I Stood Tip-Toe upon a Little Hill’, Keats had concluded the lines in a somewhat unconfident way: ‘Was there a Poet born?’ (241).[15] By trying at an enlarged version of the same myth, *Endymion*, Keats was this time more seriously expecting to ‘throw any light to posterity’ (*LJK*, I, 139): ‘Will there be’, he might well have asked, ‘a poet born?’ As Mitford argued, obscurity could serve as a proper mode of expression specifically for ‘the *prophetic poem*’—in which the reader would anticipate with the poet a dim vision of futurity.

Indeed, as John Hamilton Reynolds put it in his review of *Endymion*, ‘[p]osterity is a difficult mark to hit’: ‘The journey of fame is an endless one’.[16] Yet, as Andrew Bennett has shown, it is also true that the Romantics invented and embraced the very idea of ‘reception infinitely but undecidably deferred to the future’.[17] In a way perhaps most indicative of those writers’ consciousness, William Hazlitt’s 1814 essay ‘On Posthumous Fame’ quoted Wordsworth’s lines addressing some wished-for ‘eternal praise’ after one’s ‘mortal days’:

> Blessings be with them, and eternal praise,
> The poets—who on earth have made us heirs
> Of truth and pure delight in deathless lays!
> Oh! might my name be number’d among theirs,
> Then gladly would I end my mortal days![18]

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[15] On 17 December 1816, Keats referred to ‘I Stood Tip-Toe’ as ‘Endymion’ (*LJK*, I, 121); at the end of the month, Haydon also called the same poem ‘Diana and Endymion’ (*CTT*, II, 30).

[16] G. M. Matthews, ed., *Keats: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1971), pp. 119–20.

[17] Bennett, *Keats, Narrative and Audience*, p. 9.

[18] Quoted from *CWWH*, IV, 22. The full title of Hazlitt’s essay reads: ‘On Posthumous Fame,—Whether Shakspeare Was Influenced by a Love of it?’ First published in the *Examiner* for 22 May

Arguably, Keats's engagement with the idea of posterity in *Endymion* deserves further scrutiny, especially from the perspective of Haydon's influence on him.[19] It is significant that, among Keats's friends, Haydon most passionately supported the poet's prophetic 'trial' for self-realization. Keats was writing his large-scale poem while beholding and admiring the ways in which Haydon seemed to be about to gain fame as a great historical painter (Figure 3.1). During the period of composition and revision of the poem, from the spring of 1817 to early 1818, Keats witnessed the development of *Christ's Entry*—which he called 'a part of myself'—having been 'tinted into immortality' (*LJK*, I, 264). In fact, Haydon's picture carried notable prophetic undertones. By modelling the face of Christ after the artist himself, Haydon tacitly represented his own 'conscious prophetic power' as a self-styled saviour of English painting.[20] The dynamism of clarity and obscurity pervading the canvas intimated the

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1814 (pp. 335–36), the piece was reprinted in *The Round Table: A Collection of Essays on Literature, Men, and Manners*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Constable, 1817), I, 71–78. Hazlitt's quotation is from lines 51–56 (but without line 52 and with slight modifications) of Wordsworth's 1807 poem beginning 'I am not One who much or oft delight' (see William Wordsworth, *'Poems, in Two Volumes', and Other Poems, 1800–1807*, ed. by Jared Curtis (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 253–55 (p. 255)). In a letter to Haydon of 20 October 1842, Elizabeth Barrett Barrett also commented that 'Keats was indeed a fine genius' while quoting part of Wordsworth's lines (*IF*, pp. 4–5).

[19] Bennett focuses on several aspects of Keats's solecism (such as the dilatory and the digressive in *Endymion*) as what evinces the poet's 'anxiety of audience', a concern about 'an unwritten future' and about 'the history of a poem's reception' (*Keats, Narrative and Audience*, p. 23). Some passing references to *Endymion* are also in other recent studies about Romanticism and posterity (see Andrew Bennett, *Romantic Poets and the Culture of Posterity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and H. J. Jackson, *Those Who Write for Immortality: Romantic Reputations and the Dream of Lasting Fame* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015)).

[20] [Benjamin Robert Haydon], *Description of Mr. Haydon's Picture of Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem, and Other Pictures; Now Exhibiting at Bullock's Great Room, Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly* (London: Reynell, 1820), p. 8. In 1849, Bailey recalled that, 'during the progress of the picture', 'Haydon's friends thought [the figure of Christ] to bear too close a resemblance to the face of the Artist himself' (*KC*, II, 281); see also the Introduction, pp. 17–19. Haydon, a redeemer of public taste, regarded the Royal Academy as 'the great head of the Corruption of the Art' (*Diary*, II, 113).

somewhat egomaniac artist's own potential triumphant entry into the history of European Great Masters.

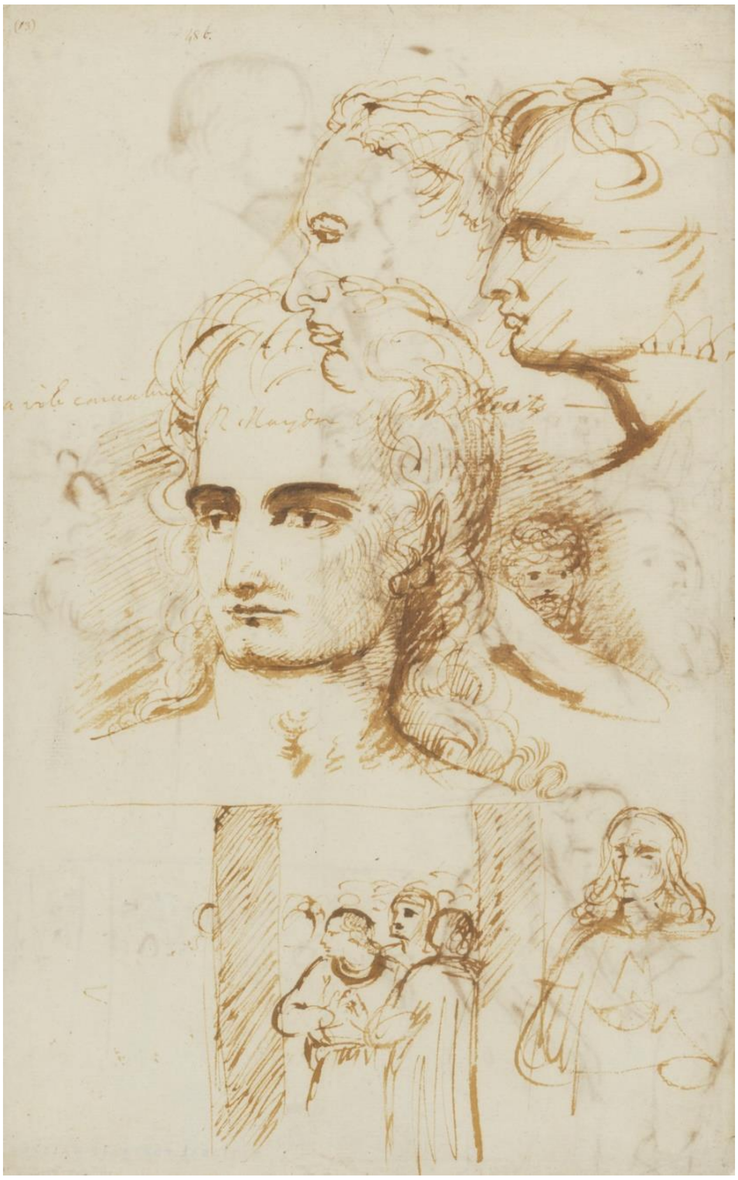

Figure 3.1 John Keats and Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Benjamin Robert Haydon; John Keats*, 1816, pen and ink, 20.3 × 7 cm, © National Portrait Gallery, London[21]

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[21] 'At the bottom of the page is a sketch of Keats's animated profile between two pillars, as he was to appear in *Christ's Entry*' (*BRH*, pp. 125–26). In the finished painting, as well as another sketch for it, Keats directs his keen eyes straight towards the artist-redeemer, standing as an ardent observer of the advent (see Figure 0.2; and *Diary*, II, 78). Haydon's note (written above the middle) reveals that the topmost figure, to the left of his self-portrait, was Keats's 'vile caricature' of the artist. Keats made this playful drawing on 19 November 1816 at Haydon's studio (see Chapter 1, pp. 28–29).

It is notable that *Endymion* and *Christ's Entry* were not only equally huge both in scale and in subject but that these parallel enterprises also seem to have embodied those lights and shades that accompanied the two men's respective pursuits for fame. Haydon was an enthusiastic motivator of, and catalyst for, Keats. This chapter will draw attention to the possibility that the painter's towering presence might have appeared to the poet even to overshadow—and to eclipse—the path of his own 'poor endeavour after fame' (*Endymion*, I. 847) with his poem. As such, Keats was perhaps modest about the value of his own 'poor' work, while comparing it with the intensity of Haydon's 'immortality' which was evidently about to materialize.[22] In what follows, I will first look at the ways in which Haydon stood behind Keats's struggling hunt after fame in *Endymion*, examining how the poet was trying to cope with the eminences not only of what he called 'the mighty dead' (I. 21) but also of his friend the older painter.[23] I will then explore Keats's intimation of posterity in his obscure texture, with specific reference to Haydon's ideas about posthumous fame.

THE PROBLEM OF FAME

While Haydon was embodying a spectacular appearance of the artist-hero himself on the canvas, Keats was also pondering how to 'enter' the history of English literature by working on his 'Haydonesque' poem. The hero Endymion's 'endeavour after fame' was arguably indicating the poet's own. 'The very music of the name [of Endymion] has gone | Into my being', Keats writes (I. 36–37). Thus, as he launches into the narrative, the poet seems to identify himself with the hero. The etymology of the name 'Endymion' hints at the move 'to enter into, sink into, plunge into, dive; to set'.[24] He was once regarded as 'a solar deity'—or 'a personification of the Setting Sun Sinking into the Sea' following the shadows of the moon goddess, Cynthia, disappearing over the horizon.[25] 'In Endymion', Keats also remarked on 8 October 1818, 'I leaped headlong into the Sea' (*LJK*, I, 374). Through his self-identification with the hero—'*I* leaped headlong into the Sea'—the poet was 'diving' into the realms of uncertainty in the text, albeit recklessly, in order to attain fame with his own writing.[26] For illustration, Endymion's descent into the underworld in Book II not only visualizes the hero's ardent quest after the goddess. The scene also seems to suggest the poet's own ambition to 'enter' eventually among the constellation of the mighty dead:

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[22] Whereas Charles Cowden Clarke reckoned *Endymion* as 'the most important attempt, perhaps, ever made in epic composition by a youth of two-and-twenty', the finished poem (whose subtitle reads 'A Poetic Romance') was in fact rather a complicated composite of both epic and romance (Cowden Clarke's words, quoted in Mary Cowden Clarke, 'A Friend of John Keats', *Illustrated London News*, 15 February 1896, p. 210).

[23] Keats might also have owed the phrase 'the mighty dead' to Haydon. In a letter to Keats of March 1817, a month before the poet set about *Endymion*, Haydon wrote that he himself was eager to rival those 'immortal glories' that 'the mighty dead' had achieved (*LJK*, I, 124).

> 'Twas far too strange, and wonderful for sadness;
> Sharpening, by degrees, his appetite
> To dive into the deepest. Dark, nor light,
> The region; nor bright, nor sombre wholly,
> But mingled up; a gleaming melancholy;
> A dusky empire and its diadems;
> One faint eternal eventide of gems. (II. 219–25)

The ambivalence in these lines literally 'mingle[s] up' various lights and shades. On the one hand, the rhetorical opacity here mirrors the lovesick hero's oscillations in his mind. The road of his quest, or 'appetite', for the elusive goddess is indeed not 'bright' and yet not 'sombre wholly'. The mind of the hero with 'a gleaming melancholy' repeatedly swings forwards and backwards. It is these emotional alternations—coloured in poetic chiaroscuro—that drive this *Bildungsreise* towards his wished-for bright futurity. On the other hand, the passage also implies the poet's desire for, and his anxiety about, obtaining fame with this very work. No matter how obscure and 'faint' his phraseology might appear, he tried to present to readers a vision of the future: at the end of this literary quest, the poet was hoping for an 'eternal' gem of poetic renown of his own.

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[24] Ernest Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1966–67), I (1966), 521. John Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary* has no mention of this etymology. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that Keats remarked in his theatrical review for the *Champion* for 4 January 1818: 'The title of an old play gives us a direct taste and surmise of its inwards, as the first lines of the Paradise Lost smack of the great Poem' (p. 10). For the authorship of this review, published anonymously, see Leonidas M. Jones, 'Keats's Theatrical Reviews in the *Champion*', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 3 (Winter 1954), 55–65; and *LJK*, I, 195–96.

[25] Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, I, 521.

[26] For Keats's identification of himself with the hero, see also *LJK*, I, 160.

Haydon was much interested in the progress of *Endymion* since he had been given by Keats a fair copy of its proto-narrative, 'I Stood Tip-Toe', some time in late 1816 or early 1817.[27] In the spring of 1817, Haydon, a largely self-educated painter, urged Keats, too, to be 'alone' for a while to 'improve' his creative capacity (*LJK*, I, 125). Dutifully following the advice of the charismatic painter, the poet soon afterwards found himself in the Isle of Wight. While devoting himself to composing the long poem under secluded conditions, Keats was occasionally consoled and encouraged by Haydon through correspondence. On the wall of his temporary lodgings at Carisbrooke, Keats also 'pinned up Haydon' (*LJK*, I, 130)—some talismanic sketch by him—to begin *Endymion*.[28] Just as he reckoned William Shakespeare as a mighty 'Presider' (*LJK*, I, 142) of the past over his own writing, the young poet respected the painter as a contemporary great guardian spirit who would cheer up his and his hero's gloomy 'uncertain path' (I. 61) in the poem.

It seems that Haydon read part of Keats's newly begun poem as early as 8 May 1817:

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[27] See *TKP*, pp. 122–24; and Chapter 1, p. 59.

[28] Along with Haydon's sketch, whose subject is uncertain, Keats seems to have pasted 'in a row' prints of 'Mary Queen [of] Scotts [*sic*]' and 'Milton with his daughters' (*LJK*, I, 130).

> I have read your delicious Poem, with exquisite enjoyment, it is the most delightful thing of the time—You have taken up the great trumpet of nature and made it sound with a voice of your own— […] You will realize all I wish or expect—Success attend you my glorious fellow […]. (*LJK*, I, 136)

In 1958, Hyder Edward Rollins suspected the 'delicious Poem' to be Keats's earlier sonnet 'On the Sea'.[29] However, Haydon's high-sounding words—'the great trumpet of nature'—seem hardly applicable to the sedate and rather subdued atmosphere of 'On the Sea'. As John Barnard has recently suggested, Haydon is more likely to have commented on the opening of *Endymion*.[30] There, the poet declares that he would 'send | [His] herald thought into a wilderness' and 'let its trumpet blow' hereafter on his poetic field (I. 58–60). In a way that corresponds to Haydon's phraseology, the poet has just 'taken up' his bold 'trumpet' to disseminate 'a voice of [his] own'. However, pace Barnard, it is unlikely that, by 8 May, Haydon had read 'as far as the "Hymn to Pan" (I, 232–306)'.[31] According to Haydon's marginal note in his own copy of *Endymion*, it was not until 'one summer evening' of 1817 that he first gained access to the 'Hymn' at a suburb of London:

> I was walking with Keats one summer evening in the Kilburn meadows, when he had just written the sublime Ode or Address to Pan. He repeated the whole in a trembling

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[29] See *LJK*, I, 136, n. 2 (for no. 24). Rollins notes that Keats had sent to Haydon a letter 'containing the sonnet' before 8 May 1817 (ibid., I, 136, n. 1 (for no. 24)), but there is no evidence of this.

[30] See John Barnard, 'Keats's "Forebodings": Margate, Spring 1817, and After', *Romanticism*, 21.1 (April 2015), 1–13 (p. 4). The *British Critic* for June 1818 also called *Endymion* 'the most delicious poem, of its kind' (p. 649). Originally, in his 1953 essay, Rollins conceded that Haydon's reference might have been to 'an extract from the first book of *Endymion*' ('Keats's Misdated Letters', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 7.2 (Spring 1953), 172–87 (p. 177)).

[31] Barnard, 'Keats's "Forebodings"', p. 4. Robert Gittings and Andrew Motion also consider that Haydon was referring to the 'Hymn to Pan' (see, respectively, *John Keats* (London: Heinemann, 1968), pp. 131–33; and *Keats* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), p. 173).

> tone of feeling and nervous flush of cheek that kept me mute till he had done. I was impressed with its beauty, and I heard him, as Milton says of the angel, 'long after'. His manner and the music of his delivery affected me so touchingly, and still resounded in my ears.—Poor dear Keats! hadst thou never met Hunt, your fate would have been different!—B. R. H.[32]

Haydon annotated in this way at least after the death of '[p]oor dear Keats' in 1821. It is true that, as is often the case with him, Haydon's recollections are not always fully reliable. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Haydon was impressed by—and, as Keats later reported to his brothers, was in fact 'struck with' (*LJK*, I, 213)—the earlier part of *Endymion*.

As the reference to Leigh Hunt in the note quoted above suggests, while the poet was writing *Endymion*, Haydon was concentrating on alienating Keats from the sway of the editor of the *Examiner*. The famous antagonism between Haydon and Hunt around that time even created, in the words of Nicholas Roe, 'one of the founding myths of English Romanticism': 'Keats achieved poetic greatness by throwing off the disreputable influence of Hunt'.[33]

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[32] Quoted from J. Russell Endean, 'Haydon's Notes on Keats', *Athenæum*, 3 April 1897, p. 446. It was possibly on 11 February 1824 that Haydon made this note (see *Diary*, II, 463, where he recalled '[Keats's] repeating to me that exquisite ode to Pan'). In late December 1817 (shortly before the famous 'immortal dinner' hosted by the painter), at the house of Thomas Monkhouse, Haydon also 'begged Keats to repeat' the 'Hymn to Pan' before Wordsworth. The older poet's comment, 'a Very pretty piece of Paganism', was perhaps not as enthusiastic as Haydon had expected. That was probably the reason why Haydon later invented a myth that Keats was 'wounded' by Wordsworth's 'unfeeling' reply and that the young poet afterwards 'never forgave him' (*KC*, II, 143–44). As several recent studies have shown, it is more likely that Keats took Wordsworth's reply instead as a compliment (see Jack Stillinger, *Romantic Complexity: Keats, Coleridge, and Wordsworth* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), pp. 20–21; and *JKNL*, pp. 195–97).

[33] Nicholas Roe, 'Leigh Hunt and Romantic Biography', in *Romanticism, History, Historicism: Essays on an Orthodoxy*, ed. by Damian Walford Davies (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 203–20 (p. 213). As Roe argues, even after having seemingly 'cut off' his own early intimate relationship with Hunt, Keats remained attentive to his politics and poetics as a regular reader of the *Examiner*.

‘Nothing if not energetic’, as William A. Ulmer puts it, ‘Haydon ardently encouraged Keats’s desire for greatness in ways that Hunt’s smaller-scale sensibility could not readily manage’.[34] Keats’s vocabulary from late 1816 onwards actually began to reflect that of what he called the ‘glorious Haydon’ (*LJK*, I, 114). By fashioning himself into a man who would ‘ever feel athirst for glory’ (‘This Pleasant Tale Is Like a Little Copse’, 11), Keats now decided to pursue great poetic fame through composing a Haydonesque, gargantuan poem;[35] to the eyes of Haydon, meanwhile, Hunt appeared to be the ‘great unhinger’ of Keats’s glorious career (*Diary*, II, 317).

There was, in fact, a specific reason for Haydon to be watchful against Hunt’s hold over the writing of Keats at the time. In 1816, the year before Keats commenced *Endymion*, John Hamilton Reynolds had dedicated his own collection of poems, *The Naiad*, ‘TO BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON, ESQ.’[36] While Reynolds’s dedication would have pleased the manifestly self-obsessed artist, the problem was that the volume soon received a bad press. For instance, the *Critical Review* censured Reynolds’s ‘poetical prettinesses’, accusing him of ‘intellectual near-sightedness’ which disregarded ‘the grand or the sublime’.[37] Moreover, the *Augustan Review* denounced Reynolds’s work as ‘one of the most splendid specimens of *namby-pamby*’; the magazine ascribed the affectation and effeminacy of his style to Hunt's negative influence on the author.[38] Haydon, perhaps more than Reynolds, was likely to be mortified by these scathing reviews. Obviously, the alleged effeminate '*namby-pamby*' was at odds with the dedicatee's ideals of masculine greatness in art. These somewhat embarrassing circumstances led Haydon himself to find fault with 'the maukish [*sic*], unmanly namby pamby effeminacy' in Hunt's taste.[39] In the spring of 1817, Haydon also protested at Hunt's objection to Keats's 'grand' venture of *Endymion*:

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[34] William A. Ulmer, *John Keats: Reimagining History* (Cham: Macmillan, 2017), p. 158.

[35] Haydon was seeking to ‘be the founder of a great School’ in England and to ‘raise [his] glorious Country to a great name in Art’: for that ‘great object’, as he saw it, he ‘worked gloriously’ (*Diary*, II, 75–76). For Haydon’s expounding of this idea to Keats, see *LJK*, I, 416. For Keats’s usage of the words ‘great’ and ‘glorious’, see also *LJK*, I, 134, 139; and Nicholas Roe, ‘Address to the Keats-Shelley Association of America, January 10, 2015’, *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 64 (2015), 29–34 (p. 29).

[36] Dedication, in [John Hamilton Reynolds], *The Naiad: A Tale: With Other Poems* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1816), unpaginated. The full dedication reads: ‘TO BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON, ESQ. THIS TALE IS INSCRIBED BY ONE, WHO ADMIRES HIS GENIUS, AND VALUES HIS FRIENDSHIP’. For Haydon’s reference to this dedication, see *Diary*, II, 102.

[37] *Critical Review,* October 1816, pp. 344–45.

> Keats knows his duty, and has too sound a capacity to be deluded an instant. The way Hunt satisfies himself that all his imperfections are perfections is quite amusing. […] He has too much idleness to write a large Poem, & if you speak of Epics, he thinks it all a mistake to write long works. Poor dear Ht., he'll now go no where but where he is pampered with flatt'ry. He cannot bear opposition. (*Diary*, II, 108)[40]

Haydon hoped that Keats would no longer be 'deluded'—as Reynolds had been—by Hunt's 'namby pamby' poetics. Keats was in this way at first caught between Hunt and Haydon, two important contemporaries whom the poet later called 'jealous Neighbours' in London (*LJK*, I, 169).[41] Yet Keats at last pursued his original way towards 'a large Poem', which was most likely to gratify the self-assured artist. Haydon asked Keats never to 'show [his] Lines to Hunt on any account' (*LJK*, I, 169) for fear that such an act should lessen the value of this great poetic undertaking. Haydon thus sought to put Keats under his own authority, and the poet was also ingenious enough to echo the painter's voice from time to time to please him.

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[38] *Augustan Review*, October 1816, p. 346.

[39] Haydon's marginal note in his copy of Thomas Medwin's *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824), reproduced in Duncan Gray and Violet W. Walker, 'Benjamin Robert Haydon on Byron and Others', *Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin, Rome*, 7 (1956), 14–26 (p. 24).

[40] For Haydon's ideas of epic poetry, see *Diary*, I, 57; and Chapter 4.

[41] In late September 1817, Haydon moved from 41 Great Marlborough Street to 22 Lisson Grove North, and Hunt's house was at that time at 13 Lisson Grove North (see *Diary*, II, 129, 131).

For instance, Keats's anxiety that he, the author of *Endymion*, might be treated in the press as 'Hunt's elevé [*sic*]' (*LJK*, I, 170) in an unfavourable way seemed to have mirrored Haydon's own concerns.

Keats's ambition for great fame, significantly inspired by Haydon, motivated the poet himself to 'espy | A hope beyond the shadow of a dream' (*Endymion*, I. 856–57), an uncertain yet serious expectation about his possible entry into the canon of the English poets. Weeks after getting on his new poem in high heroic couplets, Keats declared to Haydon: 'I pray God that our brazen Tombs be nigh neighbors' (*LJK*, I, 141). In this letter, Keats preceded these prefigurative words with Shakespeare's lines about immortal 'Fame':

> Let Fame, which all hunt after in their Lives,
> Live register'd upon our brazen tombs,
> And so grace us in the disgrace of death:
> When spite of cormorant devouring time
> The endeavour of this present breath may buy
> That Honor which shall bate his Scythe's keen edge
> And make us heirs of all eternity.[42]

Through his friendship with Haydon, Keats came to hope that both the painter and the poet himself would become 'heirs of all eternity' after their deaths. Keats's original, unpublished Preface to *Endymion* reads: 'I have written to please myself and in hopes to please others'—presumably including Haydon—'and for a love of fame' (*PJK*, p. 739). Witnessing the poet's initial struggles with composition and his 'love of fame' (which was in fact invigorated by the painter's own), Haydon repeatedly encouraged and gave comfort to Keats. Haydon's

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[42] Quoted from *LJK*, I, 140–41. Keats is quoting (with minor variations) from *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. 1. 1–7; see also the Epilogue, pp. 235–38.

Examiner article about the fate of Napoleon also served as a special relief for Keats. 'The great thing', Haydon proclaimed, 'is to have adversity at the proper time': 'Happy is he whose fire has been tempered by early misfortune, and whom success has not flattered to believe failure impossible'.[43] For the young poet, who had long been suffering from 'a horrid Morbidity of Temperament', it was indeed 'very gratifying' to come across the idea as expressed in Haydon's timely article (*LJK*, I, 142, 144).

Later, in August 1817, having finished drafting Book II of *Endymion*, Keats signed off a letter to Haydon with the curious phrase: 'Your's [*sic*] like a Pyramid John Keats' (*LJK*, I, 149). By associating himself with ancient Egyptian building, Keats seemed to avow himself to remain a steadfast eyewitness of Haydon's tutelary genius: as well as the poet himself, his large-scale poem ('like a Pyramid') would stand hereafter as an enduring monument to his inspirational friend, a great pharaoh of art.[44] Keats's usage of some tower-like images from late 1816 onwards might also have pointed to his ambition to attain a certain literary 'eminence' with his own work. A prologue to his bold ascent to Parnassus, or 'the Temple of Fame' (*LJK*, I, 170), had possibly been 'I Stood Tip-Toe upon a *Little Hill*'.[45] Keats then resolved to develop the same mythological theme in *Endymion* to climb a further eminence, 'the Cliff of Poesy' (*LJK*, I, 141), which could lead him to the Elysium of the mighty dead (Figure 3.2).[46] As it happens, shortly before beginning to work on Book III, Keats recollected a specific line of Milton: ‘something like prophetic strain’ (*LJK*, I, 150).[47] As we will see below, especially towards the latter part of *Endymion*, Keats’s obscure prophecy became more reflective of his own—and perhaps also Haydon’s—ideas about posthumous fame.

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[43] 'B. R. H.' [Benjamin Robert Haydon], 'Bonaparte: "Manuscrit venu de St. Helene"', *Examiner*, 4 May 1817, pp. 275–76 (p. 275).

[44] For Keats's allusions to pyramids, see also François Matthey, *The Evolution of Keats's Structural Imagery* (Bern: Francke, 1974), pp. 119–20.

[45] For the implications of Keats's 'little hill', see also Fiona Stafford, 'Keats, Shoots and Leaves', in *Keats's Places*, ed. by Richard Marggraf Turley (Cham: Macmillan, 2018), pp. 71–91 (pp. 72–73).

[46] In Carisbrooke, where he began *Endymion*, Keats also viewed 'a little hill' (*LJK*, I, 131)—probably Mount Joy. The name might have inspired the poem's famous opening: 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever' (see *JKNL*, pp. 163, 165).

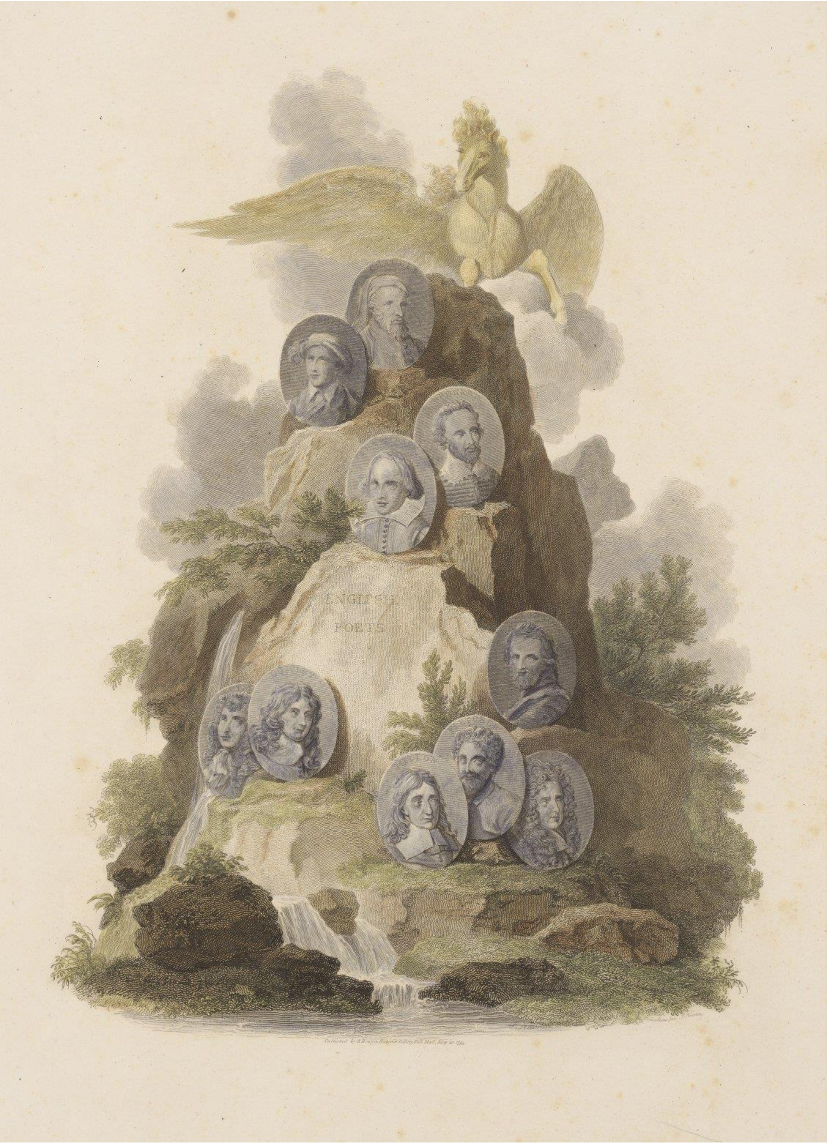

Figure 3.2 John Landseer (after Robert Smirke), *English Poets*, 1795, tinted engraving, 47.6 × 34.3 cm, courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library[48]

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[47] Keats is quoting from line 174 of Milton’s ‘Il Penseroso’.

[48] This engraving contains portraits of, among others, Geoffrey Chaucer, Edmund Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. For more about the print, see Thora Brylowe, *Romantic Art in Practice: Cultural Work and the Sister Arts, 1760–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 102, 104–05.

One of the most obscure passages in *Endymion* is arguably the following—which Keats called ‘a kind of Pleasure Thermometer’ (*LJK*, I, 218):

> Wherein lies happiness? In that which becks
> Our ready minds to fellowship divine,
> A fellowship with essence; till we shine,
> Full alchemiz’d, and free of space.
> […]
> Then old songs waken from enclouded tombs;
> Old ditties sigh above their father’s grave;
> Ghosts of melodious prophecyings rave
> Round every spot where trod Apollo’s foot […]. (I. 777–80, 787–90)

Keats was aware of some opacity—which might be potentially problematic—in these lines. Hence in a letter to the publisher John Taylor of 30 January 1818, months before the poem made its appearance, Keats had made a self-defence of the obscurity. In Keats’s estimation, Taylor was ‘a consequitive [*sic*] Man’ who might take the poet’s ambiguous but nonetheless telling passage ‘as a thing almost of mere words’, those with*out* significant meanings (*LJK*, I, 218). As Keats had put it months earlier, the Coleridgean ‘consequitive [*sic*] reasoning’ would always require an ‘irritable reaching after fact & reason’ in everything: in the view of the negatively capable poet, a person of such an extremely rigorous thinking never seemed satisfied with the uncertainty of ‘half knowledge’ nor to try to look for an expressive ‘Shadow of reality to come’ in the obscure (*LJK*, I, 185, 193–94).[49]

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[49] Keats was probably alluding to the way Samuel Taylor Coleridge discussed in his prose; in his poetry, the self-same writer appears to have been interested precisely in the effects of obscurity (see Leonard Epp, ‘Coleridge and Romantic Obscurity’, *Literature Compass*, 1 (2004), 1–6).

Keats considered that with a disinterested capacity—or ‘[h]umility and capability of submission’ (*LJK*, I, 184)—the reader could appreciate obscurity’s potential implications more fully in the text. The lines of ‘Pleasure Thermometer’ indeed contain several uncertain, mysterious, and doubtful terms. What the poet calls ‘happiness’ involves one’s ‘fellowship’ with something ‘divine’. As a result of this mystical unification, one’s mortal existence would undergo some transformation and be placed even outside the restrictions of the here-and-now: ‘free of space’. To borrow the words of William Hazlitt, whose *Essay on the Principles of Human Action* (1805) was a primary influence on Keats’s idea of sympathetic imagination, the lines in question essentially address the problem of one’s capacity to ‘throw himself forward into the future’ and to ‘anticipate’ even ‘unreal events’ which appear to be beyond the shadow of a dream (*CWWH*, I, 21). Hazlitt’s *Essay* also argued that, by ‘entering into the feelings and interests of others’, one would also be ‘influenced by them’ reciprocally in the end (*CWWH*, I, 21). Endymion has long desired ‘to slake | [His] thirst for the world’s praises’ (I. 769–70); but he now asks more of Cynthia’s heavenly beauty which might be gained through his ethereal fellowship with her. Just like his hero, the poet had a ‘ready mind’: his poetic prophecy was most likely bespeaking his own readiness for a potential reception by a future readership who might confer immortal fame on him.

Keats’s ‘gradations of Happiness’ (*LJK*, I, 218) in the ‘Pleasure Thermometer’ appear to have reflected, at least in part, his innate orientation towards posterity. As early as August 1816, Keats had proclaimed that ‘posterity’s award’ should be by far ‘richer’ than any ‘living pleasures of the bard’ (‘To my Brother George’ (epistle), 67–68).[50] As Paul de Man says, Keats’s literary life was ‘almost always oriented toward the future’.[51] It is significant that the

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[50] For the composition of this verse epistle, see *TKP*, p. 115.

[51] Paul de Man, ‘Introduction’, in John Keats, *Selected Poetry*, ed. by Paul de Man (New York: New American Library, 1966), pp. ix–xxxvi (p. xi).

‘Pleasure Thermometer’ has several allusions to literary shades and shadows of the mighty dead whom Keats admired—as witness his phrases such as ‘old songs’, ‘Old ditties’, and ‘melodious prophecyings’. In the spring of 1818, Keats addressed *Endymion* to two of those immortal authors of ‘old songs’: Shakespeare and Thomas Chatterton. The title page printed the words ‘THE STRETCHED METRE OF AN ANTIQUE SONG’, a line quoted from Shakespeare’s seventeenth sonnet; the dedication specified that his poetic romance was ‘INSCRIBED TO THE MEMORY OF THOMAS CHATTERTON’.[52] In Keats’s view, not only Chatterton but also Shakespeare was a sort of neglected genius, at least for some time during his life:

> One of the great reasons that the english have produced the finest writers in the world; is, that the English world has ill-treated them during their lives and foster’d them after their deaths. They have in general been trampled aside into the bye paths of life and seen the festerings of Society. They have not been treated like the Raphaels of Italy. […] The middle age of Shakspeare was all couded [*sic*] over; his days were not more happy than Hamlet’s who is perhaps more like Shakspeare himself in his common every day Life than any other of his Characters […]. (*LJK*, II, 115–16)

With the word ‘couded’, Keats meant ‘clouded’—dimmed, darkened, shrouded in mist.[53] The poet’s references to the cloudy are often equivocal. At one time, as in the passage quoted above, the clouding of a person’s existence would indicate the obscuring of one’s fame in a negative sense. At another, cloudy imageries also appear in his writings to present some positive ideas that might provide a dim prospect of bright futurity. The ‘Ode on Melancholy’, for example, draws on ‘a weeping cloud, | That fosters the droop-headed flowers all’ (12–13).

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[52] John Keats, *Endymion: A Poetic Romance* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), unpaginated.

[53] See *LJK*, II, 116, n. 8; and *Selected Letters of John Keats*, ed. by Grant F. Scott, rev. edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 304.

With this image, the poet implies melancholy's revivifying potentiality which could transform one's dejected soul and might place it at last as high as 'among her cloudy trophies' (30). Having finished drafting *Endymion*, Keats furthermore contemplated some '[h]uge cloudy symbols of a high romance' in the night sky; he thus expressed his wishes to continue reproducing those obscure 'shadows' on his poetic texture ('When I Have Fears that I May Cease to Be', 6, 8).[54] Taken in this context, Keats's allusion to '*enclouded* tombs' in the 'Pleasure Thermometer' seems to intimate not only the poet's inspirations from the works of the mighty dead; it also suggests his vague expectation that any mortal obscuring—or clouding—of his existence as a poet might be replaced by a posthumous trophy of fame in the future.

As such, *Endymion* seems to stand as Keats's purposely obscurantist work: he filled its four thousand lines with many suggestive, 'melodious prophecyings' about the possibility of becoming 'a Poet' and entering 'among the English Poets after [his] death' (*LJK*, I, 169, 394). It is noteworthy that Haydon could have significantly promoted Keats's ideas of posthumous fame. Indeed, Haydon was able to bask in many glorifications of his own artistic talent by contemporary writers, including Keats.[55] Nevertheless, it is also true that the public as often as not dismissed his large-scale historical paintings. The painter, neglected in this way by most of his contemporaries, gradually began to develop an idea of expecting some redemption of his own fame in the future:

> *I'll* risk Posterity, I have no objection to go down with Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Chaucer, Michel Angelo, Raphael, Tasso, Locke, Burke, Johnson, [*an illegible name*], & Grotius, as you seem to have no difficulty in joining Voltaire, Bolingbroke, Hume, Gibbon, D'Alembert, Fontenelle, & Rousseau, David, or Girodet. (*Diary*, II, 55)

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[54] Keats wrote 'When I Have Fears that I May Cease to Be' in January 1818 (see *TKP*, pp. 161–62).

[55] See Appendix II, pp. 280–92.

Importantly, Haydon noted thus on 19 October 1816—the day he first met Keats.[56] This fact suggests the possibility that the two men might have discussed the idea of posthumous fame on that day and, possibly, after that as well. On 21 January 1830, Haydon further declared: 'I leave my Character, my Talents (such as they are) to a generation who will judge without personal spite and personal Enmity. I can't be forgotten'.[57] Haydon's expectation for posterity acted as a driving force for his own practice, while Keats also presumably learned from him about ways in which one can work for those dim promises of futurity.[58]

In the words of John Middleton Murry, 'the experiential element of [*Endymion*] ends' with the 'Cave of Quietude' (IV. 548).[59] The passage is concerned with the idea of a possible redemption of one's own merits at some point:

> There lies a den,
> Beyond the seeming confines of the space
> Made for the soul to wander in and trace
> Its own existence, of remotest glooms.
> […]
> Happy gloom!
> Dark paradise! where pale becomes the bloom
> Of health by due; where silence dreariest
> Is most articulate; where hopes infest;

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[56] See *JKNL*, pp. 102–05.

[57] Quoted from Edward Y. Lowne, 'Inedited Letter of the Late B. R. Haydon', *Notes and Queries*, 6 June 1857, pp. 441–42 (p. 442).

[58] As we have seen in Chapter 1, Wordsworth's early sonnet also hoped that Haydon would ever 'be strenuous for the bright reward, | And in *the soul* admit of no decay' (William Wordsworth, 'To B. R. Haydon, Painter', *Examiner*, 31 March 1816, p. 203).

[59] John Middleton Murry, *Keats*, 4th edn, rev. and enlarged (London: Cape, 1955), p. 176.

> Where those eyes are the brightest far that keep
> Their lids shut longest in a dreamless sleep.
> O happy spirit-home! O wondrous soul!
> Pregnant with such a den to save the whole
> In thine own depth. (IV. 512–15, 537–45)

The poet’s imaginary cave of salvation is set somewhere outside ‘the seeming confines of the space’, distant from the temporality of here-and-now. In its ‘remotest glooms’, he envisions, mortals would test the burden of their own earthly ‘existence’; once entering the cave, they would also find that all values have completely been reversed. Sorrow would be replaced by joy, silence by eloquence, and darkness by brilliance. Hence the passage contains such oxymoronic phrases as ‘Happy gloom’ and ‘Dark paradise’. The poet’s intuitive speech reveals that the cave would ‘save the whole | In [its] own depth’ at last, transforming even the neglected—possibly including the poet himself—into the celebrated of the future.

The prophetic tone seems most evident in Book IV of *Endymion*. Following the manner of Thomas Gray’s ‘The Progress of Poesy’ from Greece to England, the poet opens this final Book with an invocation to the ‘Muse of [his] native land’ who had long been ‘in a deep prophetic solitude’ (IV. 1, 9). His voice is most likely anticipating the future in which he might be enshrined ‘among the English Poets’ after his death. It is notable that, for the first time in the entire narrative, Book IV introduces a character who appears somewhat ‘alien’ to the traditional Endymion myth: an Indian Maid. As we know, she is a disguised identity of Cynthia. Indeed, we might be able to discuss her significance simply from the perspective of Keats’s interest in Orientalism and, with Nigel Leask, can take this sort of representation of India in English Romantic literature as ‘merely an appendage to classical Greece’.[60]

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[60] Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 125.

However, the way that the poet draws attention to the Indian Maid immediately after the opening revelatory verbal sketch of English poetry also suggests her potential task of fulfilling the Muse's prophecy. It is perhaps most significant that the Indian Maid figures as a most distant 'other' for Endymion. This somewhat estranged girl—to whom the poet gives no specific name—sings a plaintive roundelay alone:

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

The repetition of negative words here not only signifies the lack of what the Indian Maid asks for at present; it also allows the reader to imagine how she might enjoy her 'fair dawn | Of life' in the future. Keats later elaborated on such rhetoric of negatives in the 'Ode to Psyche'. In that ode, the poet tries sympathetically to compensate for the neglected Psyche's sense of loss. The poet calls attention to the fact that Psyche has '[n]o shrine, no grove, no oracle, no heat | Of pale-mouth'd prophet dreaming' (34–35) in the original Olympian myth; he then promises himself to serve as her 'shrine', 'grove', 'oracle', and 'prophet' in his own mind. Thus, the poet presents to readers a dim vision of some forthcoming redemption of her venerable divinity.

The Indian Maid's lamentation—and her possible sparkling of '[r]edemption'—possibly reflect Keats's own sense of the 'failure' of *Endymion* and his faint hope for gaining a posthumous ('distant' in terms of time) readership who might appreciate the poem in the future. Having finished drafting Book III, Keats told Haydon that he had already grown 'tired' of the current work and that he would now like to write 'a new Romance' (*LJK*, I, 168). In his published Preface to *Endymion*, Keats actually apologized to readers for his own poetic 'immaturity' in it, while declaring that he was still having 'some hope' for the future: 'It is just that this youngster should die away: a sad thought for me, if I had not some hope that while it is dwindling I may be plotting, and fitting myself for verses fit to live' (*PJK*, p. 102). In the Preface to *The Excursion*, Wordsworth also had somewhat modest expectations about his own poem's reception by the public: '*fit audience let me find though few*'.[61] Keats, who had contemplated a happy state in which a person could consign one's own 'darling fame' to some 'clear futurity' ('Sleep and Poetry', 359), was likely to find enough solace in Wordsworth or, more precisely, in the older poet's quotation from Milton:[62] even if actually '*few*' contemporaries valued the poem, Keats was nonetheless able to look forward to a posthumous readership as his potential '*fit audience*'.

Endymion ends with the hero's obscure but fortunate union with Cynthia, previously disguised as the Indian Maid. This conclusion may well symbolize the proleptic birth of a poet through his fellowship with a posthumous (rather than contemporary) readership. The ethnic 'distance' between Greece and India might thus have implied the poet's longing for a faraway, posthumous readership: the Indian Maid serves, at a metaphysical level, as a dim threshold of some unspecified, distant, and perhaps hopeful futurity. Endymion has long pursued the shadows of the moon goddess whose real identity is revealed only at the end of the poem: for the hero, she has been 'known Unknown' (II. 739), a figuration of something imaginable yet nonetheless not easily attainable—like posthumous fame. On 23 October 1818, in discussing *Endymion*, Richard Woodhouse confirmed Keats's marked inclination towards the future: ‘A Poet ought to write for Posterity’ (*LJK*, I, 384). In this regard, Haydon’s influence on Keats could have been equally significant:

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[61] Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, p. 39.

[62] Wordsworth is quoting (with slight modifications) from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, VII. 31.

> I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet; but I will venture to predict, that if ever the ancient, great and beautiful taste in painting revives, it will be in England.[63]

This passage was a keynote of Haydon’s propagandist magazine, the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, issued between 1816 and 1820.[64] Several other ‘prophetic’ discourses had also prefigured Keats’s composition of *Endymion*. Keats regarded his own experiment with obscurity in this ‘long Poem’ as an approach to ‘the Polar Star of Poetry’ (*LJK*, I, 170). These terms were again reminiscent of *The Excursion*. Like Keats’s hero the shepherd prince Endymion, Wordsworth’s ‘Chaldean Shepherds’ had observed ‘the Polar Star’ and other luminaries in the night sky, interpreting them as important signifiers of ‘dim futurity’ for mortals.[65]

In May 1818, after reading and re-reading *Endymion*, Benjamin Bailey finally came to feel inclined to defend its prophetic and most obscure conclusion:

> The 4th book, which I at first thought inferior, I *now* think as fine, & perhaps finer than any. […] Nor do I think the abrupt conclusion so bad—it is *rather*, but not *much* too abrupt. It is like the conclusion of Paradise Regained. (*KC*, I, 25)

The last lines of *Endymion* portray the scene in which Peona, the hero’s sister, ‘went | Home through the gloomy wood in wonderment’ (IV. 1002–03). It is meaningful that Bailey compared the conclusion of *Endymion* not to that of *Paradise Lost* but to that of *Paradise*

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[63] From early 1818 onwards, as a rule, the *Annals* printed these words on the title page as their motto. It was a slightly modified quotation from Jonathan Richardson’s *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London: Churchill, 1715), p. 211. Haydon himself quoted from Richardson’s *Essay* several times in his own writings (see, for example, *Lectures*, I, 39, 105).

[64] For discussion of this magazine, see Chapter 6 and Appendix III.

[65] Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, p. 150; IV. 690, 693, 702.

Regained. At the end of *Paradise Lost*, Milton gives a melancholy picture in which Adam and Eve find their 'solitary way' through Eden.[66] On the other hand, *Paradise Regained* closes with a triumphant image of Christ on 'his way with joy' back to home.[67] That is, even if he agreed with the poet's self-castigation of *Endymion* as an immature attempt, Bailey nonetheless took its 'abrupt' and partly elliptical ending as Keats's not altogether pessimistic prospects about the possibility of gaining fame with this work: Bailey seems to have regarded the fragmentary closure as an effective means of suggesting the poet's promising expectation for the future. On 22 December 1818, Keats also told Haydon that 'I am certainly more for greatness in a Shade than in the open day': 'as a mortal', he added, 'I should say I value more the Priviledge [*sic*] of seeing great things in loneliness—than the fame of a Prophet' (*LJK*, I, 414). In this way, Keats expressed his desires to enjoy popularity 'in a Shade', rather than in 'the open day' of his contemporary fashionable society: the poet was presumably expecting that, after his death, a posthumous readership might recognize his literary 'greatness' and could bestow him immortal fame.

CONTEMPLATING THE FUTURE

On 21 March 1818, about a month before the publication of *Endymion*, Keats wrote to Haydon: 'I should like to bring out my Dentatus at the time your Epic makes its appearance' (*LJK*, I, 251). While admiring *Christ's Entry* as Haydon's great 'Epic', Keats called *Endymion* 'my Dentatus'.[68] Keats was alluding to Haydon's 1809 historical painting, *The*

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[66] *The Poems of John Milton*, ed. by John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London: Longmans, 1968), p. 1060; XII. 649.

[67] Ibid., p. 1167; IV. 638.

[68] It was as late as 1820 that Haydon finished *Christ's Entry*. John Thelwall also referred to *Christ's Entry* as an 'epic' picture (*Champion*, 3 March 1821, p. 131). For the denomination of an 'epic' genre of painting, see *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli, Esq.*, ed. by John Knowles, 3 vols (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1831), II, 156–57; *Lectures*, I, 299–307, 319; and 'On Imagination and Invention in Epic Painting', *Arnold's Magazine of the Fine Arts*, February 1834, pp. 363–65.

Assassination of Dentatus (Figure 3.3). It has been normal to consider that, in this letter, Keats was just 'jokingly transposing their two arts'.[69] It also seems probable that, as Ian Jack points out, Keats was seeing parallels between the painter's and his own equally high-minded work, 'suggesting that *Endymion*, like Haydon's earlier "Dentatus", was its creator's first attempt on a large scale' (*KMA*, p. 251, n. 11).

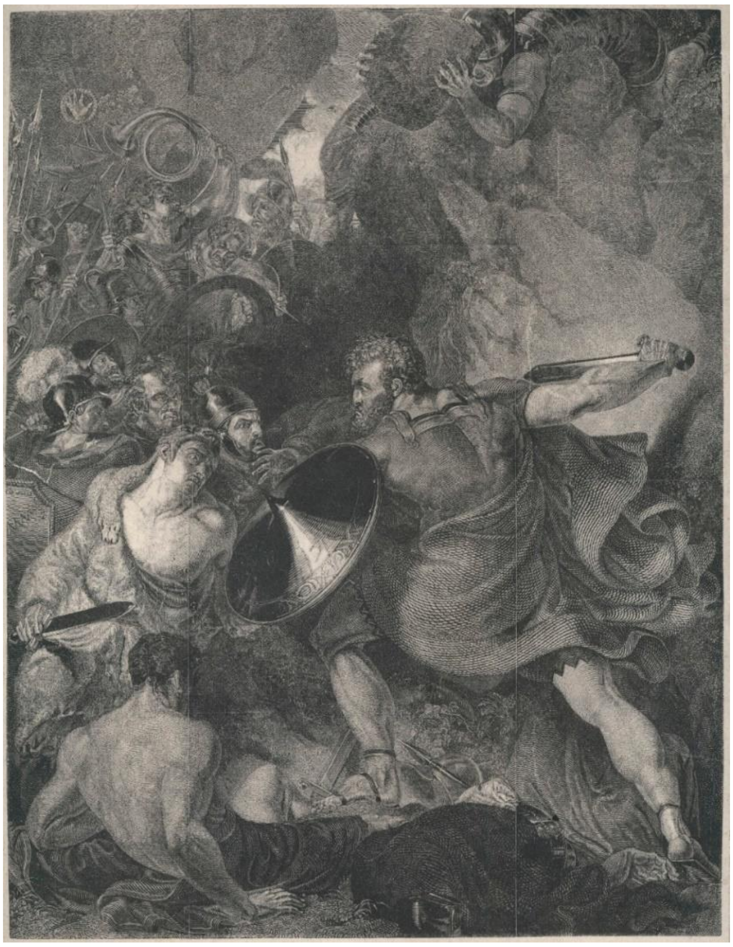

Figure 3.3 William Harvey (after Benjamin Robert Haydon), *Assassination of L. S. Dentatus*, 1821, wood-engraving on seven-piece block, 37.5 × 28.9 cm, © Photo: Royal Academy of Arts, London[70]

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[69] [Anon.], 'Keats's Three Hs'; review of Ian Jack, *Keats and the Mirror of Art* (1967), *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 May 1967, p. 380 (see also *KMA*, p. 26).

[70] The original painting (now at Mulgrave Castle, near Whitby, North Yorkshire) is reproduced in *BRH*, p. 7. For discussion of this picture, see also Frederick Cummings, 'Nature and the Antique in B.

Indeed, both *Endymion* and *Dentatus* were Keats's and Haydon's respective first *tours de force*.[71] Not only in physical size but also in thematic breadth, the poem and the picture were equally vast. In *Dentatus,* Haydon sought 'to build an heroic form, like life, yet above life' (*Autobiography*, p. 74) for the illustrious soldier and tribune, who had been styled as 'the Roman Achilles'.[72] Nearly ten years later, in *Endymion*, Keats also made a chiaroscuro verbal picture of his own hero's eventually bright *gradus ad Parnassum*—or the reaching of the 'mortal' towards the 'immortal' (I. 844)—after a somewhat gloomy odyssey.

Here, however, we should recall the fact that *Dentatus* was not a highly acclaimed picture. Haydon himself regarded it as a publicly neglected and even disreputable work. When it was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1809, *Dentatus* was hung not in the prestigious Great Room but in the Ante-Room—that is, not in a way that would attract the attention of spectators. This 'disgraceful' treatment of the picture was to trigger Haydon's life-long enmity for the Royal Academy. In the painter's own words, *Dentatus* 'was ruined in reputation' by those Royal Academicians who could not appreciate its value as a guiding light for a bright future of the English school of painting (*Autobiography*, p. 106). Given this backdrop, the nuances behind Keats's comparison of *Endymion* to *Dentatus* would seem to be more self-deprecatory than earlier critics have tended to construe it as his playful coupling. After all, as Keats had told Haydon on 28 September 1817, the poet himself had a 'very low'

R. Haydon's "Assassination of Dentatus"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25.1/2 (January–June 1962), 147–57.

[71] Keats's first volume of *Poems* (1817) consisted of relatively shorter pieces, counting 121 pages in total, whereas *Endymion*, published the following year, was 207 pages long. After a 'very promising' reception of his first picture of *Joseph and Mary Resting on the Road to Egypt* (1807) at the Royal Academy, Haydon also tried at the larger canvas of *Dentatus* while facing 'enormous' technical difficulties (*Autobiography*, pp. 66–67). For the dimensions of these pictures, see *Diary*, V, 587).

[72] Oliver Goldsmith, *The Roman History, from the Foundation of the City of Rome, to the Destruction of the Western Empire*, 2 vols (London: Baker and Leigh, 1769), I, 143.

estimation of *Endymion*, especially about its reception by his contemporaries (*LJK*, I, 168).

At the same time, Keats's comparison also suggests some positive implications about the poem's reception by a future readership. It is most significant that Haydon's *Dentatus*, originally rejected at the Royal Academy, made a critical success at the British Institution the following year, 1810, and indeed won him a premium of £105.[73] Keats was aware of the vicissitude regarding the reputation of his friend's picture, which had thus first been neglected by the Royal Academicians but had later been acclaimed by different spectators at the British Institution: it is also notable that, whereas the Royal Academy was keen on supporting contemporary portraitists, the British Institution focused more on the re-evaluation of the Old Masters who, whatever their fate of reception during their lifetime had been, now achieved immortal reputation.[74] It is likely that Keats made the association of *Endymion* with *Dentatus*, not least because he wished for a similar turning of fate in his own work's reception by the public—just as Haydon's formerly disregarded painting had now at last enjoyed. Even though contemporary readers would neglect his poem, Keats was able to believe in the possibility of a posthumous reappraisal of his own distinction when it would be received by a different readership in the future. While expressing his faint hope for futurity in this way, Keats determined to make sure that his next poetic project—'Hyperion'—should be worth comparing in a legitimate sense with the painter's grand 'Epic' of *Christ's Entry*.

Three years after Keats had published *Endymion*, Percy Bysshe Shelley concluded his 'Defence of Poetry' in these obscure and in part also prophetic terms:

> Poets are the hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration, the mirrors of the gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present, the words which express what they

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[73] See *Diary*, V, 587.

[74] For the class distinctions and divergence in taste between the Royal Academy and the British Institution, see Chapter 1, pp. 43–52.

> understand not, the trumpets which sing to battle and feel not what they inspire: the influence which is moved not, but moves. Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the World.[75]

Conscious of the presence of the evidently egomaniac artist, Haydon, Keats made a trial at his own self-realization as a poet through tracing 'gigantic shadows' of 'futurity' in *Endymion*. 'Thro' the dim Spaces of Futurity', in James Thomson's words, both Keats and his hero dedicated themselves precisely to anticipating some obscure 'Scenes | Of Happiness, and Wonder' in the future, no matter how often they were 'snatch'd away by Hope'.[76] Naturally enough, as Keats declared to Haydon after having finished drafting *Endymion*, he conceived his new poetic hero Apollo in 'Hyperion' as 'a fore-seeing God': the poet expected that this rising sun-god should clear ways for futurity 'in a more naked and grecian Manner'—perhaps to suit the ideals of the painter—than *Endymion* did in a 'sentimental' and slightly Huntian manner (*LJK*, I, 207). By placing himself within the dynamic oscillations between his aspiration for the mythological past and his ambition for future fame, Keats was again going to try at the poetic excellence of the ancient Helicon—'[*i*]*n the dark backward and abysm of time*' (*LJK*, I, 133)—just as Haydon was always pursuing fame in the genre of historical painting in a notoriously anachronistic style of neoclassicism.[77] By now, Keats might have begun expecting to gain immortal fame only posthumously or, to put it differently, only after his own sun of existence would set beyond the horizons of mortality, with its obscure promise of rising again in the future.

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[75] Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Shelley's Poetry and Prose: Authoritative Texts, Criticism*, ed. by Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat, 2nd edn (New York: Norton, 2002), p. 535. As it happens, Shelley's words also seem to have helped to rebut earlier criticisms of Keats's 1817 volume: the *Eclectic Review* for September 1817 had censured the language of 'I Stood Tip-Toe' for its being shrouded 'in mist and obscurity' (p. 272), followed by a remark by the *Edinburgh Magazine* for October 1817 that the entire volume was permeated with obfuscating 'shadowings of unsophisticated emotion' (pp. 256–57).

[76] 'Winter', in James Thomson, *The Seasons*, ed. by James Sambrook (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 202–53 (p. 232); ll. 603–06. In *Endymion*, Woodhouse saw several allusions to Thomson's *The Seasons*, especially 'Winter' (see *MYRJK*, III, 430–32, 436). For the reception of Thomson's work in the Romantic period, see John Strachan, '"*That* Is True Fame": A Few Words about Thomson's Romantic Period Popularity', in *James Thomson: Essays for the Tercentenary*, ed. by Richard Terry (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 247–70.

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[77] Keats is quoting from Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*: ‘In the dark backward and abyss of time’ (I. 2. 50).

Chapter 4: ‘Hyperion’ and the Intensity of Monumental Chiaroscuro

A TEST OF FRIENDSHIP

If *Endymion* was a ‘trial’, as John Keats himself put it, of his own ‘Powers of Imagination’ (*LJK*, I, 169), his subsequent project—an epic poem about the classical god Hyperion—was perhaps a test of his friendship with Benjamin Robert Haydon. In the light of this, the present chapter will examine the ways in which the fellowship of the two men was reflected in Keats’s epic writing, or his poetic monumentation. In fact, Keats had initially conceived ‘Hyperion’ as a work of visual collaboration with Haydon. In January 1818, months before Keats brought out *Endymion*, the publisher John Taylor inquired of him whether ‘Haydon would make a drawing of some event therein, for a Frontispeice [*sic*]’ (*LJK*, I, 213). While Haydon considered the offer ‘an honor to both of us’, he at last respectfully declined it by replying that ‘to hurry up a sketch for the season won’t do’ (*LJK*, I, 208). Haydon was nevertheless ‘eager’ to pictorialize *Endymion* after the poem was out; Keats was also expectant of his artistic rendition of it: ‘this in a year or two will be a glorious thing for us’ (*LJK*, I, 213). In the meantime, as a testament to the camaraderie between the two men, Haydon proposed to draw Keats’s likeness—a piece of art ‘to which I would put my name’—for the forthcoming *Endymion* (*LJK*, I, 208). The poet was much gratified at the painter’s thoughtful idea, writing to him on 23 January:

> I have a complete fellow-feeling with you in this business—so much so that it would be as well to wait for a choice out of *Hyperion*—when that Poem is done there will be a wide range for you […]. (*LJK*, I, 207)

Keats’s original design for his epic had thus covered ‘a wide range’ from which Haydon could choose a suitable scene for pictorializing. The concept of parallelism between ‘Epic Poetry’ (‘Hyperion’) and ‘Historic Painting’ (the genre Haydon was working in) was also the one which the *Annals of the Fine Arts*—the painter's key printed medium—had been promoting since its first issue of 1816.[1] Unfortunately, in the end, neither 'Hyperion' or *Endymion* was published with illustrations. That was possibly due to Haydon's worsening eyesight in early 1818.[2] Whatever the actual reason might have been, Haydon kept regretting not fulfilling his pledge even more than a decade after Keats's death:

> I dreamt last night of dear Keats. I thought he appeared to me & said, 'Haydon, you promised to make a drawing of my head before I died, & you did not do it. Paint me now'. I awoke & saw him as distinctly as if it was his spirit. I am convinced such an impression on common minds would have been mistaken for a Ghost. I lay awake for hours dwelling on his remembrance. Dear Keats! I will paint thee—worthily & poetically. (*Diary*, III, 575)[3]

The departed poet reminded the painter of their own cooperative efforts towards creation. In truth, the two men's joint work did not finally materialize. Nevertheless, it is significant that 'Hyperion' (which was, in any case, abandoned as a fragment in April 1819) began as a collaborative business to monumentalize the fellowship of Keats and Haydon.

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[1] Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth, 'On the Affinity between Painting and Writing, in Point of Composition', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.1 (1 July 1816), 1–20 (p. 16).

[2] See *Diary*, II, 186. In a letter to his brothers of 30 January 1818, Keats also noted that his own 'head' would not appear in *Endymion*, since Taylor 'changed his Mind' after perusing the draft of Book I; 'Haydon will take my Likeness all the same', Keats added, 'but I think he will keep it—however we can get it engraved' (John Keats, *Selected Letters*, ed. by John Barnard (London: Penguin Books, 2014), p. 102). This letter is not collected in Hyder Edward Rollins's 1958 edition (see also Dearing Lewis, 'A John Keats Letter Rediscovered', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 47 (1998), 14–18).

[3] The entry is dated 14 November 1831. Haydon's posthumous sketch of Keats is reproduced as a facsimile in Maurice Buxton Forman, 'Note on a Drawing of John Keats', in *Keats, Shelley & Rome: An Illustrated Miscellany*, ed. by Neville Rogers (London: Johnson, 1949), pp. 72–73 (p. 73). Earlier, on 11 February 1824, Haydon had also noted: 'I was to have made a drawing of him, and my neglect really gave him a pang as it now does me' (*Diary*, II, 463).

As mentioned above, this chapter will discuss Keats's craftsmanship in his epic work, especially with respect to his relationship with Haydon from late 1817 onwards. January 1818—the month following the 'immortal dinner' of 28 December 1817—saw a high-water mark of Keats's friendship with Haydon. The two men scheduled to meet on 'every Sunday at *three*' (*LJK*, I, 204) and, on 10 January, Keats further declared to Haydon:

> Your friendship fo{r} me is now getting into its teens—and I feel the past. Also eve[r]y day older I get—the greater is my idea of your atchievements [*sic*] in Art: and I am convinced that there are three things to rejoice at in this Age—The Excursion Your Pictures, and Hazlitt's depth of Taste. (*LJK*, I, 203)[4]

While the two men had known each other for less than a year and a half, Keats was sensing his own fellowship with Haydon having already been 'getting into its teens'. As early as the following day, Haydon's reciprocating mind drove himself to respond to Keats's proclamation about those 'three things to rejoice at in this Age' that included his own art:

> I feel greatly delighted by your high opinion, allow me to add sincerely a fourth to be proud of—*John Keats' genius!*—this I speak from my heart— […] My Friendship for you is beyond its teens, & beginning to ripen to maturity—I always saw through your motive at once & you shall always find me a devoted & affectionate Brother […]. (*LJK*, I, 203)

As a sworn 'Brother' of Keats, Haydon was feeling a more profound attachment to him. To be sure, the two men's meetings in 1818 became 'less frequent' than in the previous years

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[4] In a manner of speaking, Keats 'substituted' William Hazlitt for Leigh Hunt, who had been named—along with Haydon and William Wordsworth—as one of the poet's contemporary three 'Great Spirits' in his sonnet as of November 1816 (see Chapter 1). In late January 1818, Keats mentioned the discord between Haydon and Hunt and their 'parting for ever' (*LJK*, I, 210). Keats perhaps considered it prudent to make this sort of replacement here, not least because he was writing to Haydon himself.

(partly because of Keats's two-month walking tour to the north during the summer); this fact may well justify Clarke Olney's conclusion that their friendship was 'on the wane during 1818'.[5] However, despite those physical distances, and the seeming slight emotional remoteness between the two men around this time, a close examination of their terminology will reveal that Haydon remained a significant influence on Keats's poetry and on his poetics during the writing of 'Hyperion'.

In Haydon's estimation, 'Hyperion' was 'an immortal sketch'.[6] Perhaps while suggesting its intermedial dimensions as a verbal art ('sketch'), Haydon was defending the epic's value as an 'immortal' fragment. As we will see, Haydon's influence on Keats tended to induce the poet into the painter's own so-called 'monumental school', which committed to grand, historical, and indeed epic-scale monumentation.[7] By the spring of 1818, Keats had begun observing a new polar star of classical mytho*poetry* in Haydon's huge picture-in-progress of *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem* (1820): the poet referred to this picture as the painter's 'Epic' (*LJK*, I, 251). The painter of masculine high-mindedness thus stood behind the poet of the large-scale *Endymion* to encourage him to work on a far more grandiose piece of 'Hyperion'. At the same time, Keats's prescient and sympathetic imagination was also motivating the poet himself to provide 'a wide range' for his artistic friend's future recreation—or immortalization—of his own epic.

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[5] Clarke Olney, 'John Keats and Benjamin Robert Haydon', *PMLA*, 49.1 (March 1934), 258–75 (pp. 268–69).

[6] Haydon's marginal note in his copy of Thomas Medwin's *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824), reproduced in Duncan Gray and Violet W. Walker, 'Benjamin Robert Haydon on Byron and Others', *Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin, Rome*, 7 (1956), 14–26 (p. 22). Haydon also remarked in 1824 that 'Keats's poetry was an immortal stretch' (*CTT*, II, 89). Perhaps the final word, 'stretch', transcribed in 1876 by the occasionally unreliable editor the artist's son, should be read as 'sketch', too.

[7] *Athenæum*, 18 December 1841, p. 975.

Earlier studies of Keats's epics ('Hyperion' and its recast version, 'The Fall of Hyperion') have focused on the ways in which the poet seemed to cope with negotiating the Miltonic sublimity and the dynamic tensions of contraries.[8] In this chapter, I will draw attention to Haydon's encouragement of Keats's enterprise, examining further the artistic qualities—involving the juxtaposition of light and shade—in the two epics. In fact, Haydon himself admired *Paradise Lost* and its 'gloomy sublimity' in particular: the painter was engrossed most in the way John Milton's characters figure 'as if they shone through a darkened glass' (*Diary*, I, 225). In the words of Martin Aske, Keats's epic, too, poses as 'a kaleidoscope of chiaroscuro effects'.[9] As Aldous Huxley claimed, Keats's work might have resonated with those evocatively 'dissolving views' that the recently invented phantasmagoria (magic lantern) presented to the public in early nineteenth-century England.[10] What I want to demonstrate below is the possibility that Keats's well-wrought oppositional tensions in 'Hyperion' reflected, in several significant respects, a Haydonesque aesthetics of clarity and obscurity. Even Keats's poetics of 'stationing', a term he employed to describe the Miltonic epic construction, might have owed to Haydon's theory of judicious 'arrangement' (which the painter expounded in his own periodical essays published before the summer of

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[8] See, for example, Paul Sherwin, 'Dying into Life: Keats's Struggle with Milton in *Hyperion*', *PMLA*, 93.3 (May 1978), 383–95; Nancy Moore Goslee, *Uriel's Eye: Miltonic Stationing and Statuary in Blake, Keats, and Shelley* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985), pp. 68–133; and Jonathan Bate, 'Keats's Two *Hyperions* and the Problem of Milton', in *Romantic Revisions*, ed. by Robert Brinkley and Keith Hanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 321–38.

[9] Martin Aske, *Keats and Hellenism: An Essay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 99.

[10] *Letters of Aldous Huxley*, ed. by Grover Smith (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969), p. 756. Huxley further suggested that phantasmagoria's protean, 'dissolving views' could have helped to form a basis of 'the Romantic imagination' in general (ibid., p. 756). The first recorded usage of the word 'phantasmagoria' in the English language was in 1802 (see *OED*, s.v. 'phantasmagoria, *n.*').

1818).[11] In what follows, I will first explore the potential genesis of ‘Hyperion’ in Oxford in late 1817, with specific reference to Keats’s correspondence with Haydon around that time. I will then discuss Keats’s engagement with chiaroscuro effects in ‘Hyperion’ and ‘The Fall of Hyperion’, investigating the fruits of friendship in these monumentalizing epic fragments.

OXFORD IN 1817

On 28 September 1817, having finished drafting Book III of *Endymion*, Keats wrote to Haydon about his plan for ‘a new Romance’ that he expected to begin in the ‘next summer’ (*LJK*, I, 168).[12] Keats had already grown ‘tired’ of *Endymion* and had started directing his eyes to a ‘next Poem’ in which he hoped to gather all ‘the fruit of Experience’ of his early poetic career (*LJK*, I, 168). We can assume that the ‘next Poem’ Keats referred to was ‘Hyperion’.[13] Not only did he express in the Preface to *Endymion* his wish to make another attempt at ‘the beautiful mythology of Greece’ before too long (*PJK*, p. 103), but Book III of the present poetic romance had itself also hinted at his inclination towards a ‘new’ mythopoeia:[14]

> the golden palace door
> Opened again, and from without, in shone
> A new magnificence. On oozy throne
> Smooth-moving came Oceanus the old,

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[11] See, in particular, Benjamin Robert Haydon, ‘Cartoon of Delivering the Keys’, *Examiner*, 17 May 1818, pp. 316–18.

[12] At the end of Book III in his copy of *Endymion*, Richard Woodhouse comments: ‘In the orig^l Copy [Keats’s draft], here is inserted Oxf: Sept^r 26’ (*MYRJK*, III, 438).

[13] For Keats’s ambiguous references to poems (including epics) as ‘romances’, see Jack Stillinger, ‘Keats and Romance’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 8.4 (Autumn 1968), 593–605 (p. 595).

[14] ‘The last sentence in the preface to the present volume [of *Endymion*]’, Woodhouse notes, ‘seems to have reference to [“Hyperion”]’ (*MYRJK*, III, 441); see also ibid., III, 430.

> To take a latest glimpse at his sheep-fold,
> Before he went into his quiet cave
> To muse for ever— […]. (*Endymion*, III. 991–97)

This brief allusion to the 'old' sea-god Oceanus might indeed have foreshadowed in part Keats's treatment of the aged Titans in 'Hyperion'. In the epic, by the side of Hyperion's 'palace bright' (I. 176), Oceanus again figures as a sage—or an intellectual 'magnificence'—who makes an enlightening speech (as we will see shortly) about the fate of the Titans' divinity which has been superseded by that of the Olympians.

What seems significant here is the fact that it was from Oxford in late September 1817 that Keats reported to Haydon about his own 'new' poetic endeavour—presumably indicating 'Hyperion'. By that time, Keats had stayed nearly for a month at Magdalen College with his friend Benjamin Bailey. This divinity student, who accommodated Keats during the composition of Book III of *Endymion*, later recollected the poet's 'general love of the art [of painting], & his admiration of Haydon' (*KC*, II, 278). Haydon too, in fact, had 'spent a most delightful week at Oxford' shortly before Keats visited there (*Diary*, II, 126). On 17 September, Haydon, now back in London, could not forget 'a Young Man' he had happened to witness copying 'the Altar piece' in the chapel of Magdalen College (*LJK*, I, 161; Figure 4.1). The more Haydon tried to recall that obscure man's work, the more intense his remembrance became: 'the copy promised something' (*LJK*, I, 161). Haydon, therefore, asked Keats to look for this potentially great spirit who might benefit from his own artistic instruction in London. Soon afterwards, Keats successfully found the young man, named Charles Cripps, and talked with him about his current work, as well as his potential master, Haydon. Although Keats expected that Cripps would surely feel motivated—'take fire'—on seeing Haydon's artistry (*LJK*, I, 167), the plan of his apprenticeship at the older painter's studio in London was not finally realized.[15] Nevertheless, it is worth noting that, through the process of searching after Cripps at Magdalen College, Keats would almost certainly have viewed several artworks inside the chapel.

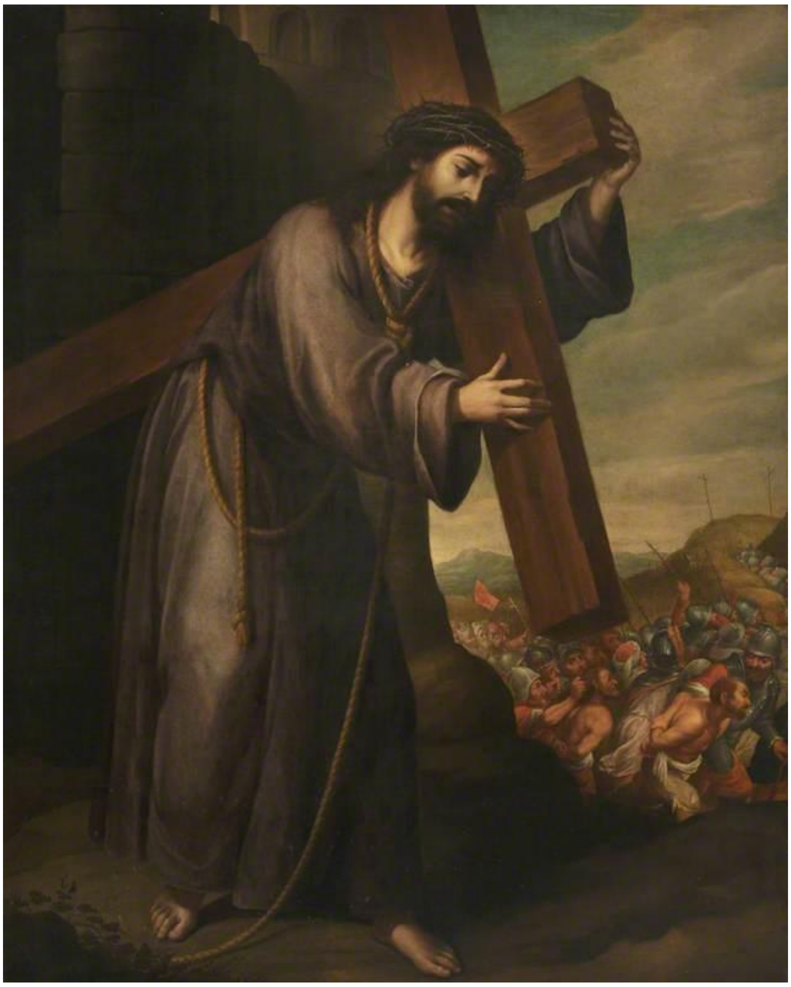

Figure 4.1 Juan de Valdés Leal, *Christ Carrying the Cross on his Way to Calvary*, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, 199 × 159 cm, courtesy of Magdalen College, University of Oxford[16]

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[15] See Olney (1952), pp. 134–36. It seems that Cripps (whose later years have long been obscure) served as Beadle for the Brewers' Hall, London, between 1838 and 1876 and continued to copy old pictures (see the Hall's blog post 'Number 14 Visits Number 15!', published on 30 January 2017 <https://www.brewershall.co.uk/public-news/number-14-visits-number-15/> [accessed 3 April 2021].

[16] While, like most of his contemporaries, Haydon considered the altarpiece to be a work by the Spanish painter Luis de Morales, it is currently attributed to another Spanish painter, Juan de Valdés

In the early nineteenth century, there were indeed three things to rejoice at for visitors to the chapel of Magdalen College: first, the altarpiece which had arrested the eye of Sir Joshua Reynolds and had afterwards inspired Cripps to make a copy;[17] secondly, a huge mural (just above the altarpiece) by Isaac Fuller of *The Last Judgement*, which had also inspired Joseph Addison's 1718 ekphrastic poem, *The Resurrection*;[18] and last, but not least, Richard Greenbury's then-recently repaired grisaille—grey monochrome—stained glass of the same subject, *The Last Judgement* (Figure 4.2). Among these artworks, Greenbury's monumental (and in part also sculpturesque) picture window might have impacted most on Keats's visual imagination. In the estimation of Alex Koller, Greenbury's work was actually 'a revolution in the history of the picture window', especially because of its use of 'intense chiaroscuro'.[19] According to Francis Eginton, who had repaired the stained glass about twenty years before Keats and Haydon visited the chapel:

> I have repainted every part and instead of the cold tint which pervaded the whole of this and every other window I have seen in Claro oscuro [*sic*], I have defus'd a

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Leal (see *LJK*, I, 161; and T. S. R. Boase, *'Christ Bearing the Cross', Attributed to Valdés Leal, at Magdalen College, Oxford: A Study in Taste* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 9–14). Among other candidates, there have been such painters as Ludovico Carracci, Guido Reni, and Francisco Ribalta. Cripps's copy (now in St. Denys' Church, Northmoor) is reproduced as a facsimile in *Oxford Journal Illustrated*, 30 September 1925, p. 16.

[17] See Boase, *'Christ Bearing the Cross'*, pp. 11–12.

[18] See M. J. H. Liversidge, 'Prelude to the Baroque: Isaac Fuller at Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 57 (1992), 311–29 (p. 317). This seventeenth-century mural was removed in 1830. In the Preface to Addison's Latin poem, its English translator Nicholas Amhurst highlights the 'mutual Advantages' of 'the two Sister-Arts' of poetry and painting (*The Resurrection: A Poem* (London: Curll, 1718), p. iv).

[19] Alex Koller, '"One of the Greatest Compositions I Ever Saw": Richard Greenbury's Windows for the Chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford', *Journal of Stained Glass*, 22 (1998), 1–15 (p. 7). Koller notes that the design of the stained glass was based on an engraving after the sixteenth-century German painter Christoph Schwarz's *Last Judgement*, which had probably been inspired by Michelangelo's famous fresco in the Sistine Chapel (see ibid., pp. 7–8).

general warm tint throughout, which gives harmony to the colours and will produce a soft and pleasant light in the chapel.[20]

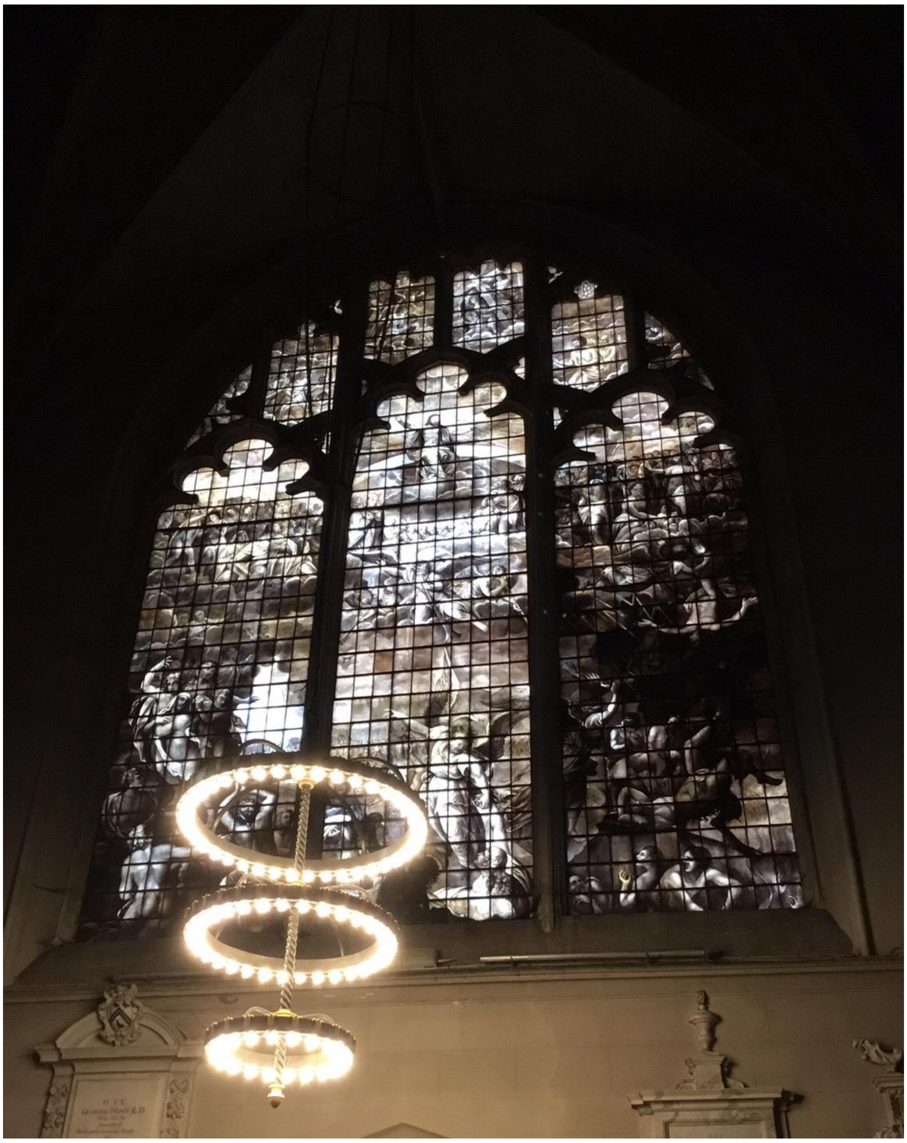

Figure 4.2 Richard Greenbury, *The Last Judgement*, 1637–40, stained glass, Magdalen College, University of Oxford, author's photograph[21]

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[20] Eginton's letter to Martin Routh, President of Magdalen College, of 15 July 1794, quoted in Roger White, *The Architectural Drawings of Magdalen College, Oxford: A Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. xxxvi.

[21] This great west window was 'severely damaged in a gale in 1703' and was restored during the 1790s (T. S. R. Boase, 'An Oxford College and the Gothic Revival', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 18.3/4 (July–December 1955), 145–88 (p. 168)).

Eginton's dexterity enabled himself to harmonize the original 'cold tint' with a 'warm tint', giving new strength to this 'virtually unique specimen of monumental monochrome windows'.[22] Together with the circular dynamism of its pictorial narration, the stained glass's manifest 'Claro oscuro' effects possibly afforded Keats a vague yet powerful hint about his own epic's overall perspective. 'Hyperion' begins *in medias res* with the description of the fallen Titans, whose divinity is being transferred to the Olympians. The poem exhibits an intense contrast between obscurity and clarity. The opening gives a monotonous—or monochrome—picture of the melancholy Titans: 'Deep in the shady sadness of a vale | Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn' (I. 1–2). The fragmentary conclusion then intimates, in a specifically expressive way, the new sun-god Apollo's glorious deification: 'and lo! from all his limbs | Celestial * * * * * * * * * *' (III. 135–36). Keats considered that 'any extracts' from his epic would not achieve substantial effects: instead, he expected that 'the whole' would 'make an impression' (*LJK*, II, 12)—just as the harmonious 'whole' of the monumental grisaille picture window might earlier have had impressed him.

Keats was thus surrounded in Oxford by those sublime artworks on the theme of redemption. There, he might also have been recalling Haydon's ongoing, artistic 'Epic' of the Saviour of the World. In this religious milieu, Keats was developing the very idea of salvation in Book III of *Endymion*.[23] However, 'tired' with the poetic romance itself, Keats now seemed to contemplate a 'new' epic redemption in which he could shape himself as an Apollonian, disinterested hero: 'sure a poet is a sage; | A humanist, physician to all men' ('The Fall of Hyperion', I. 189–90). Keats's letter of 8 October 1818 reads:

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[22] Koller, '"One of the Greatest Compositions I Ever Saw"', p. 1.

[23] In Book III, Keats foregrounds Endymion's miraculous act of 'restoring multitudes of dead people to life': the hero's 'triumphant' success as a redeemer, as Dorothy Van Ghent sees it, helps him to become 'immortal' in the end (*Keats: The Myth of the Hero*, rev. and ed. by Jeffrey Cane Robinson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 73).

> The Genius of Poetry must work out its own salvation in a man: It cannot be matured by law & precept, but by sensation & watchfulness in itself—That which is creative must create itself— […]. (*LJK*, I, 374)

What Keats elsewhere called ‘epic passion’ also essentially pointed to a similar ethics of sympathetic ‘Humanity’ (*LJK*, I, 278). For Keats, poetry—and epic in particular—needed to be a self-devoted work towards ‘its own salvation in a man’. It was this altruistic principle that appeared to propel his ‘creative’ writing as a poet-physician. In recognizing ‘epic passion’ as a creator’s self-sacrificing effort, Keats was probably echoing Haydon. On 24 October 1818, Keats said: ‘No sooner am I alone than shapes of epic greatness are stationed around me’ (*LJK*, I, 403). As well as the implicitly artistic term ‘stationed’, the phrase ‘epic greatness’ also carries Haydonesque overtones. The idea of associating loneliness with potential greatness recalls the heroic, largely self-educated painter’s advice for the poet of the spring of 1817: ‘Haydon has pointed out how necessary it is that I sho^{d} be alone to improve myself’ (*LJK*, I, 125). In this way, the image of Haydon’s ‘solitary’ genius seems to have encouraged his ‘Brother’ poet of ‘epic passion’ to engender salvation in ‘Hyperion’.[24]

Haydon, the artist of ‘grand subjects on a grand scale’, had great expectations for Keats’s ‘great intention’ to complete an epic (*LJK*, II, 44).[25] In fact, at first, Keats himself had planned to make it a ‘large poem’ (*LJK*, II, 18)—if not, as indicated in the notorious Advertisement in his 1820 volume, ‘of equal length with ENDYMION’ (*PJK*, p. 736).[26] Like Haydon, who had proclaimed his own capacity to ‘work like a hero’ (*LJK*, I, 135), Keats

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[24] In early May 1817, Haydon also wrote to Keats: ‘I love you like my own Brother’ (*LJK*, I, 135).

[25] ‘Fine Arts’, *New Monthly Magazine*, 1 April 1821, pp. 168–70 (p. 170).

[26] It was Woodhouse who drafted the Advertisement (see *KC*, I, 115–16). In a copy of the volume, Keats crossed out the whole passage (dated 26 June 1820), commenting: ‘This is none of my doing—I w[as] ill at the time’ (quoted from *PJK*, p. 737). The annotated page is reproduced as a facsimile in Andrew Motion, *Keats* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), p. 522.

‘chose a large size of paper’ for drafting: he thus decided to work on this epic-scale poem, in Stephen Hebron’s words, ‘as if self-consciously beginning an heroic task’.[27] For Keats, writing ‘Hyperion’ was not only, as has often been discussed, his challenge to the Miltonic poetics of grandeur. His monumental project was also important as a potential negotiation of Haydonesque aesthetic ideals on his own poetic palette. On 23 January 1818, Keats wrote to Haydon:

> in Endymion I think you may have many bits of the deep and sentimental cast—the nature of *Hyperion* will lead me to treat it in a more naked and grecian Manner—and the march of passion and endeavour will be undeviating—and one great contrast between them will be—that the Hero of the written tale being mortal is led on, like Buonaparte, by circumstance; whereas the Apollo in Hyperion being a fore-seeing God will shape his actions like one. (*LJK*, I, 207)

Keats was uncertain whether the ‘sentimental’ and somewhat Huntian texture of *Endymion* had reached the standard of Haydon’s masculine ideals for pictorializing.[28] As a test of friendship, therefore, Keats tried to make ‘Hyperion’ suit Haydon’s taste and sensibility, promising him to fashion the epic ‘in a more naked and grecian Manner’. That is, in writing to Haydon, Keats was seeking a sort of ‘approval’ of the project to please the epic and heroic painter. As John Barnard suggests, Keats’s usage of the word ‘Manner’ appears to have hinted at some Grecian style of ‘art’, rather than that of ‘literature’.[29] ‘The breathing nature, the unaffected majesty, the naked simplicity of the Elgin Marbles’ were precisely those important features that Haydon had observed in the antique fragments (*Diary,* I, 442). Keats's 'naked' style of writing was most likely, in this way, aspiring towards the kind of intuitive aesthetics which the painter had marked in the Grecian sculptures. To quote from John Watson Dalby's 1836 sonnet, Keats first 'moulded | ENDYMION', a poetic romance that had also shown some traces of his experience of seeing the Elgin Marbles with Haydon in the spring of 1817;[30] 'with loftier powers', the poet then '[p]ainted HYPERION's forlorn majesty' (*KC*, II, 21)—perhaps in a more Haydonesque style.[31]

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[27] Stephen Hebron, *John Keats: A Poet and his Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2009), p. 93. Keats’s manuscript measures ‘*approx. 40 × 24.2 cm*’ (ibid., p. 93).

[28] As Walter Jackson Bate remarks, Haydon was most eager ‘to jolt Keats out of the restricted and coy approach to art with which he had inevitably been tempted’ (*John Keats* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 86); see also Chapter 3, pp. 108–12.

[29] John Barnard, *John Keats* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 56.

Published two and a half years before Keats began 'Hyperion', Haydon's polemical essay on the Grecian sculptures for the *Examiner* had declared: 'The Elgin Marbles will as completely overthrow the old antique, as ever one system of philosophy overthrew another more enlightened'.[32] Haydon made this statement primarily to attack Richard Payne Knight's underestimation of the sculptures. Yet, significantly, it also prefigured Keats's argument in the epic, especially regarding Oceanus' majestic speech:

> 'tis the eternal law
> That first in beauty should be first in might:
> Yea, by that law, another race may drive
> Our conquerors to mourn as we do now. (II. 228–31)

Oceanus persuades his fellow Titans to accept the reality that they no longer retain their supremacy over others. He insists that, according to the 'eternal law' of the universe, 'first in beauty should be first in might'. What determines the hierarchical order among the gods is not the chronological precedence but the present intensity of 'beauty' intrinsic to each existence. It is remarkable that Haydon's essay also placed a radical priority on the inherent value of artistry, rather than some conventional estimation by connoisseurs. Haydon alluded to the Roman statue of the so-called Apollo Belvedere as a primary example of 'the old antique'. Favoured in eighteenth-century England, what he called 'the old antique' came into existence not before but only after the Elgin Marbles of Hellenic Greece. In chronological terms, as it were, the Apollo Belvedere should be called, instead, a comparatively 'new' antique. That is, Haydon stressed the possibility that the re-discovered beauty of the Elgin Marbles would soon 'completely overthrow' the aesthetic *ancien regime* in his country. He foresaw the immediate future when the Elgin Marbles 'would overturn the false beau-ideal', as exemplified in the Apollo Belvedere, and 'would establish the true beau-ideal' in English taste (*Autobiography*, p. 78).[33] For Haydon, the apparent artistic superiority of the Elgin Marbles in the here-and-now mattered much more than the problem of how long 'the old antique' had been esteemed. From this perspective, he highlighted the 'eternal principle' of beauty as he saw it precisely in the Elgin Marbles: they were about to supersede the system of values which had endorsed the now outmoded, outworn, and, in this sense, 'old' antique.[34]

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[30] See *MYRJK*, III, 431, 434.

[31] The poem is titled 'Sonnet on receiving a Portrait of John Keats, from George James DeWilde' (*KC,* II, 21).

[32] Benjamin Robert Haydon, 'On the Judgment of Connoisseurs Being Preferred to that of Professional Men,—Elgin Marbles, &c.', *Examiner*, 17 March 1816, pp. 162–64 (p. 163). For this essay, see also Chapter 2.

It was most appropriate then that, in reading Keats's self-proclaimed 'naked and grecian' epic, Woodhouse noticed its 'colossal' and sculpturally-inflected monumentality; behind 'an air of calm grandeur' in the fragment, as the commentator saw it, the poet indicated some 'true power' of beauty: '["Hyperion"] is that in poetry, which the Elgin & Egyptian marbles are in sculpture' (*MYRJK*, III, 441). Even before the British government purchased them, Haydon's professional judgement had placed the Elgin Marbles 'above all other works of Art in the world'.[35] He considered that the sculptures were undoubtedly *first in beauty* and would hereafter be *first in might* as well: the Grecian masterpieces would gain significant influences over other forthcoming productions—once the painter could usurp the height of the present authority of Knight's connoisseurship. Partly corresponding to Haydon's theory about the vicissitude of superiority, Keats's epic juxtaposes the rise and fall of the gods, contrasting those lights and shades that surround their existences. Oceanus argues that the Titans have fallen not by the external 'force | Of thunder' but by the 'course of Nature's law' which governs the interrelation of beauty and power (II. 181–82). It seems meaningful that Haydon had predicted that the new aesthetics—which the Elgin Marbles appeared to embody through their 'union of Nature with ideal beauty'—would 'produce a revolution' even crossing the boundaries of 'Arts'.[36] As it happens, his *Examiner* essay appeared just above a column with the headline 'BONAPARTE'. The former French emperor, now in exile on the island of St. Helena, was an archetypal over-reacher who had luxuriated in a kind of people's aesthetic fascination with his own power: but in the end, he had indeed attempted to challenge 'Nature's law' through military 'force' in vain.

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[33] Haydon elsewhere criticized 'the hard, marbly, puffed figure of the Apollo' (*Diary*, I, 247). For his comparisons between the Apollo Belvedere and the Elgin Marbles, see also *Diary*, I, 95, II, 12–16, 119–20, 275.

[34] Haydon, 'On the Judgment of Connoisseurs', p. 163.

As a result, Oceanus' speech in Book II serves precisely as a central argument in the surviving three-Book fragment. His enlightening words are to re-animate the gloomy and psychologically stagnant Titans, including Hyperion. The self-same old sun-god shortly afterwards causes a significant eclipse that, as we will examine below, introduces another bright, albeit indistinct, appearance of the new sun-god Apollo. Keats's epic, involving the transfer of divinity between the two sun-gods, thus finishes with a fragmentary picture of the deification of what he called the 'fore-seeing' Apollo. Keats was aware that Apollo was not only 'the god of all the fine arts' (including 'poetry' and 'medicine') but also had 'the power of knowing futurity'.[37] Keats's expected epic 'salvation' ended with a vague hint about how, as an idealized poet-physician, Apollo would see through the obscure future of both mortals and immortals. To put it another way, the poet suspended the narration at the very point where Apollo is about to foresee some lights beyond what he himself had called philosophical, and perhaps also ontological, 'dark passages' of life (*LJK*, I, 281):

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[35] Ibid., p. 163.

[36] Ibid., pp. 163–64.

> At length
> Apollo shriek'd;—and lo! from all his limbs
> Celestial * * * * * * * * * *
> * * * * * * * * * * * * * (III. 134–37)

Like the ellipsis in the penultimate line of the 'Great Spirits' sonnet, the final aposiopesis here would put and leave readers 'in a Mist' (*LJK*, I, 281).[38] Perhaps in a fortuitous way that even Keats himself might not have expected, this fragmentary conclusion seems to encompass a creatively protean potentiality: as a result, the breaking-off has enabled readers to think about how Apollo could hereafter accompany their 'dark passages' and alleviate their respective 'Burden of the Mystery'—entailing various lights and shades.[39]

KEATS'S 'STATIONING' AND HAYDON'S 'ARRANGEMENT'

The unfinished yet potentially expressive closure of 'Hyperion' prompted even its earliest readers to fill in the vacancy. Woodhouse and Taylor suggested a possible completion of the last line: ‘from all his limbs | Celestial glory dawn’d. He was a god!’.[40] The fragmentary conclusion amplifies the poem’s evocative imageries, especially concerning its crepuscular implications. We can see Keats’s subtle manipulation of chiaroscuro effects in his allusion to Apollo’s ‘limbs’. As Nicholas Roe has pointed out, the word seems to refer not only to Apollo’s physicality but also to the sun’s ‘luminosity’.[41] Nathan Bailey’s 1721 *English Dictionary*, which Keats used, had given an astronomical definition of the term ‘LIMB’ as ‘the utmost Edge or Border of the Body, or Disk of the *Sun* or *Moon*, when either is in an Eclipse’.[42] With indeed *limbo*-like uncertainties, mysteries, and doubts, the fragmented ‘Hyperion’ ends its prospective narrative of salvation towards a potential dawning glory after some melancholy darkness.[43]

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[37] John Lemprière, *A Classical Dictionary; Containing a Copious Account of All the Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors*, 6th edn, corrected (London: Cadell and Davies, 1806), s.v. 'Apollo'. Keats seems to have been consulting this edition (see KL, p. 148).

[38] For the ellipsis in the 'Great Spirits' sonnet, see Chapter 1.

[39] In the 'dark passages' letter of 3 May 1818, Keats quotes the phrase 'the Burden of the Mystery' twice from line 39 of Wordsworth's 'Tintern Abbey' (see *LJK*, I, 277, 281). On 7 May 1849, Bailey recalled that he and Keats had 'often talked of' Wordsworth's 'noble passage' about how '*the burthen of the mystery*' in 'this unintelligible world' might be 'lightened' (*KC*, II, 275).

Keats arguably owed his image of the sun’s eclipse in ‘Hyperion’ to what Edmund Burke had praised as ‘a very noble picture’ of Satan in *Paradise Lost*:[44]

> his form had not yet lost
> All her original brightness, nor appear’d
> Less than Arch-Angel ruin’d, and the excess
> Of glory obscured; as when the sun new risen

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[40] Quoted from *PJK*, p. 643. According to Jack Stillinger, after the final authorial word of ‘Celestial’, none of Keats’s surviving manuscripts has the asterisks as reproduced above (see ibid., p. 643). These symbols were first introduced in Keats’s 1820 volume, in which ‘Hyperion’ appeared against the author’s intention (see John Keats, *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1820), p. 199; and *PJK*, pp. 736–37).

[41] Nicholas Roe, *John Keats and the Culture of Dissent* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 38.

[42] Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London: Bell, et al., 1721), S.V. ‘limb’; see also KL, p. 151.

[43] According to the *OED*, the word ‘limb’ (as an astronomical term) is related etymologically to ‘limbo’ (*OED*, S.V. ‘limb, *n.2*’, etymology).

[44] [Edmund Burke], *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: Dodsley, 1757), p. 48.

> Looks through the horizontal misty air
> Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon
> In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
> On half the nations, and with fear of change
> Perplexes monarchs.[45]

Keats's markings reveal his keen interest in the Miltonic half-adumbrations. Even after having fallen from heaven, Satan (Lucifer) still retains his 'original brightness' as the morning star, seeking revenge against God. Amid the present, surrounding darkness, Satan is standing in 'dim eclipse': the time is just on the verge—horizon—of 'change'. Milton's poetic picture in 'twilight' also seems to prefigure the way Keats places Hyperion in a transient point between the past and the future:

> In pale and silver silence [the Titans] remain'd,
> Till suddenly a splendour, like the morn,
> Pervaded all the beetling gloomy steeps,
> […]
> And all the headlong torrents far and near,
> Mantled before in darkness and huge shade,
> Now saw the light and made it terrible.
> It was Hyperion:—a granite peak
> His bright feet touch'd, and there he stay'd to view
> The misery his brilliance had betray'd
> To the most hateful seeing of itself.

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[45] Quoted from *KPL*, p. 84; I. 591–99 (underlined by Keats); but the word order of the first line is corrected according to the 1807 edition of *Paradise Lost*, which contains copious annotations by Keats and which Beth Lau in *KPL* refers to and here slightly misquotes (see also KL, p. 142).

Golden his hair of short Numidian curl,
Regal his shape majestic, a vast shade
In midst of his own brightness, like the bulk
Of Memnon's image at the set of sun
To one who travels from the dusking east […]. (II. 356–58, 364–75)

Among the already fallen Titans, only Hyperion (like Satan in Milton's epic) has yet to lose his divinity. As Keats had witnessed in *Paradise Lost* and himself implied in the sonnet 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles', eclipse tropes often herald some revolution, either materially or intellectually, in a universe to which one belongs (Figure 4.3).[46] In Keats's pandemonium—or on 'the shores of darkness' (II. 135) where other Titans lie dejected—Hyperion casts his last intense light as an eclipsed sun: 'a vast shade | In midst of his own brightness'.[47] This eclipse prefigures the apotheosis of Apollo in Book III, inviting a deep paradigm shift in the present cosmic order. The phenomenal event involves those 'wild commotions' (III. 124) that impel Apollo to terminate the obscuring of the old sun and to rise as the new sun—to '[d]ie into life' (III. 130). Legend has it that, at every 'sun-rising', Memnon's statue in Egypt utters 'a melodious sound' and, 'at the set of sun' (as referred to in Keats's epic), the tone becomes more 'lugubrious'.[48] Perhaps in echoing Wordsworth's well-known phrase '[t]he still, sad music of humanity', Keats's 'lugubrious' salvation of readers finishes with a suggestion about a potential renaissance of the world.[49] As foretold in an earlier sonnet, the poet-physician tries to ‘dress’, heal, and encompass the shades and shadows of mortal ‘griefs’ with ‘a bright halo’—or a limb—of some imaginable sun (‘To Lord Byron’, 7–8).

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[46] For the imagery of a solar eclipse in 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles', see Chapter 2.

[47] In 'To Homer', there is a line similar in tone and partly even identical: 'Aye on the shores of darkness there is light' (9). Keats wrote the poem in 1818; according to Stillinger, 'a more precise dating is not possible' (*TKP*, p. 187).

[48] Lemprière, *A Classical Dictionary,* S.V. 'Memnon'.

[49] 'Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour, July 13, 1798', in William Wordsworth, *'Lyrical Ballads', and Other Poems, 1797–1800,* ed.

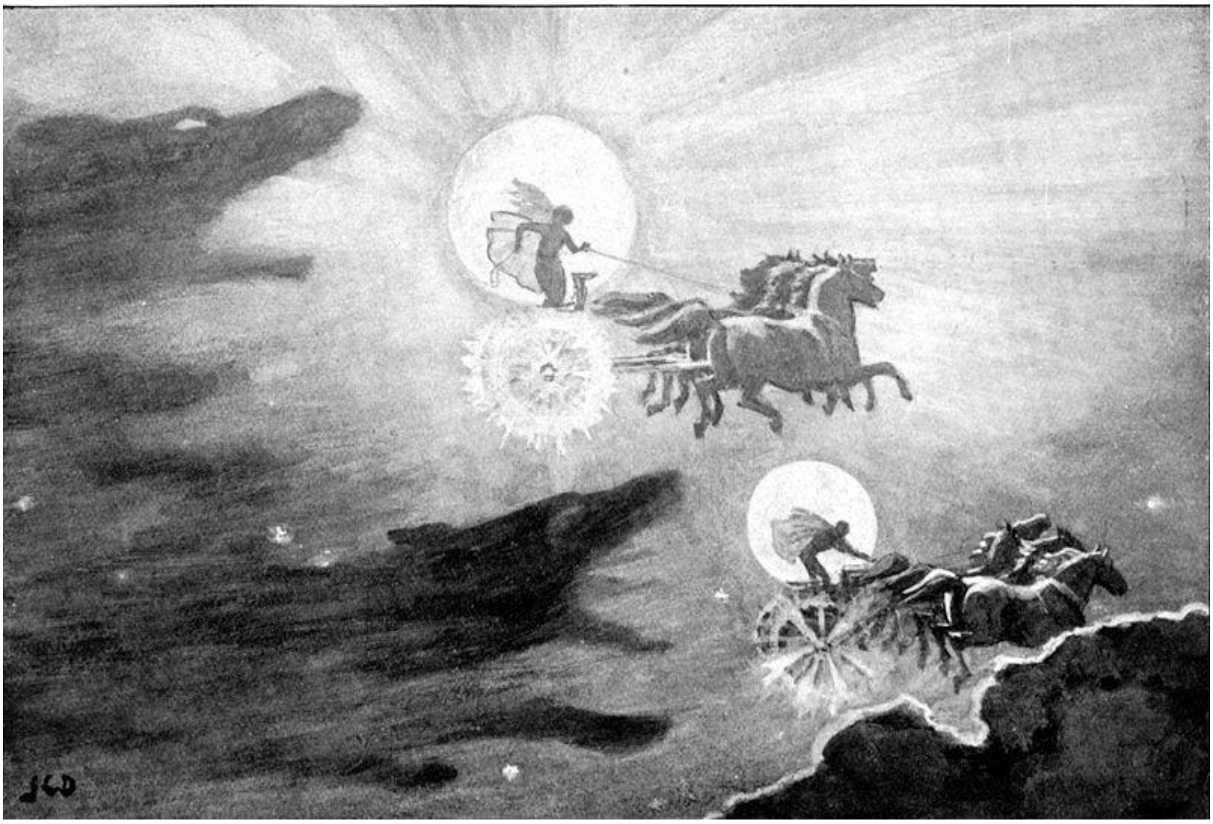

Figure 4.3 John Charles Dollman, *The Wolves Pursuing Sol and Mani*, 1909, painting, public domain[50]

Keats perceived a striking superiority of *Paradise Lost* ‘over every other Poem’ in what he called ‘the Magnitude of Contrast’.[51] To Keats, Milton’s grand manipulation of

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by James Butler and Karen Green (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 116–20 (p. 118; l. 92).

[50] Norse mythology considers that those spiteful wolves of darkness that are, as depicted in the left, revulsed at seeing celestial radiance, would cause solar and lunar eclipses (see H. A. Guerber, *Myths of the Norsemen: From the Eddas and Sagas* (London: Harrap, 1909), pp. 8–10). Sol and Mani represent the sun and the moon, respectively. In the Christian mythos, eclipses are also occasionally associated with the huge sea-monster Leviathan (see Lulu Rumsey Wiley, *Bible Animals: Mammals of the Bible* (New York: Vantage Press, 1957), p. 314).

[51] Quoted from *KPL*, p. 71. The annotation refers to the Argument to Book I.

opposites appeared to be the artistry of 'stationing or statu[a]ry': 'He is not content with simple description', Keats wrote, 'he must station'.[52] Critics have suggested several potential sources for Keats's idea of monumental 'stationing'. Nancy Moore Goslee, for example, has pointed to the relevance between Keats's term and the theory of picturesque landscape, especially regarding the latter's application to gardening in eighteenth-century England.[53] In an essay in the *Spectator* from 1712, Addison also praised Milton's 'happy Station' in *Paradise Lost*: Addison observed that Milton had paid particular attention to characters' 'delightful Habitation' in describing his paradisiacal topography.[54] For the word 'statu[a]ry', it seems important that, in his lecture 'On Shakspeare and Milton' (which was delivered at the Surrey Institution on 27 January 1818 and was 'very likely attended by Keats'), Hazlitt indicated 'the elegance and precision of a Greek statue' in *Paradise Lost*—'tinged with golden light, and musical as the strings of Memnon's harp': 'the persons of Adam and Eve, of Satan, &c.', Hazlitt remarked, 'are always accompanied, in our imagination, with the grandeur of the naked figure; they convey to us the ideas of sculpture' (*CWWH*, V, 60).[55] Although the intriguing phrase 'naked figure' could not have directly influenced Keats's words 'naked and grecian Manner' in his letter written to Haydon four days before the lecture, it is still possible that Hazlitt's discussion gave the poet a hint to read *Paradise Lost* as a work of verbal 'sculpture'.

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[52] Quoted from *KPL*, p. 142. The annotation refers to *Paradise Lost*, VII. 422–23.

[53] See Goslee, *Uriel's Eye*, pp. 4–15.

[54] 'L' [Joseph Addison], no. 321 (8 March 1712), in *The Spectator*, ed. by Donald F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), III, 169–77 (p. 171). For the authorship of the *Spectator*, see Donald F. Bond, 'Introduction', in ibid., I, pp. xiii–cix (pp. xliii–lix). For discussion of which edition Keats owned, see KL, p. 146.

[55] Roe, *John Keats and the Culture of Dissent*, p. 241. For discussion of the influence of Hazlitt's lecture on Keats, see also William A. Ulmer, *John Keats: Reimagining History* (Cham: Macmillan, 2017), p. 17.

Meanwhile, a more immediate influence on Keats's concept of poetic 'stationing' might have been Haydon's idea of artistic 'arrangement'. In June 1815, having taken a cast of Wordsworth's face for *Christ's Entry*, Haydon talked with him about Lucien Bonaparte's recently published poem *Charlemagne* (1814). Haydon commented that Napoleon's brother had executed this epic 'without arrangement as referring to an end'; Wordsworth dismissed the opinion by saying that 'I don't care for that [...] if there are *good things* in a Poem', a view that Haydon judged as 'decidedly wrong' (*Diary*, I, 451). After his guest left, Haydon pondered on some egotistical aspects of Wordsworth's poetry. In his writing, as Haydon saw it, Wordsworth was almost exclusively 'referring to himself', 'wishing to make others feel by personal sympathy', and, more specifically, lacking in the so-called 'lucidus ordo'—an engaging verbal arrangement, positioning, or stationing (*Diary*, I, 451–52).[56]

About three years later, Haydon elaborated his idea of artistic and significantly poetic 'arrangement'. On 17 and 31 May 1818 (weeks before Keats travelled to the north), Haydon published essays on the Raphael Cartoons in the *Examiner*.[57] The essays were concerned with the biblical stories behind two of the celebrated Cartoons, namely, *Christ's Charge to Peter* and *The Healing of the Lame Man*. It is remarkable that, in commenting on Raphael's mastery of technique, Haydon also quoted certain lines from both Milton and Keats. Haydon first associated Milton's inspired words ('whose bright eyes | Rain influence') with 'a tender beautiful creature' in Raphael's composition; then, to some other principal figures in *The Healing of the Lame Man*, Haydon applied visually expressive lines from Keats's *Endymion*

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[56] The Latin phrase (meaning 'clearness of order') refers to line 41 of Horace's *Ars Poetica* (see *Diary*, I, 452, n. 2). As mentioned in the Introduction (pp. 3–4), on 22 December 1817, Haydon also contrasted Wordsworth's 'exclusive' poetics with William Shakespeare's magnanimity imposing on readers 'no moral code' (*Diary*, II, 171–72).

[57] Shortly afterwards, Haydon also reprinted both essays in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.9 (1 June 1818), 242–59. For the impact of the Cartoons on Keats, see Chapter 5.

(which had just been brought out).[58] While thus referring to the poets' painterly terms of beauty, Haydon declared an essential commonality between the sister arts:

> The greatest Painters, the greatest Poets, and the greatest Musicians, have been the greatest composers. However brilliant their imagination, however intense their capacity, however mellifluous their language, or harmonious their colour, it was their power of *arranging* their ideas which rendered them useful or effectual to the world. Every sentiment, character, or beauty, was so marshalled, as to have the best effect, according to the effect wanted, to elicit a story, or to produce harmony; and 'order from disorder sprung'.[59]

Haydon insisted on the advantages of 'arrangement' not only for painters but also for poets and musicians. According to him, all those glorious Old Masters, or 'composers', in various branches of the sister arts had 'marshalled' germs of beauty in their works: once duly placed, the materials themselves would 'elicit a story'—just as, in *Paradise Lost*, 'order from disorder sprung'.[60] Haydon also called attention to the importance of a '*whole*' perspective in artworks (and we might recall Keats's conviction, mentioned earlier in this chapter, that 'the whole' in his monumental epic would 'make an impression').[61] Every successful production of the sister arts, as Haydon saw it, had in common the coalescence of those well-stationed parts that creators unfolded over the '*whole*' dimensions in their pieces. Such works would never pass into some merely egotistical conceits but, like Keats's intended epic salvation of readers, be 'useful or effectual to the world'.[62]

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[58] See Benjamin Robert Haydon, 'On the Cartoon of the Beautiful Gate', *Examiner*, 31 May 1818, pp. 348–49 (p. 349). Milton's words were taken from 'L'Allegro' (121–22). From *Endymion*, Haydon slightly misquoted the words 'white wicker over brimm'd | With April's tender younglings' (I. 137–38) and 'Gaunt, wither'd, sapless, feeble, cramp'd, and lame' (III. 638). Keats's poem seems to have appeared in early May 1818 and presumably on or before 4 May (see *Morning Chronicle*, 4 May 1818, p. 2; and *Monthly Magazine*, 1 June 1818, p. 439).

[59] Haydon, 'Cartoon of Delivering the Keys', p. 317.

[60] Haydon is quoting from *Paradise Lost*, III. 713.

[61] Haydon, 'Cartoon of Delivering the Keys', p. 317 (see also *Diary*, III, 29–30).

In 1813, Haydon made an interesting remark on the way that Milton's half-adumbrating poetics appeared to engage the reader's attention most intensely: 'Milton exhausts human means in describing a grand Idea, and yet leaves your imagination to finish it' (*Diary,* I, 310). In Milton's opus, Haydon found peculiar tensions between phraseological plenitude and hermeneutic potentiality. Several years later, Keats's 'stationing or statu[a]ry' commentary also implied the epic poet's pregnant polarity suspended between excess and void: in Keats's view, while 'Milton in every instance pursues his imagination to the utmost', there still seemed to be something that would 'hold' readers to stimulate their imaginative speculations and surmises 'in the midst of this Paradise Lost'.[63] In a margin above the same epic's opening lines, Keats further noted that 'nothing can be more impressive and shaded than the commencement of the action here'.[64] What appeared particularly 'impressive' to Keats was the epic's dynamic oscillations between illumined and 'shaded' descriptions. Keats elsewhere observed more strikingly the intensity of Milton's poetic chiaroscuro:

> The light and shade—the sort of black brightness—the ebon diamonding—the ethiop Immortality—the sorrow the pain. the sad-sweet Melody—the P[h]alanges of Spirits so depressed as to be 'uplifted beyond hope'—the short mitigation of Misery—the thousand Melancholies and Magnificences of this Page—leaves no room for any thing to be said thereon, but: 'so it is'—[.][65]

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[62] On 27 October 1818, Keats also declared that 'I am ambitious of doing the world some good' and that '[a]ll I hope is that I may not lose all interest in human affairs' (*LJK*, I, 387–88).

[63] Quoted from *KPL*, pp. 142–43.

[64] Quoted from ibid., p. 73.

[65] Quoted from ibid., pp. 83–84. The annotation refers to *Paradise Lost*, I. 535–69, and the phrase 'uplifted beyond hope' to II. 7.

Keats thus explicated Milton's evocative stationing of 'black brightness'. The phrase 'ebon diamonding' might remind us of Haydon's earlier exposition that *Paradise Lost* presents characters 'as if they shone through a darkened glass'. To both Keats and Haydon, Milton's magisterial contrast of 'Melancholies and Magnificences' appeared most engaging. Milton successfully drew those negatively capable readers into his own monumental texture, and Keats was to develop a similar poetics of 'light and shade' in the 'Hyperion' epics.

Keats was attracted most to moments where Milton appeared to have dimmed, shrouded, or indeed 'shaded' descriptions. Those half-veiled wordings would stimulate the reader's sympathetic imagination into the text, an experience that Keats called mysterious 'semi-speculations' or 'one Mind's imagining into another'.[66] There, Keats enjoyed 'the sense of probabilities', as well as, at times, even 'the intense pleasure of not knowing'.[67] In Keatsian aesthetic epistemology, '[w]hat the imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth'; it does not matter 'whether it existed before or not' (*LJK*, I, 184). Keats's letter of 13 March 1818 explains further his system of intellectual validity:

> probably every mental pursuit takes its reality and worth from the ardour of the pursuer—being in itself a nothing—Ethereal thing may at least be thus real, divided under three heads—Things real—things semireal—and no things—Things real—such as existences of Sun Moon & Stars and passages of Shakspeare—Things semireal such as Love, the Clouds &c which require a greeting of the Spirit to make them wholly exist—and Nothings which are made Great and dignified by an ardent pursuit—Which by the by stamps the burgundy mark on the bottles of our Minds, insomuch as they are able to '*consec*[*r*]*ate whate'er they look upon*' […]. (*LJK*, I, 242–43)

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[66] Quoted from *KPL*, p. 74. The annotation refers to *Paradise Lost*, I. 59–94.

[67] Quoted from *KPL*, p. 87. The annotation refers to *Paradise Lost*, I. 706–30.

Keats speculated that, through the imagination's 'ardent pursuit' after textual shades and shadows, the reader would be able to make a verisimilar and highly illuminating 'reality' even from some seemingly obscure 'Nothings'. Unlike objective facts, Keatsian subjective truths could remain open-ended and creatively protean. Keats took the direct quotation at the end, in a somewhat modified way, from Percy Bysshe Shelley's 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty'.[68] Shelley's poem had drawn on the presence of 'some unseen Power' (1) floating and fleeting on earth. He compared its elusiveness to 'hues and harmonies of evening' (8) and 'memory of music fled' (10)—an image perhaps foreshadowing the last line of Keats's 'Ode to a Nightingale'.[69] Shelley hailed the Power because of its very obscurity, uncertainty, and 'mystery' (12). While seeking to perceive its vague identity, one would also be half-creating the Power's imaginary and authentic presence. Hence the awe-inspiring Power could serve as a catalytic 'messenger of sympathies' (42) between mortals and immortals.

Having abandoned 'Hyperion' as a fragment in April 1819, Keats worked on recasting it as 'The Fall of Hyperion' in the summer of the same year.[70] He again, as it were, tried at the test of the friendship between him and Haydon to fulfil the original promise to write a 'large poem'. 'Hyperion' and 'The Fall of Hyperion' distinctly differed in terms of their narrative styles: whereas the earlier third-person version had been markedly Miltonic and 'statuesque' (*KMA*, p. 161), the revised first-person version assumed a rather Dantesque voice and employed a more pictorial and arguably painterly language. The opening of 'The

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[68] The poem first appeared in the *Examiner* for 19 January 1817 (p. 41), before being reprinted in Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Rosalind and Helen, a Modern Eclogue; with Other Poems* (London: Ollier, 1819), pp. 87–91. Shelley's original lines read: 'Spirit of BEAUTY, that doth consecrate | With thine own hues all thou dost shine upon | Of human thought or form,—where art thou gone?' (13–15). Quotations from the poem are hereafter from the *Examiner* version, the one which Keats most likely accessed.

[69] Keats's line reads: 'Fled is that music:—Do I wake or sleep?' (80).

[70] For the composition of the two epics, see *TKP*, pp. 230–32, 259–63.

Fall of Hyperion' addresses poesy's expressive potentiality entailing 'shadows of melodious utterance' (I. 6). After being struck by some 'cloudy swoon' (I. 55), the poet finds himself in front of a monumental sanctuary:

> Upon the marble at my feet there lay
> Store of strange vessels, and large draperies,
> Which needs had been of dyed asbestus wove,
> Or in that place the moth could not corrupt,
> So white the linen; so, in some, distinct
> Ran imageries from a sombre loom.
> All in a mingled heap confus'd there lay
> Robes, golden tongs, censer, and chafing dish,
> Girdles, and chains, and holy jewelries. (I. 72–80)

Keats might have owed his imagery of 'large draperies' to some of the Raphael Cartoons, which he had seen several times by the end of 1818.[71] While esteemed by that time as independent artworks, the Cartoons had originally been draft designs for tapestries in the Sistine Chapel. Whatever the poet's inspiration for the 'sombre loom' might have been, Keats seemed to be attempting to 'diffuse the colouring of S^{t} Agnes eve throughout' this passage (*LJK*, II, 234). Keats had finished that narrative poem in early 1819 and, in September, he was revising it while working on 'The Fall of Hyperion'.[72] He had long been eager to interweave such poetic 'drapery' (*LJK*, II, 234) again as he had done in the earlier painterly romance—coloured in 'a dim, silver twilight' of rich evocation ('The Eve of St. Agnes', 254).

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[71] On 31 December 1818, Keats remarked: 'I never can feel certain of any truth but from a clear perception of its Beauty— […] A year ago I could not understand in the slightest degree Raphael's cartoons—now I begin to read them a little' (*LJK*, II, 19).

[72] For the composition and revision of 'The Eve of St. Agnes', see *TKP*, pp. 214–20.

In late September 1819, Keats finally decided to abandon the revised epic, too. That was just after he entered Canto II and repeated the lines from the earlier epic about Hyperion's 'palace bright, | Bastion'd with pyramids of glowing gold, | And touch'd with shade of bronzed obelisks' (II. 24–26).[73] The remodelled epic turned out to be even shorter than the earlier version, ending again in an aposiopetic way:

> My quick eyes ran on
> From stately nave to nave, from vault to vault,
> Through bowers of fragrant and enwreathed light,
> And diamond paved lustrous long arcades.
> Anon rush'd by the bright Hyperion;
> His flaming robes stream'd out beyond his heels,
> And gave a roar, as if of earthly fire,
> That scar'd away the meek ethereal hours
> And made their dove-wings tremble: on he flared
> * * * * * * * * * * * * * (II. 53–62)

After 'leaving twilight in the rear', Hyperion was heading towards 'the threshold of the west' (II. 47–48). Earlier in Oxford, Keats had ruminated on 'something extremely fine after sunset' which would turn 'the Horison [*sic*]' into 'a Mystery' (*LJK*, I, 158–59). In the meantime, his own oxymoronic ambition to 'write | Of the day, and of the night, | Both together' in a Miltonic grand style ('Welcome Joy, and Welcome Sorrow', 26–28) perhaps constrained too much the original, intuitive bent of his poetic imagination.[74] With hindsight, as Keats was likely to see it, that strained practice had probably been at odds with his organic principle of poetics: ‘if Poetry comes not as naturally as the Leaves to a tree it had better not come at all’ (*LJK*, I, 238–39). On 21 September 1819, Keats wrote to John Hamilton Reynolds that he had ‘given up’ the revised epic, not least because it contained ‘too many Miltonic inversions’: ‘Miltonic verse cannot be written but in an artful or rather artist’s humour’ (*LJK*, II, 167).[75] While referring to the usage of those Miltonic inverted (Latinized) wordings, Keats was possibly also reflecting on the *artist*-like and notably Haydonesque style of ‘stationing’ or ‘arrangement’ in his poetic composition: after all, Haydon had been not simply encouraging but also even urging Keats to ‘finish’—‘[a]t any rate’—his ‘great intention’ of an epic (*LJK*, II, 44).

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[73] The same expressions had appeared in 'Hyperion', I. 176–78.

[74] 'Welcome Joy, and Welcome Sorrow' was written in 1818; according to Stillinger, 'a more precise dating is not possible' (*TKP*, p. 169). At the head of the poem, Keats put a modified quotation from

THE AFTERLIFE OF THE EPIC TRIAL

On 29 March 1821, soon after hearing the news of Keats’s death, Haydon recalled the poet’s epic enterprise:

> One day he was full of an epic Poem! another, epic poems were splendid impositions on the world! & never for two days did he know his own intentions. […] I was angry because he would not bend his great powers to some definite object, & always told him so. (*Diary*, II, 317–18)

At times, Haydon was even ‘angry’ when he found the straying poet ‘not exactly on the road to an epic poem’ (*LJK*, II, 42). While paying a tribute of praise to his departed friend’s poetic ‘genius’, Haydon also lamented that Keats had had ‘no decision of character’ in himself (*Diary*, II, 316). In the *Annals of the Fine Arts* for 1 January 1817, Haydon had discussed

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Paradise Lost, II. 899–901. Keats also underlined the original lines in his copy of the epic (see *KPL*, p. 98).

[75] Keats’s letter of the same day to the George Keatses also reads that ‘Miltonic verse cannot be written but it [*for* in] the vein of art’: ‘Life to him would be death to me’ (*LJK*, II, 212).

John Foster's essay 'On Decision of Character' (1805).[76] He recommended Fosterian indefatigable '*Decision of Character*' as '*the great requisite for a young Student of Historical Painting in England*', a country that preferred portraiture to the neglected genre of epic greatness.[77] Among his expected readership of the essay, Haydon seemed to include the young poet, Keats. Written on 10 April 1818, Keats's self-castigating Preface to *Endymion* precisely indicated that the work revealed his own yet 'undecided' character, as well as some 'uncertain' and 'thick-sighted' ideas about his life beyond (*PJK*, pp. 102–03). Therefore, in his succeeding Haydonesque epic, Keats decided to portray Apollo's more 'fore-seeing' and 'undeviating' march of heroism.[78] However, after struggling with his negotiation of the Miltonic and sublimely decisive mode of progress in 'Hyperion' and 'The Fall of Hyperion', Keats perhaps felt the necessity to revert to the previous, Shakespearean ideal of a poet without 'any determined Character' but with some chameleon-like versatility (*LJK*, I, 184).[79]

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[76] John Foster, *Essays in a Series of Letters to a Friend*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1805), I, 114–210. For another of Foster's essays in this collection, 'On the Application of the Epithet Romantic' (II, 1–97), see Paul Kaufman, 'John Foster's Pioneer Interpretation of the Romantic', *Modern Language Notes*, 38.1 (January 1923), 1–14.

[77] 'B. R. H.' [Benjamin Robert Haydon], 'Decision of Character, the Great Requisite for a Young Student of Historical Painting in England', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.3 (1 January 1817), 300–12 (p. 300).

[78] For more about Keats and Foster, see Clarke Olney, 'Keats as John Foster's "Man of Decision"', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 16 (Winter 1967), 6–8. In his 1822 essay 'On Effeminacy of Character', Hazlitt declares that '[t]here is nothing more to be esteemed than a manly firmness and decision of character'; 'I cannot help thinking', he adds, 'that the fault of Mr. Keats's poems was a deficiency in masculine energy of style' (*CWWH*, VIII, 253–54). Elsewhere, Hazlitt also considers that 'all [Keats] wanted was manly strength and fortitude to reject the temptations of singularity in sentiment and expression' (ibid., IX, 244–45).

[79] In a letter to Bailey of 22 November 1817, Keats wrote about those 'Men of Genius' who appeared to 'have not any individuality' or 'any determined Character' (*LJK*, I, 184). About a year later, on 27 October 1818, Keats further discussed the sympathetic 'Character' of what he called 'the camelion [*sic*] Poet' (*LJK*, I, 386–87).

Given the fact that he left the two epics uncompleted, the 'Hyperion' project might be seen as a 'failure' as a test of Keats's friendship with Haydon.[80] Nevertheless, it is significant that, immediately after 'Hyperion' had appeared in his 1820 volume, Keats's experimental and highly painterly manipulation of light and shade seemed to enjoy its creative reception. In 1823, Bryan Waller Procter (alias 'Barry Cornwall') published a Keatsian epic of 'The Fall of Saturn: A Vision'. Echoing Hyperion's 'palace bright' in Keats's epic, Procter envisioned 'a Palace—enormous—bright', placing Saturn between '[h]alf light' and 'half darkness'.[81] The opening lines read:

> I DREAM—I dream—I dream—
> Of shadow and light,—of pleasure and pain,
> Of Heaven,—of Hell.—And visions seem
> Streaming for ever athwart my brain.[82]

As Richard Marggraf Turley has pointed out, Procter's narrative style reminds us of 'The Fall of Hyperion', rather than 'Hyperion'.[83] However, since 'The Fall of Hyperion' was not published until 1857, it might have been 'Hyperion' that inspired Procter's stationing—or arrangement—of 'shadow and light' in his own epic.[84] A relatively neglected yet important acquaintance of Keats and Haydon, Procter had intended his own epic to be a progressive

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[80] As it happens, Keats had also deemed his earlier 'trial of [his] Powers of Imagination' in *Endymion* not as 'a deed accomplished' but as a 'failure in a great object' (*LJK*, I, 169; *PJK*, p. 102).

[81] 'Barry Cornwall' [Bryan Waller Procter], *The Flood of Thessaly, The Girl of Provence, and Other Poems* (London: Colburn, 1823), pp. 164, 168.

[82] Ibid., p. 163.

[83] See Richard Marggraf Turley, *Bright Stars: John Keats, 'Barry Cornwall' and Romantic Literary Culture* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), p. 42.

[84] Edmund Blunden also observed that 'Procter described "The Fall of Saturn", as though "Hyperion" were not sufficient' ('Keats's Letters, 1931; Marginalia', *Studies in English Literature*, 11.4 (October 1931), 475–507 (p. 504)). For the publication history of 'The Fall of Hyperion', see *TKP*, pp. 259–63.

‘*track*’ of ‘the pale twilight’.[85] Months after Keats’s death, Lord Byron also commented that ‘Hyperion is a fine monument & will keep his name’.[86] As such, Keats’s fragmentary and expressively eclipsing vision had perhaps enough capacity to monumentalize his name within the minds of posthumous readership—as one who had moulded the monumental-scale verbal art in intense chiaroscuro.

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[85] Bryan Waller Procter, *An Autobiographical Fragment and Biographical Notes, with Personal Sketches of Contemporaries, Unpublished Lyrics, and Letters of Literary Friends* (London: Bell and Sons, 1877), p. 60. Hunt first introduced Procter to Keats and Hazlitt; then, through Hazlitt, Procter met Haydon (see ibid., p. 136).

[86] George Gordon, Lord Byron, *Byron’s Letters and Journals*, ed. by Leslie A. Marchand, 13 vols (London: Murray, 1973–94), VIII: *1821* (1978), 163.

Chapter 5: Ekphrasis, Surmise, and the Luxury of Twilight

THE POETICS OF SURMISE

In his well-known letter to Richard Woodhouse of 27 October 1818, John Keats wrote about how what he called 'the camelion [*sic*] Poet' could enjoy both 'light and shade' (*LJK*, I, 387). 'It does no harm from its relish of the dark side of things', he argued, 'any more than from its taste for the bright one', not least 'because they both end in speculation': the sympathetic poet can throw himself into at once the bright and the gloomy, that is, the crepuscular, the uncertain, the mysterious, and the doubtful, 'continually' negotiating potential modes of existence through 'filling some other Body' (*LJK*, I, 387). In this chapter, I will consider the possibility that Keats's idea of disinterested speculation—a kind of surmise—might have been significantly spurred by Benjamin Robert Haydon. Critics have traditionally interpreted Keats's notion of artistic 'intensity' stimulating the reader/viewer's 'momentous depth of speculation' (*LJK*, I, 192) in terms of William Hazlitt's influence on the poet's vocabulary.[1] However, as we will see below, several of those artworks (often in an intensely expressive 'halftone') that Haydon had shown to Keats from around early 1818 onwards could also have inspired the latter's poetics of sympathy, especially regarding his ekphrastic pieces of writing.

Perhaps a good place to begin is Keats's letter to Haydon of 8 April 1818. In this letter, Keats suggested an approach to Haydon's 'havens of intenseness' in his still-unfinished picture of *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem* (to be completed in 1820) from the viewpoint of 'Poetry':

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[1] In late December 1817, Keats said that 'the excellence of every Art is its intensity, capable of making all disagreeables evaporate, from their being in close relationship with Beauty & Truth'; he then criticized Benjamin West's historical painting *Death on the Pale Horse* (1817) for its apparent lack of anything 'to be intense upon' (*LJK*, I, 192). For Keats's potential echoes from Hazlitt's criticism of West's picture, see J. D. O'Hara, 'Hazlitt and Romantic Criticism of the Fine Arts', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 27.1 (Autumn 1968), 73–85 (p. 82).

> I am nearer myself to hear your Christ is being tinted into immortality—Believe me Haydon your picture is a part of myself—I have ever been too sensible of the labyrinthian path to eminence in Art (judging from Poetry) ever to think I understood the emphasis of Painting. The innumerable compositions and decompositions which take place between the intellect and its thousand materials before it arrives at that trembling delicate and snail-horn perception of Beauty—I know not you[r] many havens of intenseness—nor ever can know them—but for [all] this I hope not [*for* nought] you atchieve [*sic*] is lost upon me […]. (*LJK*, I, 264–65)[2]

It is true that Keats was yet to realize Haydon's achievements fully, at least in the present status of the picture. Nevertheless, the poet's wordings also imply that the painter was likely to have expounded to him upon the artistic advantages of 'intenseness' some time before. Like the word 'gusto'—which has often been cited in discussing Hazlitt's art criticism but had also been used by Haydon several times—'intensity' is an artistic (as well as scientific) term: it signifies the force of brightness, whether physical or intellectual, as against darkness.[3] Keats's letter is significant in the respect that he tried to understand the art of painterly 'emphasis'—a certain intensity—for the sake of his poetic productions henceforth.[4] His incomplete sentence beginning '[t]he innumerable compositions and decompositions' should thus be read as a gloss for the preceding phrase, 'the emphasis of Painting', which would prompt an intense cognitive process in one's mind: in what the poet called the 'havens of intenseness' in the painter's art, the spectator might be able to enjoy the act of surmise through 'labyrinthian' compositions and decompositions of a shape of 'Beauty'—embedded in the representation.

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[2] In his early 1818 lecture, while pointing to Shakespeare's usage of 'every variety of light and shade', Hazlitt also declared that, in his work, 'there is a continual composition and decomposition of its elements, a fermentation of every particle in the whole mass, by its alternate affinity or antipathy to other principles which are brought in contact with it' (*CWWH*, V, 51). For the scientific implications in Keats's phrase 'compositions and decompositions', see Hermione de Almeida, *Romantic Medicine and John Keats* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 242–45, 264.

[3] *OED*, S.V. 'intensity, *n.*', 1.a, 2.a.; see also James Elmes, *A General and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Fine Arts* (London: Tegg, 1826), S.V. 'tone': Elmes notes that 'the word tone, in relation to *chiaro-scuro*, expresses the degree of brightness or intensity'.

[4] According to the *OED*, the word 'emphasis' refers not only to '[f]orce or intensity of expression' but also, more specifically, to '[i]ntensity, forcefulness; an amplification *of* something'; the latter meaning

On several occasions in Keats's writings, surmise acts as a trope that signals the reader's, the spectator's, and often the poet's own intense look into—and their imaginative interpretations of—some unknown modes of beauty. Perhaps the earliest and most typical example will be Keats's 1816 sonnet 'On First Looking into Chapman's Homer'.[5] There, the poet alludes to Hernán Cortés (or, to be more historically precise, another Spanish explorer Vasco Núñez de Balboa), who discovered the Pacific Ocean and 'star'd' at its breadth:

> and all his men
> Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien. (12–14)

The final image in this sonnet suspends the discoverers of that vast new realm at the very point where none of them can find a suitable word for the sublime seascape. As a result, their silence seems most meaningful and, paradoxically speaking, also most eloquent. This sort of inexpressibility enables readers to imagine in what ways each explorer might have witnessed the prospect 'with a wild surmise': the imaginatively engaging and ever-expanding horizons, both physical and textual, would encourage the reader and the spectator, respectively, to

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is now obsolete but had been current from the early seventeenth to the late nineteenth century (*OED*, s.v. 'emphasis, *n.*', 3.a, 4).

[5] Keats wrote the sonnet in October 1816, the same month he first met Haydon (see *TKP*, pp. 116–17; and Chapter 1). The title itself ('looking into') suggests the poet's interest in the trope of surmise.

compose and decompose potential and variegated forms of beauty in their minds. A further striking instance of surmise in Keats's poetry will be found, of course, in the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', written in the spring of 1819:

> What men or gods are these? What maidens loth?
> What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape?
> What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy? (8–10)

As Susan J. Wolfson observes, the poet's interrogations here would engender 'a drama of shifting surmise, inquiry, and response, whose energy is brilliantly reflected in a poetic texture designed to engage the reader's own questionings'.[6] As in this case of questioning the presence of an elusive Grecian Urn, surmise in poetry can propel the reader's intense commitment to the act of composition and decomposition of a certain implied sense in words. The projections of surmise into text can 'revive in us', Geoffrey H. Hartman writes, 'the capacity for the virtual, a trembling of the imagined on the brink of the real, a sustained inner freedom in the face of death, disbelief, and fact'.[7] In particular 'for Keats', Hartman adds, surmise works as 'the middle-ground of imaginative activity, not reaching to vision, not falling into blankness', that is, as a space between actualities and potentialities and therefore as a pregnant *haven* of meanings.[8]

Thus, as Charles Mahoney sees it, the trope of surmise serves as 'a peculiarly poetic way of proceeding, of sporting with possibility and multiplying a poem's moods'.[9]

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[6] Susan J. Wolfson, *The Questioning Presence: Wordsworth, Keats, and the Interrogative Mode in Romantic Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 300.

[7] Geoffrey H. Hartman, *Wordsworth's Poetry, 1787–1814* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 11.

[8] Ibid., p. 11.

[9] Charles Mahoney, 'Surmise', in *The Encyclopedia of Romantic Literature*, ed. by Frederick Burwick, 3 vols (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), III, 1349–57 (p. 1349).

Nevertheless (and notwithstanding the critical work by Hartman and by Wolfson), Mahoney also maintained as of 2012: ‘There has been surprisingly little attention paid to the role surmise plays in Romantic poetry’.[10] Indeed, as regards Keats, John Middleton Murry’s classic study had discussed the poet’s idea of contemplative ‘speculation’ but without discussing the significance of ‘surmise’.[11] We should not miss the point that Keats used the two words—‘speculations and surmises’—synonymously: his letter of 22 November 1817 revealed his specific interest in the ways in which ‘Imagination’ would take pleasure in its ‘silent Working’ for ‘reflection’, inner ‘repeti[ti]on’, and potential re-creation of a given thing (*LJK*, I, 185). Arguably, Keats’s usage of surmise deserves further examination, especially from the perspective of a Haydonesque aesthetics of light and shade. An important, though often neglected, point to be discussed is that, from time to time during his friendship with Haydon, Keats learned from him how to ‘read’ artworks in halftone which would encourage the spectator’s act of surmise.[12]

In late 1818, Richard Woodhouse attested to the fact that, occasionally while writing, Keats spurred his own sympathetic imagination for poetic characters ‘so intensely as to lose consciousness of what is round him’ (*LJK*, I, 389). This chapter will argue that, in viewing artworks of ‘intenseness’, too, Keats was likely to have thrown himself forward into their visual (pictorial) narratives. I seek to demonstrate how Haydon could have influenced some of Keats’s ekphrastic writings, that is, his verbal renditions of visual materials. More specifically, I will examine how Keats—frequently with Haydon—enjoyed ‘reading’ engravings of medieval frescoes and of the Raphael Cartoons and how he might have sublimated those aesthetic experiences into his poetry. In addition to several painterly lines in 'The Fall of Hyperion' and 'The Eve of St. Agnes', I will pay particular attention to Keats's verse epistle to John Hamilton Reynolds. A piece from the spring of 1818, Keats's epistolary poem significantly prefigures his ekphrastic craftsmanship in the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn'. This chapter aims to explore Keats's poetics of light and shade in more depth by drawing on the ways in which his ekphrastic experiments generate interpretative ambivalence in the reader. As I want to show, Keats and Haydon seem to have shared an interest in the polarity of those artworks that would stimulate the spectator's intense surmise and would engender a suspension of one's own senses between certainty and uncertainty.

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[10] Ibid., III, 1351.

[11] See John Middleton Murry, *Keats*, 4th edn, rev. and enlarged (London: Cape, 1955), pp. 227–37.

[12] As mentioned later in this chapter, Keats himself uses the word ‘read’ to describe his experience of viewing Raphael’s artworks (see *LJK*, II, 19). For the figurative sense of this verb, that is, ‘[t]o study, observe, or interpret (a phenomenon, an object) as though by reading’, see *OED*, S.V. ‘read, *v.*’, 7.a.

CARLO LASINIO'S 'BOOK OF PRINTS'

'When I was last at Haydon's', Keats wrote to the George Keatses on 31 December 1818, 'I look[ed] over a Book of Prints taken from the fresco of the Church at Milan the name of which I forget' (*LJK,* II, 19).[13] Although Keats could not recall the title of the book, he nonetheless vividly remembered the impressions the volume had given to him:

> in it are comprised Specimens of the first and second age of art in Italy—I do not think I ever had a greater treat out of Shakspeare—Full of Romance and the most tender feeling—magnificence of draperies beyond any I ever saw not excepting Raphael's—But Grotesque to a curious pitch—yet still making up a fine whole—even finer to me than more accomplish'd works—as there was left so much room for Imagination. (*LJK*, II, 19)

As critics have agreed, Keats and Haydon were examining Carlo Lasinio's 'Book of Prints': *Pitture a Fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa* (1812).[14] Published in Florence, Lasinio's volume was in fact in Haydon's bookshelf until the summer of 1823.[15] As a self-proclaimed 'historical painter', Haydon was preoccupied with the idea of materializing a 'story' on canvas. Derived from the Latin *historia*, the word 'history' primarily denotes 'narrative of real or imaginary events', including those 'represented pictorially'.[16] It is also significant that Europe (and the Continent in particular) had traditionally regarded 'historical painting' as 'the form *par excellence* of narrative painting'.[17] Haydon was thus eager to show Keats those visual arts of 'history', 'narrative', and indeed 'Romance' (as the poet used the word)—whether they were produced by either the painter himself or the Old Masters.

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[13] Keats was 'last at Haydon's' probably on 27 December 1818 (see *LJK*, II, 19, n. 4).

[14] See, for example, *KMA*, pp. 98–99.

In the words of J. B. Bullen, like many of Haydon's huge canvases, Lasinio's 'Book of Prints' was 'truly monumental in its scale'.[18] This folio-sized volume contained more than forty engravings in total. The prints also reproduced the state of dilapidation in the original frescos: as a result, to borrow Keats's own words, 'there was left so much room for Imagination' (Figure 5.1). Lasinio's engravings were, in this sense, partly 'fragmentary'. Those gaps and blanks would certainly have encouraged viewers—including Keats and Haydon—to surmise what might have been depicted there. The silent working of speculative imagination would involve innumerable compositions and decompositions of materials in the mind of the spectator (or, perhaps, the reader of this elliptical and pictorial 'Romance'). We might well remember the poet's surmise in 'The Fall of Hyperion', a monumental epic begun in the summer of 1819.[19] The poet successively asks Moneta (or Mnemosyne), the goddess of memory and the source of poetry, about her yet unspecified identity: ‘Majestic shadow, tell me where I am: | Whose altar this; for whom this incense curls: | What image this, whose face I cannot see’ (I. 211–13). In this way, the poet tries intensely to imagine into the obscure, unidentified, and yet highly engaging ‘face’ of Moneta:

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[15] See A. N. L. Munby, ed., *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, 12 vols (London: Mansell, 1971–75), IX: *Poets and Men of Letters*, ed. by Roy Park (1974), 527.

[16] *OED*, S.V. 'history, *n.*', etymology and 5.

[17] Peter Heehs, 'Narrative Painting and Narratives about Paintings: Poussin among the Philosophers', *Narrative*, 3.3 (October 1995), 211–31 (p. 227).

[18] J. B. Bullen, 'The English Romantics and Early Italian Art', *Keats-Shelley Review*, 8.1 (1993), 1–20 (p. 4). The size of each engraving is approximately 38 × 76 cm.

[19] For the composition of 'The Fall of Hyperion', see *TKP*, pp. 259–63.

Then saw I a wan face,
Not pin’d by human sorrows, but bright blanch’d
By an immortal sickness which kills not;
It works a constant change, which happy death
Can put no end to; deathwards progressing
To no death was that visage […]. (I. 256–61)

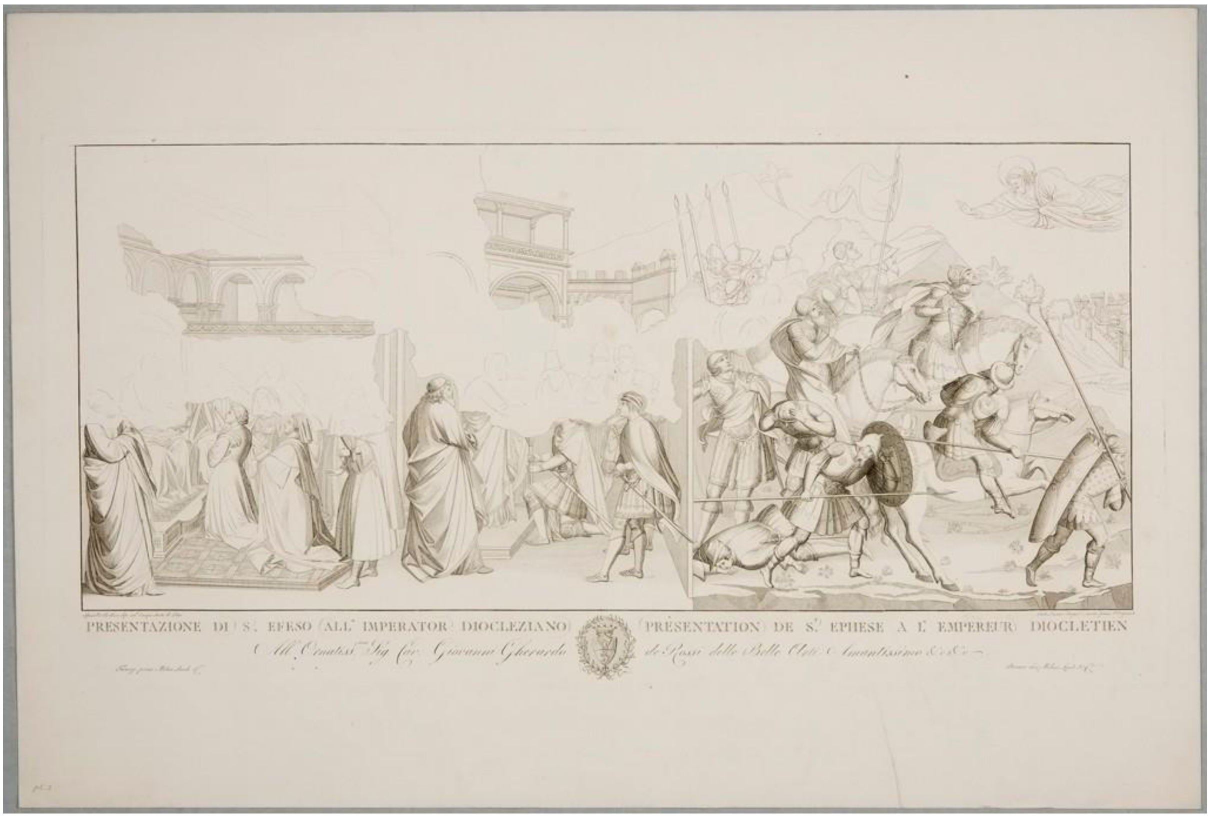
PRESENTAZIONE DI S. EFESO ALL' IMPERATOR DIOCLEZIANO
PRESENTATION DE S.T EPHESE A L' EMPEREUR DIOCLETIEN
All' Ornatiss.mo Sig. Cav. Giovanni Gherardo de Rossi delle Belle Arti Amantissimo &c &c

Figure 5.1 Carlo Lasinio (after Spinello Aretino), *The Presentation of Saint Ephesus to the Emperor Diocletian*, 1812, engraving, photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College

Through the labyrinthian process of surmises, the poet witnesses Moneta's 'wan face'—somewhat reminiscent of the partly blank figures in Lasinio's work. Like a kaleidoscope, as the poet sees it, Moneta's face exhibits 'a constant change'. Perhaps it is the poet's own imaginative colouring that contributes to this mysterious, chameleon-like versatility: the face embodies the creative and unstable polarity which would suspend the spectator between the senses of mortality and immortality, visibility and invisibility, and fragmentation and regeneration.

Keats likened Lasinio's visual 'Romance' to Shakespeare's literary art: 'I do not think I ever had a greater treat out of Shakspeare'. Keats was seeking to apply some literary perspective to the engravings, judging them from the viewpoint of poetry. In the spring of 1821, after the poet's death, Haydon recalled that he had 'enjoyed Shakespeare more with Keats than with any other Human creature' (*Diary*, II, 318). Lasinio's artistry perhaps triggered one of those delightful conversations between Keats and Haydon about the Shakespearean verbal intensity. In *The Rape of Lucrece*, for example, there is a passage that reminds us of Keats's evocative phrases, 'Full of Romance', 'the most tender feeling', and the 'magnificence of draperies'.[20] In Shakespeare's narrative poem, Lucrece surmises 'a piece | Of skilful painting' (1366–67) of the Trojan War. This 'imaginary work' of art stimulates her sympathetic imagination into the picture:

> For much imaginary work was there;
> Conceit deceitful, so compact, so kind,

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[20] The impact of Shakespeare's poem on Keats has often been neglected, even in Caroline F. E. Spurgeon's *Keats's Shakespeare: A Descriptive Study Based on New Material*, 2nd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1929) and in R. S. White's *Keats as a Reader of Shakespeare* (London: Athlone Press, 1987). In the meantime, in 1989, John Kerrigan challenged their views and suggested possible ramifications of *The Rape of Lucrece* in Keats's poetry (see 'Keats and *Lucrece*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 41 (1989), 103–18).

That for Achilles' image stood his spear
Gripped in an armèd hand; himself behind
Was left unseen save to the eye of mind;
    A hand, a foot, a face, a leg, a head,
    Stood for the whole to be imaginèd. (1422–28)

Shakespeare's 'imaginary' ekphrasis precisely leaves much room for the spectator's surmise. As in several of Lasinio's narrative engravings, the Shakespearean tapestry of words contains those 'havens of intenseness' whose subtle implications would be divulged only 'to the eye of mind'. Shakespeare speaks less to express more; by so doing, he allows the reader/spectator to 'imagine' a potentially vast 'whole' of the verbal picture. The aesthetic rhetoric here seems to foreshadow Keats's idea that Lasinio's partly elliptical artistry would reveal 'a fine whole' which appeared 'even finer to [him] than more accomplish'd works'. As such, the Shakespearean technique of 'textual suspicion' (in John Kerrigan's words) is likely to have encouraged Keats's—and possibly Haydon's—acts of suspense, speculation, and surmise in midst of the representation.[21]

'Undoubtedly', Martin Aske wrote in 1997, 'there is more to say about the influence of Lasinio's volume on Keats's developing poetics'.[22] In discussing Keats's reception of Lasinio's engravings, critics have often stressed one specific print among them as an almost uniquely significant source for the poet's inspiration: *The Triumph of Death* (Figure 5.2). It was Robert Gittings who first drew substantial attention to this engraving in his 1968 biography of Keats.[23] The print is indeed macabre, uncanny, and, in this sense, 'Grotesque' to some extent. Gittings gave two primary reasons why he considered *The Triumph of Death,* in particular, to be quintessential for Keats's imagination. First, weeks before Keats viewed Lasinio's book, his brother Tom had died of tuberculosis; the print's theme—the victory of death over life—might have heightened the poignancy of Keats's sense of loss. Secondly, and more simply, *The Triumph of Death* was 'the most famous of all' the original frescos.[24]

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[21] Kerrigan, 'Keats and *Lucrece*', p. 116.

[22] Martin Aske, 'Still Life with Keats', in *Keats: Bicentenary Readings*, ed. by Michael O'Neill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 129–43 (p. 132).

[23] See Robert Gittings, *John Keats* (London: Heinemann, 1968), pp. 279–81. In the previous year, 1967, Ian Jack had also briefly mentioned this print (see *KMA*, p. 99).

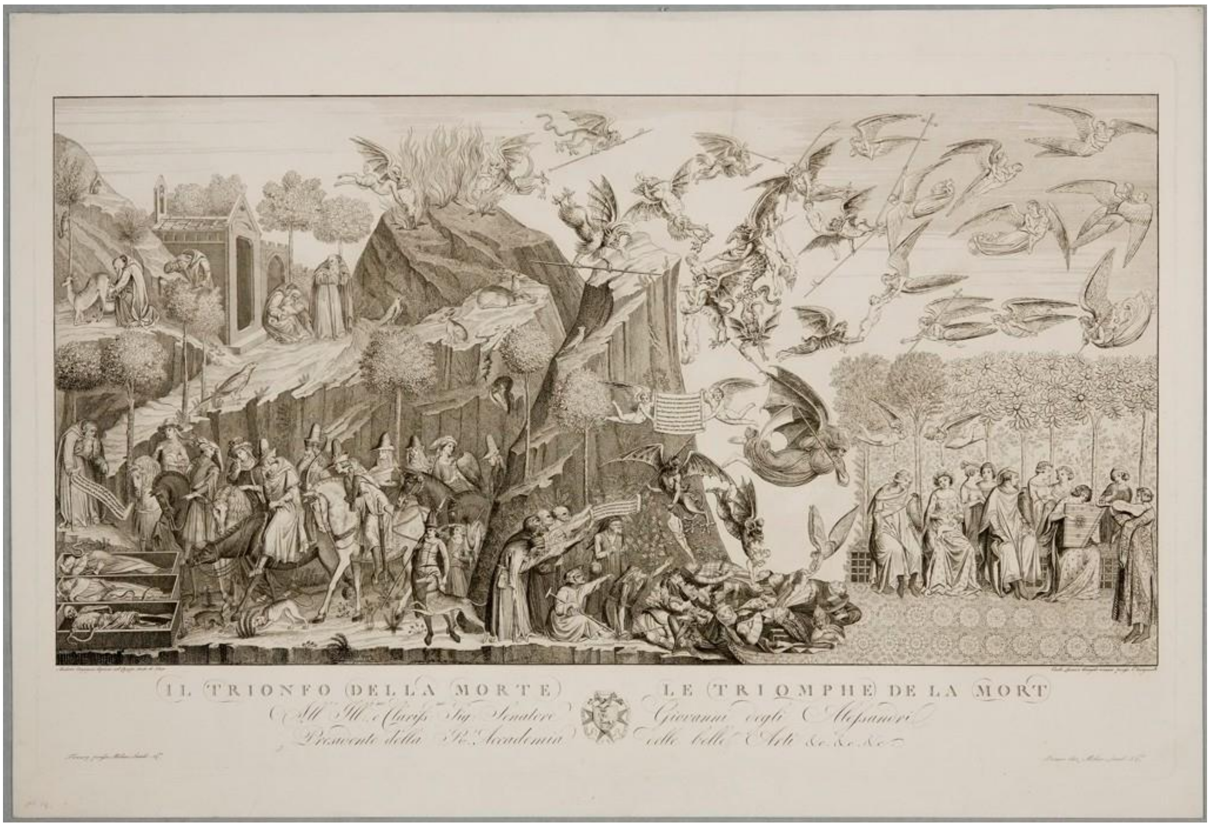
IL TRIONFO DELLA MORTE
LE TRIOMPHE DE LA MORT
All' Ill.mo e Clariss. Sig. Senatore Giovanni degli Alessandri
Presidente della R. Accademia delle belle Arti &c. &c. &c.

Figure 5.2 Carlo Lasinio (after Pietro Lorenzetti), *The Triumph of Death*, 1812, engraving, photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College

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[24] Robert Gittings, 'Visual Perception for the Creative Writer', in *Light and Sight: An Anglo-Netherlands Symposium, 2 and 3 May 1973, Trippenhuis, Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1974), pp. 28–40 (p. 33). *The Triumph of Death* also fascinated Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who saw its original fresco at Pisa in 1806 (see E. S. Shaffer, '"Infernal Dreams" and Romantic Art Criticism: Coleridge on the Campo Santo, Pisa', *Wordsworth Circle,* 20.1 (Winter 1989), 9–19; and Morton D. Paley, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the Fine Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 62–64, 142–46). For the fresco's possible influence on Percy Bysshe Shelley's 'The Triumph of Life', written in Italy in 1822, see Edmund Blunden, *Shelley: A Life Story* (London: Collins, 1946), p. 291.

Gittings claimed that, to Keats, Lasinio's work appeared to be 'an allegory of Pleasure and Life opposed by the reality of Pain and Death'.[25] As a rule, subsequent critics have followed Gittings's theory that Keats took *The Triumph of Death,* among others, as a significant visual correlative for the living environment of the poet (who had recently lost his brother).[26]

There is, nevertheless, no conclusive reason to suppose that Keats was exclusively attracted to *The Triumph of Death*. In 1982, Robyn Cooper also challenged Gittings's assumption, which he judged as somewhat 'unconvincing'.[27] It is more likely that Lasinio's entire book gave Keats a kind of pleasure in surmising its 'Romance' as a pictorial narrative. Rather than that single specific image, the sense of a potential whole in the volume would have engaged Keats's attention. Through viewing—or reading—this book of engravings, which were represented partly in a fragmentary way, Keats was making up 'a fine whole' in his own mind; the process might also have involved successive and highly imaginative compositions, decompositions, and re-compositions of the visual materials. In his letter, Keats compared the expressive narrativity in Lasinio's engravings to Raphael's artistry, too. As it happens, Keats's idea of pregnant point between the visible and the invisible in Italian art was echoing Joseph Addison's argument about Raphael's mastery of intensity:

> Fain wou'd I *Raphael*'s Godlike Art rehearse,
> And show th' Immortal Labours in my Verse.
> Where from the mingled strength of Shade and Light

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[25] Gittings, *John Keats*, p. 273.

[26] See, for example, Greg Kucich, *Keats, Shelley, and Romantic Spenserianism* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), pp. 200–03; and Andrew Motion, *Keats* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), p. 335. According to Haydon, Keats also 'alluded to his poor Brother' (*Diary*, II, 318) in line 26 of the 'Ode to a Nightingale', written months later: 'Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies'. For the line's echoes of Wordsworth's *The Excursion*, see *KRRP*, pp. 55, 59.

[27] Robyn Cooper, '"The Crowning Glory of Pisa": Nineteenth-Century Reactions to the Campo Santo', *Italian Studies*, 37 (1982), 72–100 (p. 94, n. 102).

A new Creation rises to my Sight.
Such Heav'nly Figures from his Pencil flow,
So warm with Life his blended Colours glow.
From Theme to Theme with secret Pleasure tost,
Amidst the soft Variety I'm lost:
Here pleasing Airs my ravisht Soul confound
With circling Notes and Labyrinths of Sound;
Here Domes and Temples rise in distant Views,
And opening Palaces invite my Muse.[28]

Here, Addison made an ekphrastic attempt to 'rehearse' Raphael's art in his own 'Verse'. However, the intensity of Raphael's artistry never allowed Addison to keep an objective stance to put the picture into words; halted, suspended, and 'tost' between the polarities of 'Shade and Light', the author finally found himself 'lost' amid the artist's work itself. The author intuited the imaginary 'Labyrinths'—a sort of Haydonesque 'haven'—of potentialities: thus, almost in an unaware way, he envisaged a 'new Creation' rising in his own mind.

As Aske has also suggested, another point to be reconsidered is Keats's usage of the word 'Grotesque' in his letter.[29] Gittings and most subsequent critics have construed the term in its modern sense, that is, as what implies the uncanny, the bizarre, or even the absurd. However, Keats's phraseology is apparently at odds with those meanings. In his letter, Keats contrasted Lasinio's 'Grotesque' engravings with the quality of 'more accomplish'd works':

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[28] Joseph Addison, 'A Letter from Italy, to the Right Honourable Charles[,] Lord Hallifax [*sic*]', in *Poetical Miscellanies: The Fifth Part: Containing a Collection of Original Poems, with Several New Translations: By the Most Eminent Hands* (London: Tonson, 1704), pp. 1–12 (pp. 7–8).

[29] See Aske, 'Still Life with Keats', p. 132.

compared with the latter, the former appeared to contain ‘so much room for Imagination’. This logic shows that he was less concerned with ugliness or hideousness, as one might perceive in the volume, than with its unaffectedly primitive and unsophisticated style of art. As Arthur Clayborough observes, in the first place, the word ‘grotesque’ had been used mostly ‘without a pejorative coloration’ during the Romantic period.[30] In *Paradise Lost*, John Milton had also described a visually engaging, ‘grotesque and wild’ landscape—which might have inspired Keats’s allusion to ‘[f]ountains grotesque, new trees, bespangled caves, | Echoing grottos’ in the labyrinthian *Endymion* (I. 458–59).[31] The nuances of such grotto-esque primitive qualities of art can be found in Keats’s enigmatic ‘Fragment of Castle-Builder’ (written some time in 1818), too.[32]

For Keats, and probably for Haydon as well, the allurement of Lasinio’s work seemed to lie in its unaffected and even mutilated manner of representation. The engravings would have stimulated each spectator’s sympathetic surmise and labyrinthine compositions and decompositions. What mattered most for Keats was whether the fragmentary art would help him to imagine ‘a fine whole’ in the end—rather than whether it would evoke the idea of the grotesque in its modern, pejorative sense. Keats's aesthetic view corresponded to what Haydon had argued in the *Champion* for 26 May 1816. Praising the Raphael Cartoons, which had originally been preliminary designs for tapestries, Haydon asked the spectator 'not' to 'expect to find' any palpable 'identity of substance' in them: instead, he drew attention to the artworks' apparently 'faint' yet expressive intimations of potential beauties.[33] The spectator would be 'stopped and attracted', Hazlitt also remarked two years after Keats's death, by 'the finishing, or the want of it' in the Cartoons (*CWWH,* X, 44). Besides its technical 'simplicity', Raphael's artistry appeared to Hazlitt to bring the spectator's attention to its own 'decayed', 'dilapidated', and, in its original sense, grotesque state: the Cartoons were indeed 'the more majestic', Hazlitt proclaimed, 'for being in ruin', or virtual fragment (*CWWH,* X, 44).[34]

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[30] Arthur Clayborough, *The Grotesque in English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 11.

[31] Milton’s phrase is quoted from *KPL*, p. 110; IV. 136 (underlined by Keats). Alastair Fowler’s gloss for Milton’s word ‘grotesque’ reads: ‘entangled, labyrinthine’ (John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. by Alastair Fowler, rev. 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 222). Perhaps a more immediate inspiration for Keats’s ‘grotesque’ imagery in *Endymion* was Shanklin Chine, where he visited shortly before beginning the poem in 1817. In the previous year, a topographical guide had described the place’s landscape as ‘striking and grotesque’ (Sir Henry C. Englefield, *A Description of the Principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phœnomena, of the Isle of Wight* (London: Payne and Foss, 1816), p. 84).

[32] The poem contains the following lines: ‘Greek busts and statuary have ever been | Held by the finest spirits fitter far | Than vase grotesque and Siamesian jar’ (55–57). For the composition of this poem, see *TKP*, pp. 203–04. For Keats and the grotesque, see also Frederick Burwick, *The Haunted Eye: Perception and the Grotesque in English and German Romanticism* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987), pp. 229–39.

In the summer of 1822, Leigh Hunt viewed at Pisa the original frescoes of Lasinio's engravings. There, Hunt noticed peculiar tensions between light and shade in the frescoes:

> They have the germs of beauty and greatness, however obscured and stiffened, the struggle of true pictorial feeling with the inexperience of art. As you proceed along the walls, you see gracefulness and knowledge gradually helping one another, and legs and arms, lights, shades, and details of all sorts taking their proper measures and positions, as if every separate thing in the world of painting had been created with repeated efforts, till it answered the original and always fair idea. They are like a succession of quaint dreams of humanity during the twilight of creation.[35]

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[33] Benjamin Robert Haydon, 'The Cartoons in the British Gallery, by Raphael', *Champion,* 26 May 1816, p. 167.

[34] Hazlitt also argued how the Cartoons could stimulate the spectator's sympathetic imagination: 'there is nothing between us and the subject; we look through a frame, and see scripture-histories, and are made actual spectators of miraculous events' (*CWWH,* X, 44).

[35] [Leigh Hunt], 'Letters from Abroad: Letter I.—Pisa', *Liberal,* 1.1 (15 October 1822), 97–120 (p. 112). Part of this letter was later incorporated in *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, with*

Hunt appreciated the frescos 'at twilight, when the indistinct shapes, colours, and antiquity of the old paintings wonderfully harmonized with the nature of the place'.[36] Not least for this reason, the whole frescos gave him the impression of 'a succession of quaint dreams of humanity during the twilight of creation'. Hunt was attracted to the very ways in which the frescoes embodied in a dormant yet most expressive manner the intimations of 'beauty and greatness'. It was this somewhat 'obscured' artistry of the medieval age that suspended Hunt's mind in those havens of creative potentialities. Like Keats, who had read Lasinio's 'Romance' as a narrative sequence, Hunt perceived the frescoes as 'a succession' of pregnant and crepuscular imageries, rather than as some palpable and respectively independent, *disjecta membra*.

The same medieval—and hence chronologically *Pre*-Raphaelite—frescoes (or, more precisely, their engravings) were to inspire mid-Victorian artists, such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais, and William Holman Hunt. Around 1848, these young men apotheosized Keats, who had shown perceptive insights into the early Italian primitive art.[37] In fact, like Keats, the Pre-Raphaelites had no original intention of criticizing the work of Raphael: it was against the Royal Academy, rather than Raphael himself, that the Pre-Raphaelites unfurled a standard of aesthetic revolt.[38] The radical politics of the Pre-

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Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries, 3 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1850), III, 37–52. For the publication date of the first number of the *Liberal*, see *Examiner*, 20 October 1822, p. 672.

[36] [Hunt], 'Letters from Abroad: Letter I.—Pisa', p. 109.

[37] Rossetti's letter of 20 August 1848 registers his excitement at finding Keats's taste in medieval art: 'He seems to have been a glorious fellow, and says in one place (to my great delight) that having just looked over a folio of the first & second schools of Italian painting, he has come to the conclusion that the early men surpassed even Rafael himself!!!' (*The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. by William E. Fredeman, 10 vols (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2002–15), I (2002), 68). For the Pre-Raphaelites' reception of Lasinio's engravings, see William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1905), I, 130, 133.

[38] In a 'list of Immortals' they admired, the Pre-Raphaelites also included Raphael (ibid., I, 159).

Raphaelites attacked Royal Academicians, precisely because most of the latter had uncritically been following the style of Raphael even in the mid-nineteenth century. In his letter of 31 December 1818 about Lasinio's engravings, Keats also stated:

> A year ago I could not understand in the slightest degree Raphael's cartoons—now I begin to read them a little—and how did I lea[r]n to do so? By seeing something done in quite an opposite spirit—I mean a picture of Guido's in which all the Saints, instead of that heroic simplicity and unaffected grandeur which they inherit from Raphael, had each of them both in countenance and gesture all the canting, solemn melo dramatic mawkishness of Mackenzie's father Nicholas […]. (*LJK*, II, 19)

Raphael's 'heroic simplicity and unaffected grandeur' appeared to Keats to be far superior and even 'opposite' to the principle of some demonstrative 'mawkishness' in art. It is worth noting that Keats here used the verb 'read' to describe his experience of viewing Raphael's highly engaging artworks. As in the case of Lasinio's book of 'Romance' (which he referred to shortly afterwards in this letter), Keats 'read' the Raphael Cartoons. It is most likely that Keats also viewed some of those Cartoons with Haydon, who had applauded them as enthusiastically as the Elgin Marbles.[39] As we will see below, Keats's labyrinthine readings—or surmises—of artworks would bear significant fruits in his ekphrastic writings from early 1818 onwards.

TEXTUAL GLOAMING IN THE VERSE EPISTLE TO JOHN HAMILTON REYNOLDS

Though relatively neglected, Keats's verse epistle to Reynolds seems significant in its ekphrastic explorations of artworks. Written on 25 March 1818, it points to innumerable tensions within the poet's mind. 'Restless juxtapositions', in Nicholas Roe's words, 'chequered' the texture of this poem (*JKNL*, p. 221). The poet's ekphrastic (and hence in part narrative) impulses at once drive his pen and frustrate the composition against his expectations. 'I have a mysterious tale', the poet attracts the reader's attention; but the next moment he says that he 'cannot speak it' (*LJK*, I, 262). 'Things cannot to the will | Be settled', the poet observes: 'they tease us out of thought' (*LJK*, I, 262). The sense of creative uneasiness here clearly prefigures the ways in which the poet would surmise ever-receding shades and shadows of antique art: 'Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought | As doth eternity' ('Ode on a Grecian Urn', 44–45). Like the Urn's elusive and suggestive identity, the poet's phraseology in his 1818 epistle is highly evocative. A series of oscillations between clarity and obscurity characterize the epistle; as we will see, it is the poet's ekphrastic desires that would seem to heighten its hermeneutic complexities and perhaps luxuries as well.

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[39] Heinrich Wölfflin notes that the Cartoons 'have been called "the Parthenon sculptures of modern art"' (*Classic Art: An Introduction to the Italian Renaissance*, trans. by Peter and Linda Murray (London: Phaidon, 1952), p. 108). Haydon often likened the Raphael Cartoons to the Elgin Marbles (see, for example, *Lectures*, II, 186), mounting an exhibition of drawings from both artefacts in 1819.

As Keats himself remarked, his epistle presents a fragmentary and thematically 'unconnected' story (*LJK*, I, 263). It begins with an opaque reference to those 'Shapes, and Shadows and Remembrances' that appear to be 'all disjointed'; these mutilated visions alternately 'vex and please' the poet—suspended as they are in a sort of limbo or haven (*LJK*, I, 259). The poet then directs the reader's attention to some disconnected yet suggestively associated imageries:

> young Æolian harps personified,
> Some, Titian colours touch'd into real life.—
> The sacrifice goes on; the pontif knife
> Gloams in the sun, the milk-white heifer lows,
> The pipes go shrilly, the libation flows:
> A white sail shews above the green-head cliff
> Moves round the point, and throws her anchor stiff.

The Mariners join hymn with those on land. (*LJK*, I, 260)

The lines are densely composite in terms of their visual allusiveness. Besides 'Titian' (whose name the poet himself mentions), the passage may also hint at more sources, including Joseph Mallord William Turner's pictorial 'personification' of *Thomson's Aeolian Harp* (1809) and a sculpted 'heifer' in the Elgin Marbles. According to Ian Jack, 'it is certainly most unlikely that Keats is here describing any particular painting', sculpture, or other forms of visual art available to see during his lifetime (*KMA*, p. 221). Like the mysterious Grecian Urn, whose visually engaging qualities the present poem notably prefigures, the lines evoke numerous imageries, stimulate readers' surmises, and finally 'tease us out of thought' between the senses of certainty and uncertainty.

For Keats's 'sacrifice' scene, critics have tended to associate its imagery with Claude's painting (or possibly engraving) of *The Father of Psyche Sacrificing at the Temple of Apollo* (1662–63).[40] However, Raphael's Cartoon of *The Sacrifice at Lystra* (Figure 5.3) might also have been an equally powerful inspiration for the lines. 'Who are these', one might ask, 'coming to the sacrifice?' ('Ode on a Grecian Urn', 31).[41] In the centre of the Cartoon, a man is holding an axe (though not a 'knife').[42] To his left are depicted two children, one of whom is playing soft ‘pipes’; their sweet, intensely *unheard* melodies may perhaps sound most ‘shrilly’—if not to one’s sensual ear—to the spectator’s inner spirit. On either side of the children are stationed sacrificial animals (two bulls and a ram); though, importantly, Haydon took the scene as people bringing ‘a heifer’ to sacrifice.[43]

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[40] See, for example, Grant F. Scott, *The Sculpted Word: Keats, Ekphrasis, and the Visual Arts* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994), pp. 75, 195, n. 12.

[41] For the Cartoon's possible influence on the ode, see J. R. MacGillivray, 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', *Times Literary Supplement*, 9 July 1938, pp. 465–66.

[42] For the phrase 'the pontif knife', Keats might have followed Horace, whose sacrificial description contained the words 'the pontiff's knife divine' ('Horace, Book III: Ode XXIII', trans. by Henry Francis Cary, *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1788, p. 541). Also available in Keats's lifetime, another English rendering of the ode translated the same phrase as 'the pontiff's hallow'd axe' (*The Works of Horace,* trans. by Philip Francis (London: Walker, 1815), p. 112). The opening of Keats's verse epistle to Reynolds suggests a further echo of Horace (see *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. by Miriam Allott (London: Longman, 1970), p. 320). Writing again to Reynolds on 28 February 1820, Keats said: 'If I were well enough I would paraphrase an ode of Horace's for you' (*LJK*, II, 268).

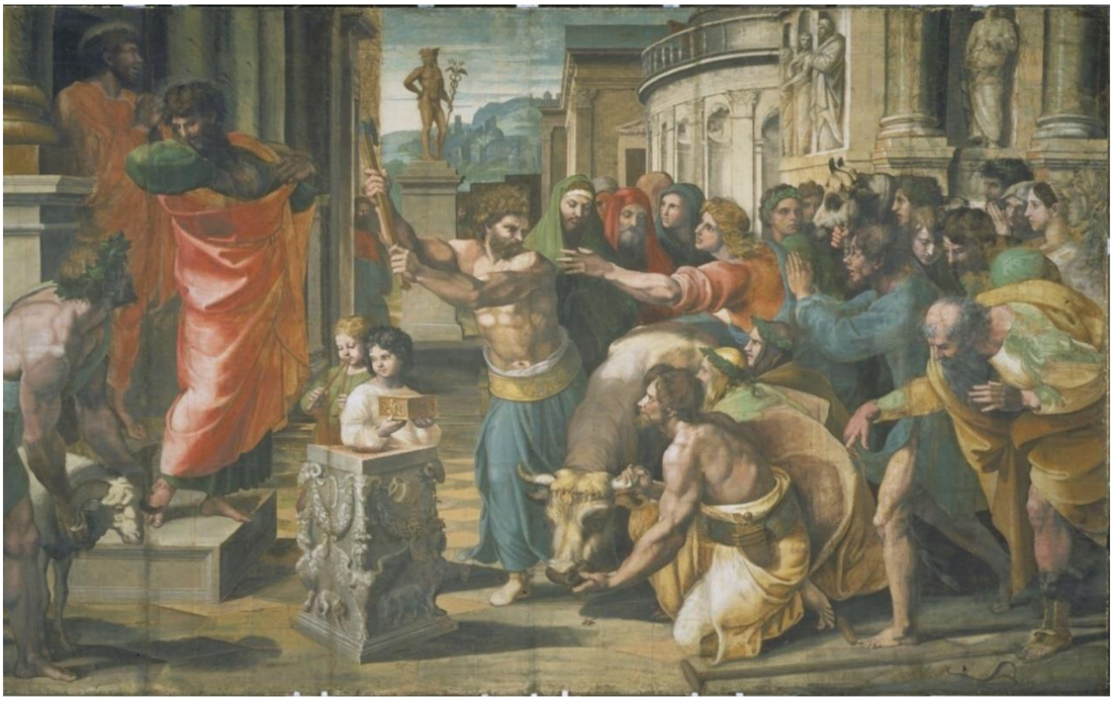

Figure 5.3 Raphael, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, *c*. 1515–16, body colour on paper, mounted on canvas, 347 × 542 cm, Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021

It is likely that some time before writing the verse epistle, Keats had seen an engraving of this Cartoon with Haydon.[44] Significantly, on 22 May 1816, Haydon had spoken highly of not only the ‘perfect composition, unaffected simplicity, [and] beautiful drapery’ in the Cartoons but also their ‘poetical character’ (*Diary*, II, 20). Haydon’s ‘poetical’ approach to Raphael’s artistry might well have encouraged Keats to try to put it into words later.

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[43] ‘B. R. H.’ [Benjamin Robert Haydon], ‘On the Cartoon of the Sacrifice at Lystra’, *Examiner*, 2 May 1819, pp. 285–87 (p. 285). This essay also cites John Potter’s reference to a ‘heifer’ (p. 286).

[44] As a rule, in the early nineteenth century, the Raphael Cartoons had been at Hampton Court Palace. Yet, during the years between 1816 and 1819, one or two of them had also been loaned to the British Institution (indeed due to Haydon’s own request; see Chapter 6). It was in the spring of 1819 that British Institution displayed *The Sacrifice at Lystra* for the public. Therefore, it seems unlikely that Keats had seen the original work by that time. Nevertheless, it is still possible that Keats had access to

Evocative of the halftone of engravings, Keats’s verse epistle foregrounds a similar and twilit colouring. Here, his word ‘Gloams’ merits particular attention. In Jack Stillinger’s authoritative text, it reads ‘Gleams’.[45] The verbal change from ‘Gloams’ to ‘Gleams’, however, was not authorial. It was Richard Woodhouse who suggested the emendation. In transcribing Keats’s now-lost manuscript, Woodhouse underscored the first vowel of the verb (‘Gloams’) and commented alongside the word: ‘So’ (*MYRJK*, VI, 107).[46] This fact indicates that Woodhouse reliably copied out Keats’s original expression, ‘Gloams’. Etymologically speaking, the word ‘gloam’ is related to both ‘glow’ and ‘gloom’, addressing a twilight time of dawn and dusk.[47] Woodhouse seems to have found Keats’s original verb somewhat unnatural in the context. Yet, however strange it might sound, the fact is that Keats chose ‘Gloams’. The poet had most likely those nuanced implications in his mind that would impress the recipient with the term’s intense evocativeness. Significantly, Keats’s usage of the word ‘gloam’ as a verb was even earlier than John Rennie’s 1819 instance, listed as the first in the *OED*.[48] In April 1819, Keats again employed the word ‘gloam’ (this time as a noun) in his mystic ballad ‘La Belle Dame sans Merci’.[49] Referring to this usage, perhaps

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engravings of the Cartoons at Haydon’ studio. For Haydon’s collection of prints, see Munby, ed., *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, IX, 525–28, 549–50.

[45] See *PJK*, p. 242; l. 21 (see also ibid., p. 601; and *LJK*, I, 260, n. 6).

[46] For Woodhouse’s transcript of Keats’s epistle, see also *MYRJK*, VI, 447. The poem was published posthumously in 1848 (see *TKP*, pp. 180–81).

[47] *OED*, s.v. ‘gloaming, *n.*’

[48] *OED*, s.v. ‘gloam, *v.*’

[49] In the ballad, the poet recalls his dream (or nightmare) in which he saw ‘pale’ figures and ‘their starv’d lips in the gloam’ (37, 41). For the composition of the poem, see *TKP*, pp. 232–34.

legitimately, the *OED* cites Keats as the first author who used the noun, 'gloam', as what meant '[t]wilight'.[50]

Writing to the publisher John Taylor on 27 February 1818—a month before composing the verse epistle to Reynolds—Keats mentioned his own poetic 'Axioms', with specific reference to the verbal modulation of clarity and obscurity:

> 1st I think Poetry should surprise by a fine excess and not by Singularity—it should strike the Reader as a wording of his own highest thoughts, and appear almost a Remembrance—2nd Its touches of Beauty should never be half way therby [*sic*] making the reader breathless instead of content: the rise, the progress, the setting of imagery should like the Sun come natural natural too [*sic*] him—shine over him and set soberly although in magnificence leaving him in the Luxury of twilight […]. (*LJK*, I, 238)

As Christopher R. Miller observes, the Keatsian 'Luxury of twilight' seems to point to a certain 'balance', that is, '*luxus* (sumptuous abundance) tempered by the waning of *lux*'.[51] The reader of Keats's poetry surmises the gaps between sobriety and magnificence, absence and presence, and gloom and gleam. As suggested in his first 'Axiom', in this way, the poet stimulates the reader's sympathetic imagination: the reader would take the poet's wording as one's own, appreciating it virtually as 'a Remembrance'. Here, we might recall the opening of Keats's epistle: 'Dear Reynolds, as last night I lay in bed, | There came before my eyes that wonted thread | Of Shapes, and Shadows and Remembrances' (*LJK*, I, 259). The poet's 'wonted thread' of imaginary identities of beauty is not necessarily familiar to the addressee. Nevertheless, the poet's subtle phraseology in the subsequent lines appears to encourage the reader to believe that the subjects are one's own 'highest thoughts'. Poetry's substantive performance 'should never be half way', Keats considers; instead, it needs to be intense to the extent the text would engage the reader to materialize compositions and decompositions in the poet's haven of potentialities. As such, Keats's craftsmanship often involved—or sought to embrace—the imagery of twilight: he was pondering most on how to suspend the reader in his own ambivalent labyrinths of poetry.

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[50] *OED*, S.V. 'gloam, *n.*'

[51] Christopher R. Miller, *The Invention of Evening: Perception and Time in Romantic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 145.

As a specific backdrop of Keats's idea of 'the Luxury of twilight', as well as his experimental practice of crepuscular effects in the verse epistle, William Gilpin's theory of engravings might have played an important part. In his *Essay upon Prints*, first published in 1768, Gilpin discussed the ways in which engravings could attract the viewer's attention not only to their artistry but also to their narrativity. Gilpin remarked that prints 'should catch the eye *first*, and engage it *most*', not least to engender interactions between the engraver and the spectator: 'This is', as he saw it, 'an essential ingredient in a well-told story'.[52] As for methodology, Gilpin advised that engravers should station 'a *broad light*' or sometimes 'a *strong shadow*, in the midst of a light', in their works.[53] There is no record that Keats and Haydon read Gilpin's *Essay*. Nevertheless, it is still plausible that Haydon—an ardent collector of prints—imbibed the essence of this influential work concerning the intensity of halftone artistry.[54] It might have been his interest in the unaffected expressivity of engravings that also encouraged him to mount an exhibition of his pupils' drawings in early 1819. This was actually 'the first Exhibition of form and character in mere black and white'.[55] Haydon had long been preparing for this exhibition: the monochrome would indeed be coloured by the spectator's imagination.[56]

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[52] [William Gilpin], *An Essay upon Prints* (London: Robson, 1768), p. 5.

[53] Ibid., p. 5.

[54] In 1802 appeared the fifth edition of Gilpin's *Essay*. In his *Autobiography*, Haydon wrote: 'I spared no expense for casts and prints, and did great things for the Art by means of them' (p. 285).

[55] 'R. H.' [Robert Hunt], 'Drawings from the Cartoons by Mr. Haydon's Pupils', *Examiner*, 7 February 1819, pp. 93–94 (p. 93).

The highlight in Keats's verse epistle is arguably his ekphrasis of Claude's *The Enchanted Castle* (Figure 5.4). As Roe notes, Keats is likely to have seen an engraving of this picture with Hunt or Haydon.[57] 'You know the Enchanted Castle', the poet speaks to the addressee: 'it doth stand | Upon a Rock on the Border of a Lake | Nested in Trees' (*LJK*, I, 260). The original painting had as its subject the classical myth of Cupid and Psyche. Yet the poet's primary concern is not to repeat the story itself but to render the pictorial narrative into poetry 'in fair dreaming wise':

> O Phœbus that I had thy sacred word
> To shew this Castle in fair dreaming wise
> Unto my friend, while sick and ill he lies. (*LJK*, I, 260)

The apostrophe to 'Phœbus' is meaningful in the respect that Apollo is 'the god of all the fine arts, of medicine, music, poetry, and eloquence'.[58] At the time Keats wrote this epistle, his 'friend'—Reynolds—was 'confined to [his] room, with a heavy cold & fever, leading a life of pain, sleeplessness & bleeding'.[59] The poet-physician seems to have resorted to Apollo's medicinal capacity, as well as the same god's 'eloquence' for his own ekphrastic experiment. After all, as Keats had earlier claimed, poetry 'should be a friend | To sooth the cares, and lift the thoughts of man' ('Sleep and Poetry', 246–47). This time, for a sympathetic approach to his ‘sick and ill’ friend, Keats employed the means of ekphrasis based on a somewhat melancholy yet most engaging picture.

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[56] See 'Poets, Painters, and Other Shadows', *Fraser's Magazine*, July 1845, pp. 27–48.

[57] See *JKNL*, p. 221.

[58] John Lemprière, *A Classical Dictionary; Containing a Copious Account of All the Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors*, 6th edn, corrected (London: Cadell and Davies, 1806), S.V. 'Apollo'; see also KL, p. 148.

[59] *The Letters of John Hamilton Reynolds*, ed. by Leonidas M. Jones (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 11.

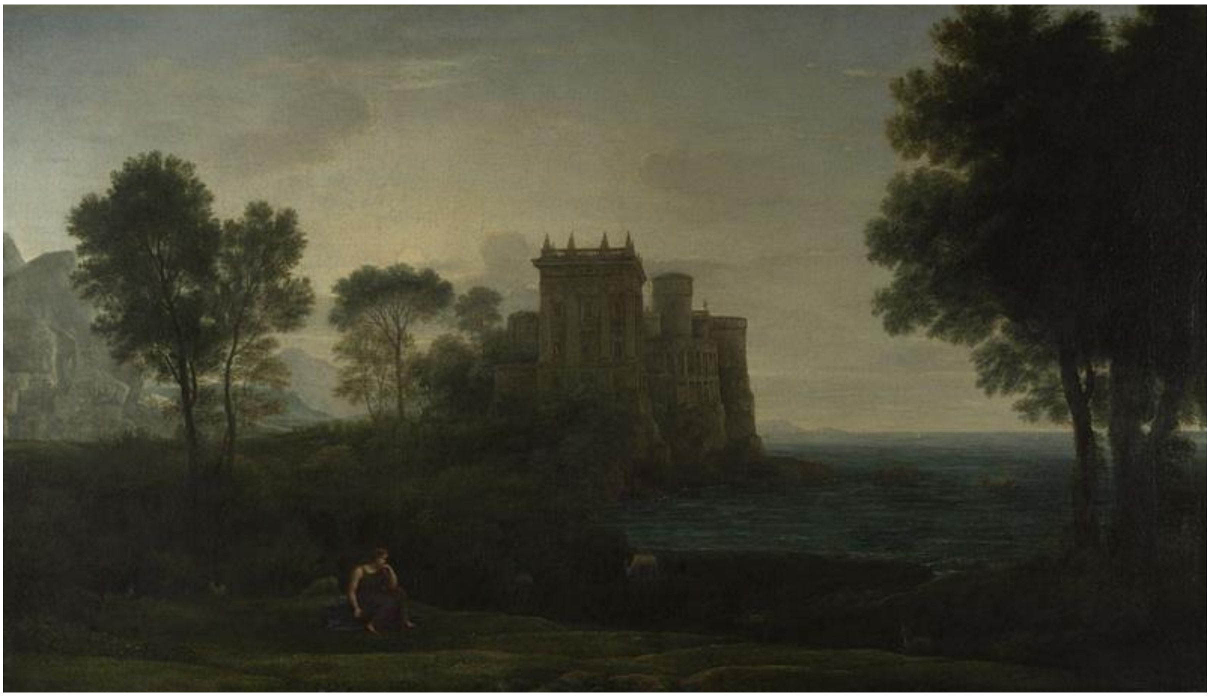

Figure 5.4 Claude, *Landscape with Psyche outside the Palace of Cupid (‘The Enchanted Castle’)*, 1664, oil on canvas, 87.1 × 151.3 cm, courtesy of the National Gallery, London[60]

‘See what is coming from the distance dim!’, the poet brings the reader’s attention to his own ‘dreaming’, gloaming, and potentially curative lines of ekphrasis (*LJK*, I, 261). The poet is perhaps seeking to divert the addressee’s consciousness, albeit temporarily, from the present gloomy state, implying a gleam beyond the shores of darkness:

> A golden galley all in silken trim!
> Three rows of oars are lightening moment-whiles
> Into the verdurous bosoms of those Isles.

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[60] For the title of this picture, see Michael Levey, ‘“The Enchanted Castle” by Claude: Subject, Significance and Interpretation’, *Burlington Magazine*, 130.1028 (November 1988), 812–20. For the picture’s impact on Keats, see also *KMA*, pp. 127–30; and Scott, *The Sculpted Word*, pp. 73–86.

Towards the shade under the Castle Wall
It comes in silence—now tis hidden all.
The clarion sounds; and from a postern grate
An echo of sweet music doth create
A fear in the poor herdsman who doth bring
His beasts to trouble the enchanted spring:
He tells of the sweet music and the spot
To all his friends, and they believe him not. (*LJK*, I, 261)

The poet's visionary '[r]emembrance' gives variegated identities and intensities to his quasi-ekphrastic passage. Reflecting the tincture of twilight in his imagination, the 'galley' assumes a 'golden' colour. The 'dim' presence of the ship also appears evocative. No sooner does the poet unveil its appearances than all the contours are 'hidden' from the reader's sight. In the end, the poet alludes to those who will not even 'believe' the eye-witness of the whole scene. It is as if anticipating the last lines of the 'Ode to a Nightingale': 'Was it a vision, or a waking dream? | Fled is that music:—Do I wake or sleep?' (79–80). Thus, by blurring the distinctions between the real and the imaginary, the poet concludes—or suspends—his ekphrastic lines; with this somewhat elliptical trope, the texts would seem to prompt the reader's surmises further in this obscurantist verbal picture.

In the afterglow of his ekphrastic experiments, the poet channels his juxtapositions of clarity and obscurity into a certain aesthetic belief of his own:

  O that our dreamings all of sleep or wake
Would all their colours from the sunset take:
From something of material sublime,
Rather than shadow our own Soul's daytime
In the dark void of Night. (*LJK*, I, 261)

Whether it is ‘a vision’ or ‘a waking dream’, the poet declares, what the imagination seizes as beauty should take its tinge from ‘sunset’ or ‘something of material sublime’. The passage clearly echoes William Wordsworth’s ‘Tintern Abbey’:

> I have felt
> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man,
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.[61]

Wordsworth’s ‘elevated thoughts’ with ‘a sense sublime’ are arguably prefigurative of Keats’s phrases such as ‘highest thoughts’ (in his letter) and ‘something of material sublime’ (in the verse epistle). The older poet’s lines explore the ‘deeply interfused’ aspects of Nature, with specific reference to ‘the light of setting suns’. The younger poet’s epistle addresses a similar aesthetics of ‘sunset’; much more than in some utter ‘dark void of Night’, Keats perceives—and perhaps half-creates—the validity of beauty in the transient, pregnant, and expressive in-betweenness of twilight. Thus, as well as Haydon’s important induction for Keats into the halftone artistries of Lasinio (and presumably Raphael too) through engravings, the Wordsworthian tensions between the visible and the invisible also seem to have contributed to the shaping of Keats's gloaming poetic picture.

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[61] ‘Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour, July 13, 1798’, in William Wordsworth, *‘Lyrical Ballads’, and Other Poems, 1797–1800*, ed. by James Butler and Karen Green (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 116–20 (pp. 118–19; ll. 94–103). For the poem’s influence on Keats, see also *KRRP*, pp. 30–34.

'Away ye horrid moods', the last part of Keats's verse epistle reads, 'Moods of one's mind!': 'I'll dance, | And from detested moods in new Romance | Take refuge' (*LJK*, I, 262–63). In a letter to Haydon of 10 and 11 May 1817, Keats had written about his own fitful and 'horrid Morbidity of Temperament' (*LJK*, I, 142). Not only as a poet-physician but also as a patient, as it were, the epistler puts himself in the place of his sick friend, Reynolds. In this sense, the poet's sympathetic 'refuge' would also serve in part as the addressee's own:[62] the poet is inviting the reader's attention to his own creative haven of intensity in the form of poetry. The poet seems to be hoping that his somewhat mystified and 'enchanting' ekphrasis would engage the sufferer's imagination most—so that the latter could sublimate his present anguish and speculate upon some other possible state of existence for the time being. With the phrase 'Moods of one's mind', Keats was again alluding to Wordsworth.[63] The older poet had declared that, through one's deep attachments to, and assimilations with, Nature's 'forms of beauty', 'the burthen of the mystery' in this world might witness its alleviation in the end.[64] With the sense of mortality nearly 'suspended', Wordsworth had gone on to argue, human beings could 'see into the life of things' and surmise the complexities of being.[65]

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[62] Keats's only other instance of the word 'refuge' is (again) in his letter to Haydon of 10 and 11 May 1817. There, Keats stated that 'difficulties nerve the Spirit of a Man—they make our Prime Objects a Refuge as well as a Passion' (*LJK*, I, 141). He was possibly responding to Haydon's earlier usage of the same word 'refuge' in their correspondence: '*Trust in God* with all your might My dear Keats this dependance [*sic*] with your own energy will give you strength, & hope & comfort——In all my troubles, & wants, & distresses, here I found a refuge' (*LJK*, I, 135).

[63] Wordsworth's 1807 two-volume *Poems* has a group of works collected under the heading 'MOODS OF MY OWN MIND' (II, 37); see also KL, p. 143; and *KRRP*, p. 38. In a letter to Benjamin Bailey of 21 and 25 May 1818, Keats again refers to this phrase (see *LJK*, I, 287).

[64] 'Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey', p. 117; ll. 24, 39.

[65] Ibid., p. 117; ll. 46, 50.

Referring to Keats's aesthetic experience of viewing Lasinio's engravings with Haydon, Donald C. Goellnicht maintains: 'For Keats, the best poetry is that which offers the greatest number of possible or potential meanings and allows for the greatest amount of give-and-take between the text and the reader'.[66] Ambiguity, obscurity, and fragmentation (if properly introduced) would seem to contribute to what Stillinger calls the 'multiplicity of meanings'—as well as the sense of 'indeterminacy' and 'interpretive inexhaustibility'—in Keats's poetry.[67] These observations are certainly applicable to his ekphrastic experiments in the verse epistle to Reynolds, too. In this evocative, half-adumbrated, and indeed 'gloaming' portrait in words, readers/spectators (including the primary recipient, Reynolds) would surmise the texture and voluntarily try to make up 'a fine whole' in their own minds through, perhaps, innumerable compositions and decompositions.

'For Keats', in the words of J. A. Sutcliffe, 'the ideal art object teases us lightly and provokes interruptions to our judgment': 'it keeps us guessing'.[68] Possibly, the erotic tantalization in 'The Eve of St. Agnes' was also a ramification of Keats's earlier surmises through artworks. The twenty-sixth stanza of the poem illustrates Porphyro's act of voyeurism (which has been considered as distinctly problematic in terms of its sexual politics), offering an imaginative and subtly ekphrastic evocation of Madeline's beauty:[69]

> Anon his heart revives: her vespers done,

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[66] Donald C. Goellnicht, 'Keats on Reading: "Delicious Diligent Indolence"', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 88.2 (April 1989), 190–210 (p. 201).

[67] Jack Stillinger, 'The "Story" of Keats', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Keats*, ed. by Susan J. Wolfson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 246–60 (p. 252).

[68] J. A. Sutcliffe, 'Keats and Teasing', *Cambridge Quarterly*, 21.1 (1992), 65–82 (p. 80).

[69] For the interpretation of Porphyro as '*the peeping Tom/rapist*' and Madeline as '*the victim*', see Jack Stillinger, *Reading 'The Eve of St. Agnes': The Multiples of Complex Literary Transaction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 43–44.

Of all its wreathed pearls her hair she frees;
Unclasps her warmed jewels one by one;
Loosens her fragrant boddice; by degrees
Her rich attire creeps rustling to her knees:
Half-hidden, like a mermaid in sea-weed,
Pensive awhile she dreams awake, and sees,
In fancy, fair St. Agnes in her bed,
But dares not look behind, or all the charm is fled. (226–34)

An intricate apparatus here is that, through Porphyro's telescopic (and indeed hazardously scopophiliac) eyes, readers would also speculate into what this maiden—'[h]oodwink'd' (70) with superstition—is dreaming of. In the words of Marjorie Levinson, '[v]oyeurs ourselves, we watch another voyeur (Keats), watching another (Porphyro), watching a woman who broods voluptuously upon herself'.[70] 'Half-hidden' (from the sights of both Porphyro and readers) 'like a mermaid in sea-weed', Madeline's silhouette would see its embodiment only in the eye of the beholder. For these allusions to Madeline's half-seen presence, Keats might have been inspired by the mutilated yet engaging beauties—precisely in rich drapery—of the Elgin Marbles (Figure 5.5).[71] It is said that, after his first visit to the British Museum with Haydon in March 1817, Keats 'went again and again to see the Elgin marbles, and would sit for an hour or more at a time beside them rapt in revery'—arguably for poetic purposes.[72]

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[70] Marjorie Levinson, *Keats's Life of Allegory: The Origins of a Style* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p. 122.

[71] Keats's letter to Taylor of 17 November 1819 reads: 'I wish to diffuse the colouring of S^{t} Agnes eve throughout a Poem in which Character and Sentiment would be the figures to such drapery' (*LJK*, II, 234). Keats had written 'The Eve of St. Agnes' in early 1819 and revised it in September of the same year (see *TKP*, p. 214).

[72] William Sharp, *The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn* (London: Low, Marston, 1892), p. 32.

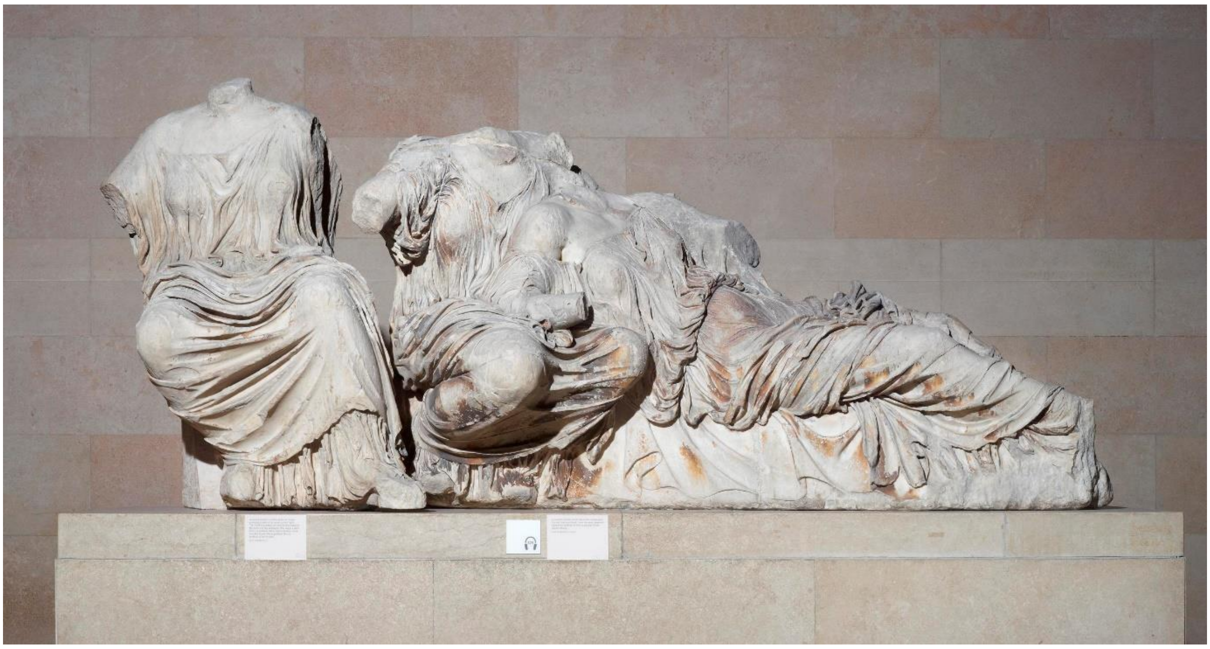

Figure 5.5 Marble Statue from the East Pediment of the Parthenon (East Pediment K, L, and M), 438–432 BC, marble, © The Trustees of the British Museum[73]

The most conspicuous appropriation of ekphrasis in ‘The Eve of St. Agnes’ is arguably its twenty-fourth stanza:

> A casement high and triple-arch’d there was,
> All garlanded with carven imag’ries
> Of fruits, and flowers, and bunches of knot-grass,
> And diamonded with panes of quaint device,
> Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,
> As are the tiger-moth’s deep-damask’d wings;
> And in the midst, ’mong thousand heraldries,
> And twilight saints, and dim emblazonings,
> A shielded scutcheon blush’d with blood of queens and kings. (208–16)

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[73] The three figures are considered to represent, from left to right, Hestia, Dione, and Aphrodite (see B. F. Cook, *The Elgin Marbles*, 2nd edn (London: British Museum Press, 1997), pp. 65–66).

In ‘the rich religion of this picture’, as Hunt called the passage, the poet draws the reader’s attention to the visual resonances of his own texture.[74] Dependent on the ‘casement high’ at the top, each subsequent line in the stanza has nouns in the plural—as if to encourage further the reader/spectator’s ‘[i]nnumerable’ compositions and decompositions. The critical consensus is that Keats’s textual tapestry took its imagery from several stained-glass windows he had seen at chapels in Stansted and elsewhere.[75] Besides these examples, Jack has also suggested a possible (though seemingly far-fetched in chronological terms) connection between Haydon’s *Diary* for 9 September 1810 and Keats’s ekphrastic lines:[76]

> As I looked toward a solemn corner of the Abbey just illumined by a rich painted Window, ‘casting a dim religious light’ in which stood the altar, embrowned as it were in shadow—I felt a dreadful influence awe me, and as a misty beam of light streamed through the glittering glass and gave a solemnity to the solitude of the corner, as the organ was roaring and the angelic voices of the boys were chanting, that one’s sense was lost, in rapture; I fancied the spirit of God was reposing behind the Altar, and I thought I perceived its influence breathing, as it were, a purity around it. (*Diary*, I, 181)[77]

Haydon’s reactions to the awe-inspiring ‘misty beam of light’ in the sacred building are indeed intriguing, especially in terms of his deep interest in chiaroscuro effects. After perceiving a Miltonic ‘dim religious light’—‘embrowned’ evocatively ‘in shadow’—Haydon sensed that his self-consciousness was ‘lost’ in ‘rapture’. To his own pictorial stanza—including the phrases ‘twilight saints’ and ‘dim emblazonings’—Keats had originally intended to give a more twilit colouring. In truth, his tiger-moth finally had its alliterated and imaginatively arabesque ‘deep-damask’d wings’. Yet the fact is that he had replaced the epithet ‘damask’d’ with the earlier word ‘sunset’, an ethereal hue for something of material sublime.[78] It was within a month after Keats had seen—or read—Lasinio’s gloaming ‘Romance’ that he began ‘The Eve of St. Agnes’.

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[74] [Leigh Hunt], ‘The Eve of St Agnes’, *Leigh Hunt’s London Journal*, 21 January 1835, pp. 17–20 (p. 19). Hunt had elsewhere described ‘The Eve of St. Agnes’ as ‘rather a picture than a story’ (*Indicator*, 2 August 1820, p. 343). For the poem’s ‘picturesque effect’, see also *London Magazine*, September 1820, p. 319.

[75] See Robert Gittings, *John Keats: The Living Year, 21 September 1818 to 21 September 1819* (London: Heinemann, 1954), pp. 73–82; *KMA*, p. 194; *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. by Allott, p. 466; and *JKNL*, p. 300.

[76] See *KMA*, p. 277, n. 15.

[77] Haydon’s direct quotation is from line 160 of Milton’s ‘Il Penseroso’.

In the spring of 1819, a year after he had written the verse epistle to Reynolds, Keats was again to work on the reconciliation between narrativity and ekphrasis. The storied Urn would prepare some more havens of intensity for the reader/spectator’s surmises. The poet would also explore ‘shadows numberless’ (‘Ode to a Nightingale’, 9), as well as the innumerable tensions between ‘stirring shades, and baffled beams’ (‘Ode on Indolence’, 44). His poetic truth and beauty behind the textual veils were perhaps, as he put it, what ‘shadowy thought can win’ through labyrinthine speculations (‘Ode to Psyche’, 65). In terms of his relationship with Haydon, it seems most significant that two of Keats’s spring odes appeared first in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*. As we will see in the next chapter, Haydon’s ‘sanction’ of printing them in his mouthpiece magazine suggests the poems’ affinity with the painter’s aesthetics, involving some luxurious entanglement of twilight images.

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[78] See *PJK*, p. 309.

Chapter 6: Keats's Odes in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*

THE CASE OF THE DAGGER

In this final chapter, I will examine John Keats's great odes written in the spring of 1819, especially those that appeared subsequently in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*. 'Ode to the Nightingale' and 'On a Grecian Urn' were first printed in this art magazine, respectively, on 1 July 1819 and 1 January 1820.[1] To explore the last phases of the friendship between Keats and Benjamin Robert Haydon, it seems particularly important to recognize that the two odes first came out in print in the *Annals*—the artist's mouthpiece magazine. The poems, however, were not accompanied by the name of the author; they appeared anonymously with the siglum of a dagger (†).[2] Why did Keats choose this specific icon? Critics have suggested several potential meanings behind this mark; but, as we will see, none of those accounts is wholly satisfactory. In what follows, I will first draw attention to the controversies over the *Annals* from early 1818 onwards, considering some political nuances of Keats's dagger. I will then shed light on the same siglum's literary-aesthetic implications, not least because the icon seems to help to heighten the tensions between clarity and obscurity as embodied in the odes in the *Annals*.

Recently, William A. Ulmer has maintained that Keats's dagger mark might have represented the poet's faithful, 'filial' attitude towards the painter: Keats was 'slyly offering his odes', Ulmer has suggested, 'as intellectual support for Haydon'.[3] Ulmer sees in this specific siglum Keats's 'Hamlet-like intention' to 'speak daggers […] but use none' (*Hamlet*,

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[1] The two poems were reprinted later in Keats's 1820 volume under the now more familiar titles, namely, 'Ode to a Nightingale' and 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' (see *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1820), pp. 107–16).

[2] Though, the index to the fourth volume (containing the two poems) specifies that they were 'by Mr. Keats' (*Annals of the Fine Arts*, 4.15 (1 January 1820), 672).

[3] William A. Ulmer, *John Keats: Reimagining History* (Cham: Macmillan, 2017), p. 166.

III. 2. 385); the poet might thus have gestured his allegiance to the artistic causes of the older painter (a 'ghostly father figure', in Ulmer's theory) cunningly and incognito.[4] Indeed, the *Annals* stood as a kind of battlefield of artistic discussions during their period of issue, from 1816 to 1820. In Edmund Blunden's words, this polemical periodical actually had the aspect as 'a Haydoniad'—an epic chronicle of the artist-hero's struggles in, among others, his defence of the Elgin Marbles and his denunciation of the Royal Academy.[5] Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Keats's dagger icon showed his unwavering fidelity to Haydon. In a letter to the George Keatses of 20 September 1819, Keats said:

> Now in this se[e]-saw game of Life I got nearest to the ground and this chancery business rivetted me there so that I was sitting in that uneasy position where the seat slants so abominably. I applied to [Haydon] for payment—he could not—that was no wonder. […] in this, he did not seem to care much about it—and let me go without my money with almost non-chalance when he aught [*sic*] to have sold his drawings to supply me. I shall perhaps still be acquainted with him, but for friendship that is at an end. (*LJK*, II, 206)

As this excerpt from the letter reveals, by early autumn 1819, Keats had put a definite psychological distance between himself and Haydon: the two men's passionate friendship had already seen its virtual 'end'. The painter with a 'non-chalance' about money would not repay the debt to the poet. In their 'se[e]-saw game' of companionship, Haydon did not appear to Keats any more to maintain the principles of reciprocity—as well as, perhaps, equity and conscience.[6] About nine months earlier, on 22 December 1818, Keats had asked Haydon ‘not’ to ‘sell your drawing’: otherwise, he had added, ‘I shall consider it a breach of friendship’ (*LJK*, I, 415). However, with much ‘hurt’ and even the sense of having been ‘maimed’ by the artist’s solipsistic words and deeds with respect to the money affair (*LJK*, II, 55), Keats now rethought, and considered that Haydon should ‘have sold his drawings to supply me’. That is, the poet himself suggested that his friend’s failure to repay the loan amounted to a violation of his intimacy with the painter.[7]

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[4] Ibid., p. 166. Ulmer builds his discussion on the assumption that Haydon was the author of a series of anonymous letters in the *Annals* from the 'Ghost' of the historical painter James Barry, who had died in 1806. However, the authorship is somewhat disputable, and Haydon himself denies his own (see Appendix III, p. 309).

[5] Edmund Blunden, '"Annals of the Fine Arts"', *Studies in English Literature*, 25.2 (July 1948), 121–28 (p. 125).

Earlier critics, meanwhile, have regarded Keats’s dagger icon as an indication of the poet’s unwillingness to make his name public—after readers had witnessed scathing reviews of *Endymion* in 1818. ‘In this dagger’, Amy Lowell wrote in 1925, ‘we see the dirty work of the reviews’: by not divulging his self-identity (associated with the so-called ‘Cockney School’ of poetry and politics), Lowell argued, Keats hoped that his writings would have ‘fair play’ of criticism henceforth.[8] In a similar vein, Robert Woof and Stephen Hebron consider that Keats might have employed the siglum ‘to avoid the political prejudice that marred the critical response to *Poems*, 1817, and *Endymion*’.[9] Indeed, in a letter to Haydon of 22 December 1818, Keats indicated that he would like to ‘avoid publishing’ any more (*LJK*, I, 415). Therefore, it is plausible that Keats might afterwards have refused any sorts of palpable

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[6] As quoted above, Keats’s letter contains the phrase ‘chancery business’. As Nathan Bailey’s 1721 *English Dictionary* (which Keats used) had defined it, the chancery is ‘a Court of Equity and Conscience, moderating the Severity of other Courts, that are more strictly ty’d to the Rigour of the Law’ (*An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London: Bell, et al., 1721), s.v. ‘chancery’); see also KL, p. 151.

[7] On 6 May 1837, Henry Crabb Robinson called on Joseph Severn in Rome. Severn, who had nursed the dying Keats there more than ten years earlier, told Robinson that ‘Keats was by no means poor, but was fleeced by Haydon and Leigh Hunt’ (*Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and their Writers*, ed. by Edith J. Morley, 3 vols (London: Dent and Sons, 1938), II, 520).

[8] Amy Lowell, *John Keats*, 2 vols (Boston: Mifflin, 1925), II, 257.

[9] Robert Woof and Stephen Hebron, *John Keats* ([Grasmere]: Wordsworth Trust, 1995), p. 140.

‘self-disclosure’ in print.[10] However, as we know, the fact is that Keats did continue to publish his poems and to do so under his own name. The title page of his 1820 volume clearly specified its authorship: ‘BY JOHN KEATS, AUTHOR OF ENDYMION’.[11] I want to argue that Keats had further and more complex ‘political’ reasons for his apparent anxiety about associating himself specifically with the *Annals*.

‘The earliest popular art periodical in English’, the *Annals* reached a critical turning point in their hitherto successful life as a magazine in 1819.[12] As early as the following year, 1820, the magazine almost inevitably ceased publication. Heated controversies (as we will see below) surrounding its principal contributor, Haydon, might well have made Keats hesitate to put his own name on its pages. ‘Pseudonymous or anonymous publications were motivated’ in the Romantic period, Paul Magnuson observes, ‘by simple modesty, the shame of appearing before the public, or more serious reasons’.[13] It was possibly for such ‘more serious reasons’ that Keats refrained from printing his own name in the *Annals* from 1819 on. After all, when the same periodical had reprinted his two ‘Elgin Marbles’ sonnets on 1 April 1818, the poems had carried the signature of his full name: ‘JOHN KEATS’.[14] Two months later, on 1 June, the *Annals* made their explicit and somewhat even provoking association between ‘Haydon’s name’ and that of ‘this young poet’:

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[10] Before the two odes appeared in the *Annals*, ten of Keats’s poems had seen their first publication in newspapers or in a periodical (see *TKP*, pp. 69–70). As a rule, those poems accompanied either his initials, ‘J. K.’, or his own name. The single exceptions were two pieces printed in the first volume of Hunt’s *Literary Pocket-Book* (published in early December 1818; see *Statesman*, 8 December 1818, p. 1; and *Morning Chronicle*, 10 December 1818, p. 2). In the *Literary Pocket-Book*, both poems had the signature ‘I.’ (p. 225). Writing to the George Keatses on 16 December 1818, Keats disdained Hunt’s volume as ‘full of the most sickening stuff you can imagine’ (*LJK*, II, 7).

[11] Keats’s volume seems to have appeared in the last week of June 1820 (see the unpaginated ‘Advertisement’ in the book; and *Morning Chronicle*, 26 June 1820, p. 2).

[12] Tom Devonshire Jones, ‘*Annals of the Fine Arts*: James Elmes (1782–1862), Architect: From Youthful Editor to Aged Gospeller’, *British Art Journal*, 10.2 (Winter 2009), 67–72 (p. 67).

[13] Paul Magnuson, *Reading Public Romanticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 42.

[14] See *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.8 (1 April 1818), 171–72. The two sonnets had first appeared in both the *Examiner* and the *Champion* on 9 March 1817 (see Appendix II, p. 282).

> WE have been several times accused of having mentioned Haydon’s name in the Annals oftener than that of other artists. To this we answer, that we have mentioned it oftener than other artists, and shall still continue so to do, while he stands the most prominent in the art. […] we printed two fine sonnets, addressed to him by Keats: does any one pretend to say, that he did not deserve those sonnets on the Elgin Marbles, or that this young poet had no right to compose them if he thought proper, or that we had no right to insert them if we thought so, and that they would do credit, for their excellence, to our work?[15]

When Tory periodicals (including *Blackwood’s*) were about to point to defiant and seditious overtones of Hunt’s liberal *Examiner* in Keats’s early work, the *Annals* (here of their own volition) involved the same poet publicly in their radical and controversial discourses of art—or, in essence, the Haydonalia. ‘Woe woe to the half fledged Bantam Bards of Cockaigne’, Allan Cunningham wrote to William Blackwood on 29 September 1820, with contemptuous allusions to those Cockney writers: ‘and woe! woe! to the bared necks, long tresses and square toed *historical* shoes of the disciples of Ben. Haydon’.[16] It is notable that, as such, the trajectory of contemporary criticism about Keats’s political connections with Hunt’s *Examiner* showed some curious and even uncanny similarity in the instance of the poet’s entanglement with Haydon’s (that is, the affected ‘*historical*’ painter’s) propagandist magazine, the *Annals*.

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[15] ‘The Editor of Annals of the Fine Arts’ [James Elmes], ‘To Correspondents’, *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.9 (1 June 1818), 332–36 (pp. 332–33).

[16] Quoted from Nicholas Roe, *John Keats and the Culture of Dissent* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 51. The original letter is in the National Library of Scotland (MS 4005).

As I have mentioned above, this chapter will discuss Keats's 'daggered' odes in the *Annals* from both political and literary-aesthetic perspectives. In so doing, I will also offer new bibliographical information about their publication. Simply put, scholars have presumed that Keats sent in the manuscript of one of his odes, and Haydon transmitted the other, to the *Annals*.[17] I seek to demonstrate, instead, that Keats himself consigned transcripts of both poems directly to the de facto editor James Elmes. With the aid of several unpublished materials, this chapter will then make an in-depth analysis of the texts and their contexts. When he composed the spring odes, Keats was apparently not considering printing two of them in the *Annals*. Nevertheless, Haydon must have sensed in them something that would resonate with the tenor of the magazine; hence, the painter is likely to have encouraged the poet to publish the works in the periodical, as an ally of his own artistic ideals. I will look at the ways in which the dagger icon would seem to contribute to heightening the hermeneutic tensions of Keats's textual shades, shadows, lights, uncertainties, mysteries, doubts—while considering the same siglum's further political implications in terms of the aesthetic ideology of the *Annals*. This chapter will conclude with some words on the two odes' eventual inclusion in Keats's 1820 volume. I will suggest that, opening with the descriptions of Lamia's elusive, dissolving, and highly engaging visuality, the collection seems to be a testament to Keats's fruitfully matured poetics of light and shade.

POLITICAL SITUATIONS SURROUNDING THE MAGAZINE

In a letter to the publisher Edward Moxon of 28 November 1845, Haydon revealed how Keats's odes had first come into print in the *Annals*:[18]

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[17] See *TKP*, pp. 243–47.

[18] As Haydon recorded, Moxon was preparing a 'New Edition' of *The Poetical Works of John Keats* (to be published in 1846; *KC*, II, 142). Haydon wrote the letter partly to ask Moxon (though in vain) to reprint in it the two 'Elgin Marbles' sonnets from the *Annals* (see also Chapter 2, pp. 86–88).

> The ode to the Nightingale, & to a Grecian Urn were first published in the Annals […] —as he repeated both to me in the Kilburn meadows, in his recitative tone of melancholy voice just after he had composed them[.] I begged a copy for the Annals as I wrote many things in the work—and there they appeared at my request before the[y] came out in a Volume. (*KC*, II, 142)

To Haydon—if we can trust his occasionally unreliable account—Keats recited the two odes 'just after he had composed them'. The event took place arguably some time in May or early June 1819 at the latest.[19] Haydon elsewhere recalled that Keats said aloud the 'exquisite' ode to a nightingale even 'before he put it to paper' (*CTT*, II, 72). As Sir Sidney Colvin dismisses it, the (latter) story was probably an instance of Haydon's 'ornamental flourishes'.[20] According to Charles Brown's famous anecdote—the authenticity of which critics have also disputed at times—Keats committed his lines to 'some scraps of paper' soon after the nightingale captured the poet's imagination in the spring.[21] Haydon's (mis)understanding, however, is partly explainable. Keats was reciting the poems from memory, that is, without their manuscripts at hand. It was Brown who held their only transcripts at that time. In a letter to Elmes of 12 June 1819, Keats wrote that he had 'just received' Brown's transcript-book containing 'the only copy of the verses in question': 'I have asked for it repetedly [*sic*]', Keats explained to Elmes, who was to print the Nightingale ode in the *Annals* the following month, 'ever since I promised M^{r} Haydon' (*LJK*, II, 118). The 'absence' of the manuscripts in Keats's hand might well have made Haydon misconstrue it as the poems' yet *un*written state.

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[19] See *TKP*, pp. 243–45; and *LJK*, II, 118–20.

[20] Sir Sidney Colvin, 'A Morning's Work in a Hampstead Garden', in *The John Keats Memorial Volume,* ed. by G. C. Williamson (London: Lane, the Bodley Head, 1921), pp. 65–73 (p. 67).

[21] Charles Armitage Brown, *Life of John Keats*, ed. by Dorothy Hyde Bodurtha and Willard Bissell Pope (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 54. For the (un)reliability of this account, see Robert Gittings, *John Keats* (London: Heinemann, 1968), p. 311, n. 3; and *TKP*, p. 243.

In any case, Haydon thus 'begged' Keats to write out copies of the odes for the *Annals*. Haydon's 'request' was to realize Keats's collaborative appearances in the printed medium, in which the artist himself had written 'many things'. Haydon not only 'flung some of [his] best writing' into the *Annals* (*Autobiography*, p. 292). As the magazine's 'virtual editor' (as Ian Jack reckons him), Haydon also adorned its pages with the 'best writing' of his friends—not least to gratify himself.[22] As he later recalled, Haydon took 'unlimited control' of the periodical's substantial editorship (*Autobiography*, p. 293). Haydon remained the most dominant voice of the *Annals* throughout, and contributions from contemporary literary figures—including William Wordsworth, Charles Lamb, and William Hazlitt—also seem to have sympathetically and often strongly supported the painter's arguments. Perhaps as a natural consequence, a late nineteenth-century librarian of the Royal Academy (mis-)registered the periodical as the one edited by both Elmes and Haydon.[23] The *Annals* served Haydon precisely as his 'special organ', one that 'circulated widely among the educated classes' (*CTT*, I, 104); from those intellectual readers, the artist wished for, above all, their liberal patronage of his own artistic efforts.

Keats's letter to Elmes of 12 June 1819 reveals that it was the poet himself who submitted a fair copy of the Nightingale ode to the *Annals*;[24] the problem is, who sent in a transcript of the Grecian Urn ode to the editor? In 1958, Jack Stillinger considered that the latter text 'came directly from Keats in the same way, perhaps even at the same time'.[25] Yet, in 1974, Stillinger had second thoughts about the theory: the poem was, he now proposed, presumably 'transmitted by Haydon' (*TKP*, p. 246). Stillinger's new evidence was an annotation in Haydon's copy of the *Annals*. Written at the foot of the anonymously printed text of 'On a Grecian Urn', it reads: 'Keats, sent by me. B. R. H.'[26] This note does indeed appear to prove that Haydon 'sent' the text to Elmes. However, these words are misleading: it is more likely that Haydon either confounded the Grecian Urn ode with Keats's earlier 'Elgin Marbles' sonnets or simply wanted to say that he 'arranged' for the poem to appear in the *Annals*.[27] After all, in another copy of the *Annals*—one that also belonged to Haydon—the artist made the same annotation not only for the Grecian Urn ode ('J. Keats Sent by me B R H') but also for the Nightingale ode ('John Keats Sent by me B R H').[28] As long as it is the fact that Keats handed in his transcript of the Nightingale ode directly to Elmes, Haydon's 'Sent by me' does not seem dependable anymore. My conclusion, therefore, is that Keats himself submitted both transcripts, if not at the same time, to the *Annals*—with the 'dagger'.

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[22] Ian Jack, *English Literature, 1815–1832* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 538. In practical terms, Elmes avowed that he was 'sole editor' of the *Annals* (*CTT*, I, 357); see also *Monthly Magazine*, 1 December 1820, p. 462.

[23] See *A Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Royal Academy of Arts, London* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1877), p. 9.

[24] See *LJK*, II, 118–19; see also ibid., II, 120.

[25] Jack Stillinger, 'Keats's Grecian Urn and the Evidence of Transcripts', *PMLA*, 73.4 (September 1958), 447–48 (p. 448).

In 1819, Keats was far from enjoying his relationship with Haydon, the artist of 'non-chalance': it became much more complex, strained, and arguably not as deep and cordial as before. On 8 March, weeks before beginning his spring odes, Keats wrote to Haydon that he was at present ‘not exactly on the road to an epic poem’ (*LJK*, II, 42).[29] Keats was not in a mood to focus on Haydonesque, masculine, and indeed ‘epic’ enterprises. After the poet’s death on 23 February 1821, Haydon recalled how Keats had sometimes been ‘fiery, impetuous, & ungovernable’ (*Diary*, II, 317):

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[26] William Roberts, 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 August 1938, p. 544; see also William Roberts, 'Keats and Haydon', *Times Literary Supplement*, 25 March 1920, p. 201.

[27] For Keats's 'Elgin Marbles' sonnets, Haydon more explicitly recalled: 'With his leave I sent them to the Editor of Annals of Fine Arts 1819 [*sic*] but I think they were *first* published in the Examiner by Keats himself. 1817' (*KC*, II, 141–42). For these sonnets, see also Chapter 2 and Appendix II, p. 282.

[28] Princeton, Princeton University Library, RHT 19th-287, pp. 639, 356. This separate fourth volume of the *Annals* contains several marginalia by Haydon (see also Appendix III, p. 317, and the Bibliography, p. 319). Some time in or before 1842, Haydon relinquished this copy; that year, it came into the possession of the portrait painter Thomas Henry Illidge (see his signature on the title page). Robert H. Taylor afterwards acquired the copy, donating it to the Princeton University Library in 1972. Illidge painted a portrait of Haydon in 1838 (see *Diary*, IV, 531–32). On 4 August 1842, Haydon also visited Illidge, his 'old Friend', borrowing money (ibid., V, 189–90).

> I was angry because he would not bend his great powers to some definite object, & always told him so. Latterly he grew angry because I shook my head at his irregularity, and told him he was destroying himself. (*Diary*, II, 318)

The two men’s earlier and mutual admiration turned, here and now, into their ‘angry’ emotions towards each other. Haydon elsewhere recollected that he had ‘remonstrated on [Keats’s] absurd dissipation, but to no purpose’ (*CTT*, II, 72). Keats’s ‘1819 temper’ (*LJK*, II, 116), as the poet himself put it, prevented his energetic efforts as Haydon had instructed him to exert before. Not long after he declared to Haydon that ‘I will not spoil my love of gloom by writing an ode to darkness’ (*LJK*, II, 43), Keats penned the ‘Ode on Indolence’. In a manner of speaking, this spring saw the poet suspended between the Haydonian tenacious stoicism and his own innate lethargic disposition: it was a state reminiscent of what Keats had referred to, somewhat oxymoronically, as ‘diligent Indolence’ in the previous year (*LJK*, I, 231). The poet’s idleness, inertia, and indolence had encouraged him to stay ‘passive and receptive’ in order to become, as a result, imaginatively creative (*LJK*, I, 232): such mixed and oscillating frames of mind might have propelled the writing of his spring odes, too.

When Keats submitted his ‘daggered’ odes to the *Annals*, one of his primary concerns would have been his potential ‘political’ engagement with the magazine. Since early 1818, Haydon—the magazine’s substantial voice—had been suffering much public criticism. Soon after witnessing his friend thrashed in the press, Elmes decided to publish a sympathetic sonnet 'TO B. R. HAYDON, THE PAINTER: *On the Anonymous Attacks that have been made upon him, his Style of Art, his Pupils, and his Works*', in the liberal *Monthly Magazine*:

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[29] Keats seems to have drafted the ‘Ode on Indolence’ (written possibly the earliest among the spring odes) some time after 19 March 1819 (*TKP*, pp. 225–26).

HEED not, my friend, the hateful taunts and jeers
    That rival-hating envy 'gainst thy fame
    Ejects, to blacken thy transcendant name,
And foil thy bold attent—which sneers
At all it cannot ape, and keenly fears
    That mighty scheme of art, which dignifies
    Thy youthful brows with Honour's glorious prize,
And crowns thee greatest of thy bold compeers.

Thy fame, I first foretold, was first to raise
        To thy renown an humble verse, and still
    Will unappall'd assert thy worthiness.
But still proceed,—claim your dear country's praise
        For raising thus in finer arts her skill,
    And be the *British Raffaelle* for thy gloriousness.[30]

Elmes rhymed Haydon's promised 'fame' and his glorious 'name', contrasting them with those 'jeers' and 'sneers' by others. Haydon appreciated this sonnet as 'the best thing' his old friend, Elmes, had ever done for his own defence.[31] It was in observing those severe strictures upon Haydon that Keats expressed to him his own preference for ‘greatness in a Shade than in the open day’ in late 1818 (*LJK*, I, 414): the poet wished to efface his self-identity and to see, instead, the painter triumph before the public. Here, Keats seems to have suggested his hesitancy about his further appearances in the *Annals* (especially as a publicly recognizable supporter of Haydon). Nevertheless, perhaps without taking much heed of Keats’s such sensitive connotations, Haydon was almost self-interestedly elated at the poet’s word for the painter—‘greatness’—and later asked him to copy out his odes for the *Annals*.

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[30] *Monthly Magazine*, 1 March 1818, p. 142. The sonnet is dated '*Feb*. 2, 1818'.

[31] Benjamin Robert Haydon to James Elmes, undated, © British Library Board, Add MS 42864, fol. 40. Haydon wrote this letter some time between 2 February and 1 April 1818 (the former being the date of composition of Elmes's sonnet and the latter that of publication of John Bailey's essay which the present letter mentions as forthcoming in the *Annals*). Haydon and Elmes had entered the Royal

As in Keats’s earlier ‘Great Spirits’ sonnet, Elmes celebrated his artist friend as ‘the *British Raffaelle*’.[32] As a result, these sorts of habitual (and partly controversial) lionization of the painter provoked *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* in the spring of 1819 to decry Haydon as ‘the Cockney Raphael’:

> Mr Haydon enjoys every day the satisfaction of sitting before one of the cartoons of Raphael, with his own greasy hair combed loosly [*sic*] over his collar, after the manner of Raphael—hatted among his hatless disciples—a very God among the Landseers. What would these men have? Are they still unsatisfied with flattery, still like the three daughters of the horse-leech, ‘crying, *Give! give! give!*’[33]

Haydon’s egotism—perpetually calling for ‘flattery’ from contemporaries—had already become proverbial: it was this affected character that, like many of the artist’s enemies, the invisible ‘Z.’ (John Gibson Lockhart) criticized publicly. Another point of accusation Lockhart allusively made was Haydon’s cultural monopoly of the Raphael Cartoons. From

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Academy Schools on the same day, 9 March 1805 (see Sidney C. Hutchison, ‘The Royal Academy Schools, 1768–1830’, *Volume of the Walpole Society,* 38 (1960–62), 123–91 (p. 161)).

[32] Keats’s sonnet proclaimed that Haydon’s ‘stedfastness would never take | A meaner sound than Raphael’s whispering’ (‘Addressed to the Same’, 7–8). For discussion of this sonnet, see Chapter 1.

[33] ‘Z.’ [John Gibson Lockhart], ‘On the Cockney School of Poetry: No V’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine,* April 1819, pp. 97–100 (pp. 97–98).

1816 onwards, Haydon had recommended his pupils to make a close study of these Renaissance masterpieces.[34] The surviving seven of the original ten Cartoons were, at the time, at Hampton Court Palace. At his own request, Haydon not only had one or two of the Cartoons exhibited at the British Institution every year between 1816 and 1819.[35] The artist also brought the original work even into his own studio.[36] 'I got', he later recollected, 'dozens of anonymous letters, all threatening me with vengeance' (*Autobiography*, p. 301). Haydon's motivation was to prepare an exhibition of his pupils' drawings from the Cartoons (and the Elgin Marbles) in early 1819. Though, in any case, his behaviour led thus to stirring up unrest further among his opponents.

Visiting Haydon's studio probably in early 1818, the engraver John Bailey was dismayed to find Raphael's *The Conversion of the Proconsul* (*c*. 1515–16) 'hid by the number of ladders, stools, chairs and canvasses' there.[37] To the *Annals* for 1 April 1818, Bailey then sent a letter of protest against the artist and his pupils' 'monopoly', along with his own caricature (Figure 6.1).[38] In the upper middle of the satirical print, Haydon figured as a clamorous magpie. Precisely 'hatted among his hatless disciples' (Lockhart's phrase), the flying artist was blowing his trumpet to enlighten the nation as 'DIRECTOR of the PUBLIC

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[34] See Frederick Cummings, 'B. R. Haydon and his School', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 26.3/4 (1963), 367–80 (pp. 371–73, 375–76, 379).

[35] See Thomas Smith, *Recollections of the British Institution, for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom* (London: Simpkin & Marshall, 1860), pp. 161–65; see also *Autobiography*, p. 301.

[36] See Frederic George Stephens and Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 11 vols ([London]: printed by order of the Trustees, 1870–1954), IX: *1811–1819* (1949), 825.

[37] John Bailey, 'On Mr. Haydon and his Pupils, with an Etching', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.8 (1 April 1818), 58–67 (p. 65). The *Annals* put the name of 'Bailey, J.' among their list of contemporary 'AQUATINTA ENGRAVERS' in London (*Annals of the Fine Arts*, 2.7 (1 January 1818), 594).

[38] Bailey, 'On Mr. Haydon and his Pupils, with an Etching', p. 66. In the print, the Cartoon is seen behind three large canvases of Haydon's pupils.

TASTE'. Perhaps to one's surprise, it was Haydon himself who devised (for the *Annals*) the current title, *A Master in the Grand Style & his Pupils*.[39]

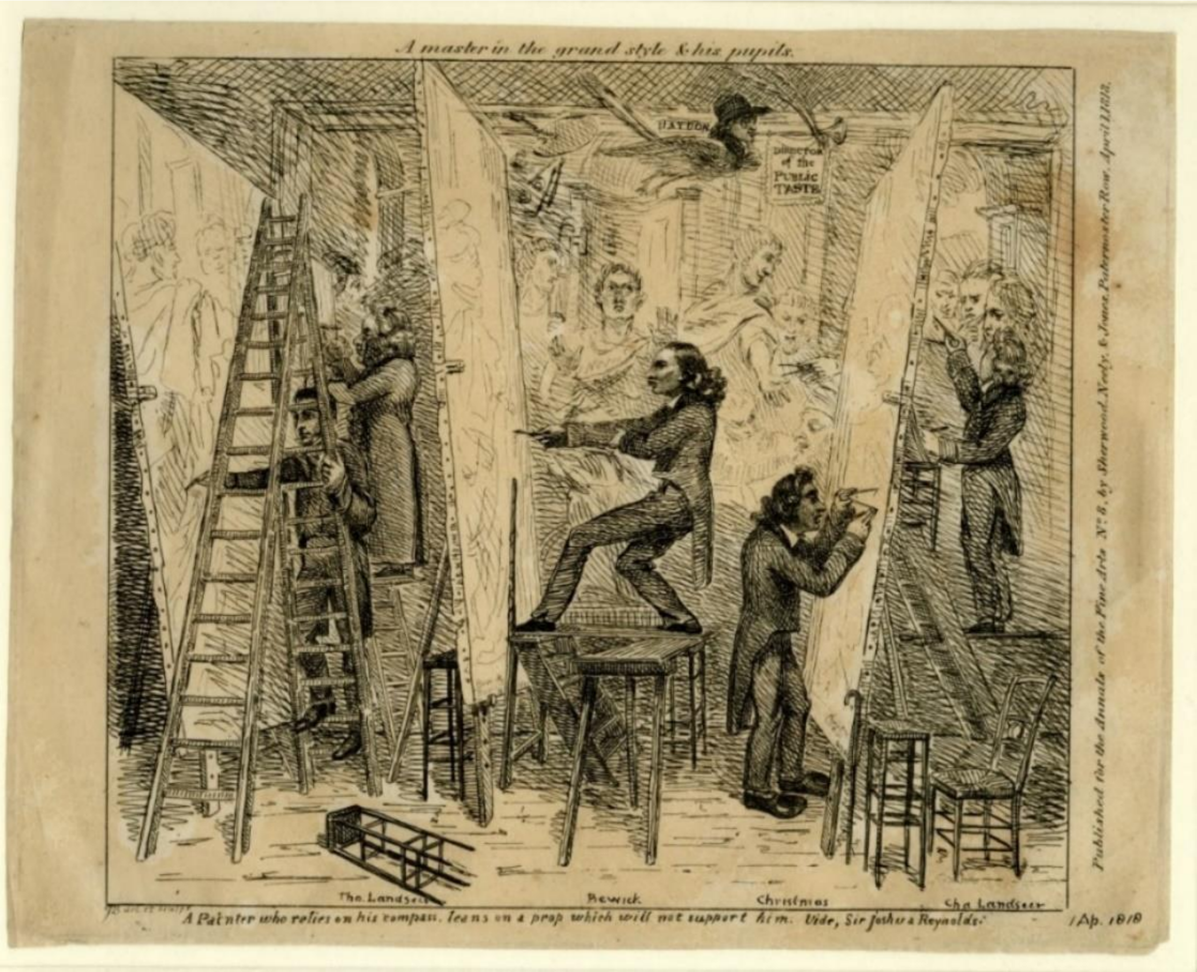
A master in the grand style & his pupils.
HAYDON
Director of the Public TASTE
Published for the Annals of the Fine Arts No. 8, by Sherwood, Neely, & Jones, Paternoster Row, April 1 1818.
Tho. Landseer
Bewick
Christmas
Cha. Landseer
A Painter who relies on his compass, leans on a prop which will not support him. Vide, Sir Joshua Reynolds.
1 Ap. 1818

Figure 6.1 John Bailey, *A Master in the Grand Style & his Pupils*, 1818, etching, 18.6 × 23.2 cm, © The Trustees of the British Museum[40]

Haydon and Elmes had initially hesitated to make this disgraceful caricature appear in their own periodical: the satirical print, Haydon feared, might 'revive a dispute which had better be sunk'.[41] Yet, finally, both the titular and virtual editors agreed to insert the piece in the *Annals*—not least to demonstrate their 'impartial' politics of art.[42]

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[39] See Benjamin Robert Haydon to James Elmes, undated, © British Library Board, Add MS 42864, fol. 42. Haydon wrote the letter some time between 10 January and 1 April 1818 (the dates of composition, and subsequent publication in the *Annals*, of Bailey's essay).

[40] As specified in the print, it depicts four of Haydon's pupils (namely, from left to right, Thomas Landseer, William Bewick, Thomas C. Christmas, and Charles Landseer). For this caricature, see also Stephens and George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, IX, 824–25; and *BRH*, p. 113.

A publication more fatal for the *Annals* appeared in the spring of 1819—probably weeks before Keats wrote the Nightingale ode and the Grecian Urn ode: the Irish art critic William Carey's *Desultory Exposition of an Anti-British System of Incendiary Publication, &c.*[43] Carey's book deserves particular attention on several counts. As the author later recalled, it not only 'inflicted a death-wound' upon the *Annals* 'in a single assault':[44] 'in a somewhat forced way', in the words of George Allan Cate, the magazine became defunct as a periodical the following year, 1820.[45] Significantly, Keats also noticed this polemical publication, which might have reinforced his determination *not* to print his own name (as the author of the odes) in the *Annals*. Writing on 3 October 1819 from Winchester, Keats told Haydon: 'I hav{e not} seen the portentous Book which was sci{mm}er'd at you just as I left town' (*LJK*, II, 220). Since late June, Keats had been away from London for most of the time.[46] What he called 'the portentous Book' was arguably Carey's *Desultory Exposition*.[47] Citing Keats's word 'sci{mm}er'd' ('skummer'd'), the *OED* defines the verb 'scumber' as to

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[41] Benjamin Robert Haydon to James Elmes, undated, © British Library Board, Add MS 42864, fol. 39. For the date of this letter, see above at n. 39.

[42] Elmes's footnote in Bailey, 'On Mr. Haydon and his Pupils, with an Etching', p. 66.

[43] The book was advertised as just 'published' in the *Literary Gazette* for 17 April 1819 (p. 256).

[44] Quoted in William Bates, 'William Carey', *Notes and Queries*, 21 May 1870, pp. 481–84 (p. 482).

[45] George Allan Cate, 'Annals of the Fine Arts', in *British Literary Magazines*, ed. by Alvin Sullivan, 4 vols (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983–86), II: *The Romantic Age, 1789–1836* (1983), pp. 7–12 (p. 11). In the *Monthly Magazine* for 1 December 1820, Elmes also commented briefly on the demise of 'THE LATE ANNALS OF THE FINE ARTS' (p. 462).

[46] Keats had first come to the Isle of Wight and then to Winchester. It was for just four days (from 11 to 14 September) that he had been back in London during this period (see *LJK*, I, 52–54).

[47] See *The Poetical Works and Other Writings of John Keats*, ed. by Harry Buxton Forman, 4 vols (London: Reeves & Turner, 1883), IV, 37–38, n. 2; and *LJK*, II, 220, n. 3. Forman notes that Frank Scott Haydon, the artist's son, identified this 'portentous Book' for him.

‘void (ordure)’ and, in a figurative sense, ‘to produce (something foul)’.[48] As its title indicates, Carey’s book decried the *Annals* as ‘*Incendiary*’, criticising their anachronistic defence of historical painting as ‘anti-contemporarian’ and specifically ‘*Anti-academical*’ (since most of the living Academicians were focusing on portraits).[49] Carey moreover divulged to the public that the *Annals* were formulating their ‘system of UNITARIANISM *in taste*’, ‘*making it a crime to praise any historical Painter*’ except for ‘THE ONE’ (Haydon).[50]

During the early months of 1819, Haydon (and possibly Keats too) would have had a foreboding of this ominous, ‘portentous Book’. On 30 January, Haydon arranged a private viewing of his pupils’ drawings. While he acclaimed the day as ‘the most glorious in reality & in promise for the historical painting of England that had ever happened’ (*Diary*, II, 216), the sensation did not last long. On the same day appeared another dishonourable caricature targeting Haydon and his pupils (Figure 6.2); copies of it actually ‘filled the shop windows, and increased the madness’ (*CTT*, I, 107). In this print, Haydon (in a blue coat) stands on the left, watching the arrival of fashionable visitors to the preview. The placard on the extreme right reads: ‘Exhibition of Drawings, by Haydon[’]s pupi[ls] Landseers and Bewick for the Cartoons and Elgin Marbles’.[51] At the foot of the boy who bears the placard, the caricaturist places a paper inscribed: ‘Catalogue Raisonny [*sic*]’. This alludes to Haydon’s earlier polemic, as we have seen in Chapter 1, about ‘infamous’ pamphlets published by anonymous

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[48] *OED*, S.V. ‘scumber, *v.*’, 2. The *OED* seems to refer to Forman’s text (or a later edition following his) which has ‘skummer’d’ (*The Poetical Works and Other Writings of John Keats*, IV, 37). Nathan Bailey’s 1721 *English Dictionary* defines the verb as ‘to squirt a watery Substance out of the Body’ (*An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, S.V. ‘to scummer’).

[49] William Carey, *Desultory Exposition of an Anti-British System of Incendiary Publication, &c.* (London: Glindon, 1819), pp. vi, 62.

[50] Ibid., p. 10.

[51] Another placard on the left also announces: ‘Chalk Drawings by Haydon[’s] Pupils Landseers & Bewick—PRIVATE DAY’.

‘vile authors’ of the Royal Academy (*Autobiography*, pp. 308, 310). The satirical print also depicts a large goose approaching Haydon from behind. The goose is labelled ‘W C’—the initials for William Carey—trampling down those two pieces of paper that read: ‘CABAL. 2 Octavo Volumes W. C.’ and ‘QUACK ARTIST. Play. W. C. Weather Cock’, or turncoat.

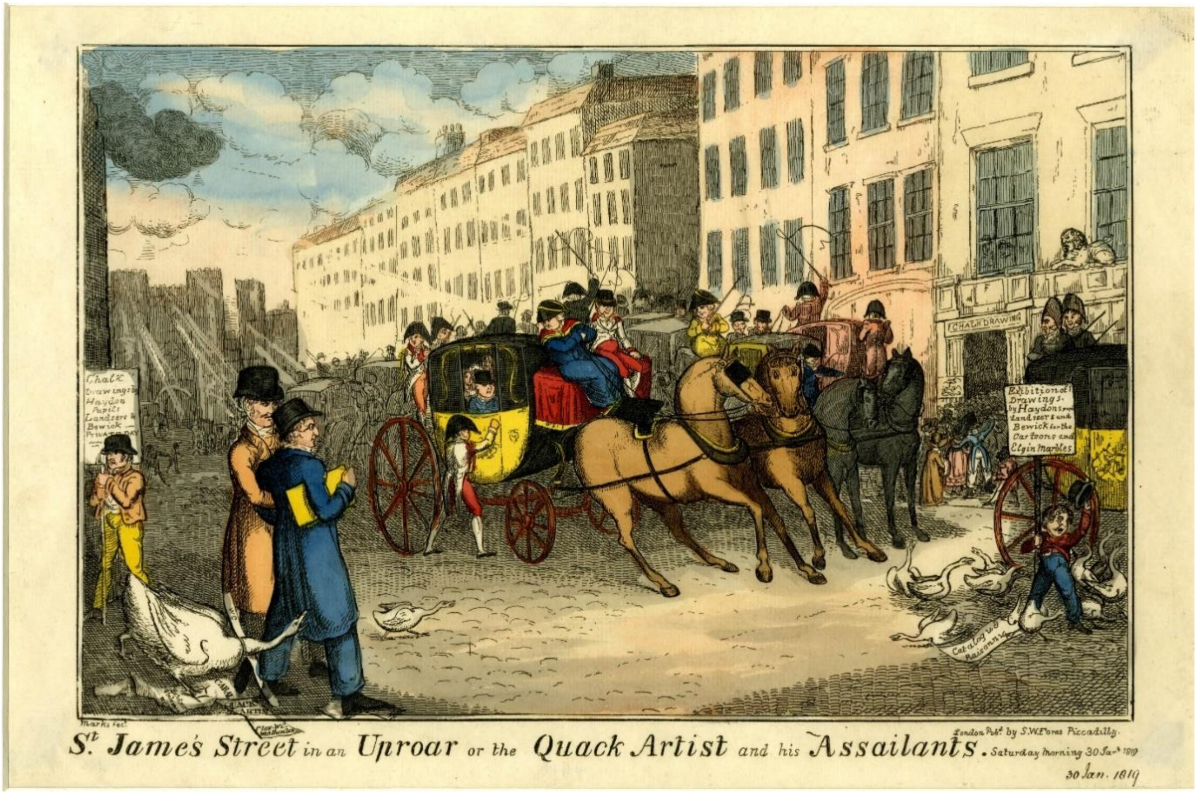
Chalk Drawings Haydon Pupils Landseers & Bewick
Exhibition of Drawings by Haydon Landseers & Bewick for the Cartoons and Elgin Marbles
CHALK DRAWING
Catalogue Raisonné
Marks fec.
St. James's Street in an Uproar or the Quack Artist and his Assailants.
London Pub. by S.W.Fores Piccadilly.
Saturday Morning 30 Jan. 1819
30 Jan. 1819

Figure 6.2 J. Lewis Marks, *St. James’ Street in an Uproar or the Quack Artist and his Assailants*, 1819, etching, 23.3 × 35 cm, © The Trustees of the British Museum[52]

Initially, Carey had been an upholder of Haydon;[53] but later—indeed like a ‘Weather Cock’—the critic turned to be a vilifier. In fact, when Haydon had been censured for his early polemical essay on the Elgin Marbles, Carey had even defended the artist: ‘The talents of Haydon belong to *his country;* and I earnestly hope he will not throw away any of his precious time upon *anonymous assailants*’.[54] It is most ironical that Carey himself was to become one of those ‘*assailants*’—though not always ‘*anonymous*’—against Haydon. In early 1819, Carey began publishing articles reviling what he called the ‘CABAL’ triad of Haydon, Elmes, and the *Annals*.[55] Carey’s periodical writings were, as he himself saw them, his own ‘light armed troops in advance’; soon afterwards appeared his *Desultory Exposition*: ‘the march of my army into the field’.[56] This prodigious work (though not published in ‘2 Octavo Volumes’) counted over three hundred pages ‘in one continued strain of abuse’ landing especially on Haydon—whom the *goose*-author called the ‘QUACK ARTIST’.[57] Keats may have glanced through one or two of Carey’s public attacks in the press against Haydon and, if not, the poet certainly witnessed the painter’s self-defence against them. On 8 March 1819, Keats said to Haydon that ‘[y]ou got out gloriously in yesterday’s Examiner’: ‘What a set of little people we live amongst’ (*LJK*, II, 43).[58] As a public author, Keats might thus have been inclined to keep himself away from those pages of disputes by ‘little people’.

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[52] For this caricature, see also Stephens and George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, IX, 963; and *BRH*, pp. 113–15.

[53] See, for example, ‘Evelyn, Jun.’ [William Carey (?)], ‘Mr. Haydon’s Picture of Christ Riding into Jerusalem’, *Examiner*, 17 September 1815, pp. 604–05. Olney (1952) ascribes the authorship of this article to Carey (p. 87). Though, Carey revealed that he signed himself as ‘*Mariette*’ for the *Examiner* and that he used the pseudonym ‘Evelyn, Junior’ for another periodical (*Critical Description and*

Analytical Review of ‘Death on the Pale Horse’, Painted by Benjamin West, P.R.A. (London: [n. pub.], 1817), p. 168).

[54] ‘Mariette’ [William Carey], ‘Fine Arts’, *Examiner*, 21 April 1816, pp. 253–55 (p. 255). For the authorship of this article, see above at n. 53.

[55] See Carey’s series of articles published under the title ‘THE CABAL’ in the *Literary Journal* for 20 and 27 March and 3 and 17 April 1819 (pp. 184–85, 194–95, 212–14, 238–39).

[56] William Carey, ‘The Quack Artist’, *Literary Journal,* 6 March 1819, pp. 148–49 (p. 148).

[57] James Elmes, ‘Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon’, *Annals of the Fine Arts,* 5.17 (1 August 1820), 335–78 (p. 371).

[58] See Benjamin Robert Haydon, ‘Attacks on Mr. Haydon’, *Examiner,* 7 March 1819, pp. 157–58. Haydon counterattacked the criticism, in particular, by an unidentified ‘CASTIGATOR’ in the *Literary Journal* for 20 February 1819 (p. 117). A week later (on 27 February) in the *Literary Journal,* Carey denied his own authorship of this article (p. 136). Nevertheless, it is still likely that Haydon suspected Carey’s hand in, or at least his influence on, it.

Strange as it may appear, the antagonism between the painter and the art critic originated in Carey's praise for Benjamin West's *Death on the Pale Horse* (1817). Carey admired West as '*the great Father of Historical Painting in this Country*', positioning Haydon as a promising successor of the artistic spirit of this aged President of the Royal Academy.[59] Nevertheless, in the *Annals* for 1 April 1818, Haydon dismissed Carey's high opinion of West as 'most palpably untrue'; in Haydon's view, West might indeed be 'an eminent artist' but certainly 'not a great one'.[60] In this somewhat provocative way, Haydon publicly rebutted Carey. Much humiliated, Carey decided to set about writing his savage, *Desultory Exposition*; as David Higgins sees it, this lengthy book was almost a 'hysterical response' to Haydon's comments in the *Annals*.[61] Carey the weathercock now began to denounce Haydon as a man of 'quackery', and his sympathizer—the *Annals*—as 'the *Liber Falsitatis*'.[62] Recognizing Carey's exposure of 'Haydon, Elmes, and Co.' as a set of charlatans, the painter came to regard this critic as 'one of the greatest pests in English art'.[63]

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[59] Carey, *Critical Description and Analytical Review*, p. 165. When West exhibited *Death on the Pale Horse*, he was nearly eighty years old. For Keats's remarks on the painting, see *LJK*, I, 192.

[60] [Benjamin Robert Haydon], review of William Carey, *Critical Description and Analytical Review of 'Death on the Pale Horse', Painted by Benjamin West, P.R.A.* (1817), *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.8 (1 April 1818), 79–90 (pp. 80–81). For the authorship of this review, published anonymously, see Kearney (1972), p. 277; and Benjamin Robert Haydon to James Elmes, undated, © British Library Board, Add MS 42864, fol. 44. In this unpublished letter, Haydon asked Elmes to correct a printer's error in his own review. Haydon wrote the letter shortly before 1 April 1818 (the publication date of the eighths number of the *Annals*).

[61] David Higgins, *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 134.

[62] 'W. C.' [William Carey], 'Observations on the "Annals of the Fine Arts"', *New Monthly Magazine*, 1 March 1819, pp. 135–39 (p. 137).

[63] William Carey, 'The Cabal', *Literary Journal*, 3 April 1819, pp. 212–14 (p. 213); [Benjamin Robert Haydon], 'Answer to an Attack upon the Annals', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.10 (1 September 1818), 507–12 (p. 510). For the authorship of the 'Answer', published anonymously, see Kearney (1972), p. 278.

Thus commenced the verbal warfare between the artist of ‘quackery’ and the critic of ‘pestilence’, resulting in the demise of what the latter termed as the radical work of falsehood, the *Annals,* on 1 August 1820.

It is notable that the controversies surrounding the *Annals* also involved a ‘dagger’. On 1 March 1819, after hearing that the *Desultory Exposition* would soon appear, Haydon sent a threatening note to the author:

CAREY

BEWARE

!†![64]

‘Why does the man of “*the dauntless soul*”’, Carey queried Haydon, ‘already resort to *intimidation*, to stifle the free expression of public opinion?’: ‘And has this puissant champion now no other reward for my humble and ineffectual efforts, but his *dagger?*’[65] It was against this political backdrop that Keats subsequently wrote his spring odes, recited two of them to Haydon, and sent in transcripts of both poems with his own ‘dagger’ (†) to the *Annals*. As it happens, the two odes deftly pointed to some reconciliation of anxiety and serenity. No one would ‘tread thee down’, the poet calls to a nightingale; he wishes (though in vain) to ‘forget’ each ‘weariness’, ‘fever’, ‘fret’, and perhaps quarrel as well in this ‘perilous’—or ‘ruthless’—sea of existence.[66] In a way that corresponds to what Jerome J. McGann has called the ‘Romantic Ideology’, the poet’s imaginary urn also envisions (again only temporarily) a state that seems far from '[a]ll breathing human Passion', as well as '[a] burning forehead and a parching tongue' after disputes; what underpins the poet's wishful imagery is precisely a 'peaceful citadel'.[67] Thus, in the *Annals*, Keats's 'daggered' work perhaps served as a *high requiem* for the already ravaged relationship between Haydon and Carey—while effacing his own poetic identity from the eyes of the public.

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[64] Carey, ‘The Quack Artist’, p. 148.

[65] Ibid., p. 148. Carey’s direct quotation is from line 5 of an anonymous poem for Haydon in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.1 (1 July 1816), 109. For its authorship, see Appendix II, pp. 280–81.

[66] ‘†’ [John Keats], ‘Ode to the Nightingale’, *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 4.13 (1 July 1819), 354–56 (pp. 355–56); ll. 62, 21, 23, 70. Keats substituted the word ‘perilous’ in line 70 for his original adjective ‘ruthless’ (see *The Odes of Keats and their Earliest Known Manuscripts*, ed. by Robert Gittings (London: Heinemann, 1970), pp. 40–41, 67); see also *PJK*, pp. 371, 653.

THE SPRING ODES

In truth, none of Keats's surviving letters refers explicitly to his 'dagger' in the *Annals*. Nevertheless, it is worth noting—especially from a literary-aesthetic perspective—that his letter of 5 September 1819 alludes to Macbeth 'with the dagger in the air leading him on' (*LJK*, II, 157):

> Is this a dagger which I see before me,
> The handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch thee.
> I have thee not, and yet I see thee still.
> Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible
> To feeling as to sight? Or art thou but
> A dagger of the mind, a false creation
> Proceeding from the heat-oppressèd brain?
> I see thee yet, in form as palpable
> As this which now I draw. (*Macbeth*, II. 1. 33–41)[68]

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[67] '†' [John Keats], 'On a Grecian Urn', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 4.15 (1 January 1820), 638–39 (p. 639); ll. 28, 30, 36. McGann defines the 'Romantic Ideology' as the one in which 'only a poet and his works can transcend a corrupting appropriation by "the world" of politics and money' (*The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 13).

[68] R. S. White mentions the reference to Macbeth's dagger in Keats's letter but without discussing the implications of the original lines (see *Keats as a Reader of Shakespeare* (London: Athlone Press,

To his specifically politicized siglum in the *Annals,* Keats possibly added Shakespearean evocative implications of the dagger. In this tragedy, the eponymous character experiences a precisely tantalizing sense of visuality. While believing the dagger's materiality, Macbeth still cannot 'clutch' the elusive item.[69] In the end, he even partly distrusts his own optic eyes, suspecting that it might be the mind's 'false creation', a sort of phantasmagoria, or ignis fatuus.[70] In his spring odes, Keats also addresses similar mobility of one's visual imagination. 'Surely', the poet says, 'I dreamt to-day'; but the next moment he is confused: 'or did I see | The winged Psyche with awaken'd eyes?' ('Ode to Psyche', 5–6). To borrow Keats's own words from his letter of 19 March 1819, the poet seems to have been 'straining at particles of light in the midst of a great darkness' (*LJK*, II, 80) in composing his spring odes; in particular, two of them—with an enigmatic 'dagger'—in the *Annals* obfuscate the distinctions between the visible and the invisible, the audible and the inaudible, and the real and the imaginary.

In all his spring odes, Keats stationed some fading, dissolving, and unstably crepuscular polarities. The 'Ode on Indolence' attends to uncertain yet intense 'shadows', exploring their potential meanings behind apparent 'nothingness' (11, 20): the poet's 'dim dreams' consist indeed of 'baffled beams', 'stirring shades', and other 'clouded' visions (42,

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1987), p. 128). For the influence of Shakespeare's passage on William Blake, see Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 148–49. For the culture of quoting from Shakespeare's work in the Romantic period, see also Fiona Ritchie and R. S. White, 'Shakespeare Quotation in the Romantic Age', in *Shakespeare and Quotation,* ed. by Julie Maxwell and Kate Rumbold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 120–35.

[69] Viewed in this light, Keats's rhetoric of 'hand' in a letter to Haydon of 13 April 1819 also recalls the play. In this letter, Keats explains to Haydon about the delay in lending the painter some money which the poet had promised: 'When I offered you assistance I thought I had it in my hand; I thought I had nothing to do, but to do. The difficulties I met with arose from the alertness and suspicion of Abbey; and especially from the affairs being still in a Lawer's [*sic*] hand' (*LJK*, II, 54).

[70] On 13 March 1818, Keats wrote that 'I am sometimes so very sceptical as to think Poetry itself a mere Jack a lanthern [*sic*] to amuse whoever may chance to be struck with its brilliance' (*LJK,* I, 242).

44–45). In the ‘Ode to Psyche’, the poet then hints at ‘some untrodden region of [his] mind’ and the realm’s ‘wide quietness’ (51, 58)—somewhat reminiscent of the expressively pregnant ‘Cave of Quietude’ in *Endymion* (IV. 548).[71] In this ode, he also declares that poetic truth is what intuitive and ‘shadowy thought can win’ and validate (65). The Nightingale ode destabilizes the sense of poetic identity: the lines oscillate between the poet’s sympathetic identification with the immortal bird and his habitual, mortal, and ‘sole self’, concluding suggestively with the music just ‘[f]led’.[72] In the Grecian Urn ode, the poet’s imaginary vase continues to ‘teaze [*sic*] us out of thought’: his faintly obscuring terms (such as ‘mysterious’, ‘emptied’, ‘silent’, ‘desolate’, and ‘unheard’) seem to promise the creative expansions of their antonymous equivalents in the minds of readers.[73] Lastly, the ‘Ode on Melancholy’ associates the mysterious, ‘Veil’d’ goddess and her ‘cloudy trophies’ with ephemeral Beauty and Joy (26, 30): an evanescent ‘April shroud’ (mist) also contributes to the poem’s unsettled atmosphere (14). It was arguably Keats’s literary-aesthetic interest in ‘a greater luxury’ of ‘mistiness’ (*LJK*, I, 274), rather than palpability, that propelled these poetic experiments in the spring—and perhaps in the autumn as well.[74]

In the *Champion* for 7 November 1819, John Thelwall reviewed the fourteenth number of the *Annals*. Significantly, his article observed dialectical tensions between artistic (poetic) authenticity and physical actuality—as developed in Keats’s spring odes:

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[71] For discussion of the ‘Cave of Quietude’, see Chapter 3, pp. 119–20.

[72] [Keats], ‘Ode to the Nightingale’, p. 356; ll. 72, 80. The idea of the poet’s returning to his own self in the ode recalls the way Endymion wakes up from his voluptuous dream of Cynthia: ‘when new wonders ceas’d to float before, | And thoughts of self came on, how crude and sore | The journey homeward to habitual self!’ (*Endymion*, II. 274–76).

[73] [Keats], ‘On a Grecian Urn’, pp. 638–39; ll. 44, 32, 37, 39–40, 11. For the phrase in line 44, Stillinger’s authoritative edition reads: ‘tease us out of thought’ (*PJK*, p. 373).

[74] For discussion of Keats’s idea of ‘mistiness’, see also Alexandra Paterson, ‘“A Greater Luxury”: Keats’s Depictions of Mistiness and Reading’, *Romanticism*, 18.3 (October 2012), 260–69.

> The truth and nature of historic painting, is poetic truth, not the common-place truth of every day's observation. Nothing, it is true, can be more *individualised* than the characters of Shakspeare and the figures in the Cartoons of Raphael; but nothing can be more remote from every-day individuality—i.e. from common place. In short, every thing looks like mere absolute individuality; and yet there is nothing in them which we have ever absolutely seen. The poet and the painter have embued their minds with the contemplation of realities, but they have contemplated them as the poet and the painter could alone have contemplated.[75]

Citing Shakespeare and Raphael, Thelwall discusses the duality of truth in poetry and painting. The reviewer focuses on the ways in which those sister arts could subtly manipulate individual specificity and ultimate potentiality. He distinguishes 'poetic truth' and 'common-place truth'. Unlike the latter's objective entity, the former is seen as an invention generated and enriched by the poet's and the painter's own intense and subjective 'contemplation of realities'—as witness Keats's Grecian Urn, an artefact half-'*individualised*' and half-imagined.

Indeed, critics have suggested numerous possible (actual) sources for the images in the Grecian Urn ode: the potential 'models' include the Portland Vase, the Townley Vase, the Borghese Vase, the Sosibios Vase (a copy of which Keats himself sketched; Figure 6.3), and other examples that the poet might have viewed in Henry Moses's *A Collection of Antique Vases* (1814)—in addition to the Elgin Marbles, the Raphael Cartoons, and paintings by

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[75] 'T.' [John Thelwall], 'Annals of the Fine Arts, No. XIV. July, August and September, 1819', *Champion*, 7 November 1819, pp. 711–12. From January 1819 onwards, Thelwall had been serving as editor of this liberal newspaper. For the authorship of this review, as well as the editorship of the *Champion*, see John O. Hayden, *The Romantic Reviewers, 1802–1824* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1969), pp. 68–70; see also Winifred F. Courtney, 'Champion, The', in *British Literary Magazines*, II, 98–104.

Claude and Poussin.[76] However, it seems more appropriate to see the poet's Grecian Urn as a compound of multiple materials, real and imaginary. The reader will be confused if trying to apply a specific image for the whole lines. With its teasing, elusive, and indefinably protean identity, *a* (not *the*) Grecian Urn would continue to make the reader pose questions:

> What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape,
>   Of Deities, or Mortals, or of both,
>   In Tempe or the Dales of Arcady?
> What Gods or Men are these? What Maidens loth?
>   What love? what dance? what struggle to escape?
>   What Pipes and timbrels? what wild extacy?[77]

Keats's 'anonymous' ode in the *Annals* does not seem to seek to bridge the gap between the signifier and the signified: instead, his pen playfully moves across those distinctions. In the end, the poet's ambiguous phraseology would intensify the reader's surmises by suspending the latter's understanding between certainty and uncertainty. To borrow Hazlitt's phrase, the poet leaves the reader among 'endless shades of difference' between the word and the object, the imitating and the imitated (*CWWH*, IV, 74)—or in a twilight haven of meanings.[78]

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[76] See, for example, I. B. Cauthen, 'The Shield and the Urn: A Search for the Source of Keats's Grecian Urn', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 7 (Winter 1958), 23–28; *KMA*, pp. 214–24; and James Dickie, 'The Grecian Urn: An Archaeological Approach', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 52.1 (September 1969), 96–114.

[77] [Keats], 'On a Grecian Urn', p. 638; ll. 5–10. In Stillinger's authoritative edition, lines 9–10 read: 'What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape? | What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy?' (*PJK*, p. 372).

[78] Hazlitt's phrase is taken from his essay 'On Imitation', first published in the *Examiner* for 18 February 1816 (pp. 108–09). 'Imitation interests', Hazlitt also argues, by 'calling out the powers of observation and comparison: wherever this effect takes place the interest follows of course, with or without the imitation, whether the object is real or artificial' (*CWWH*, IV, 75).

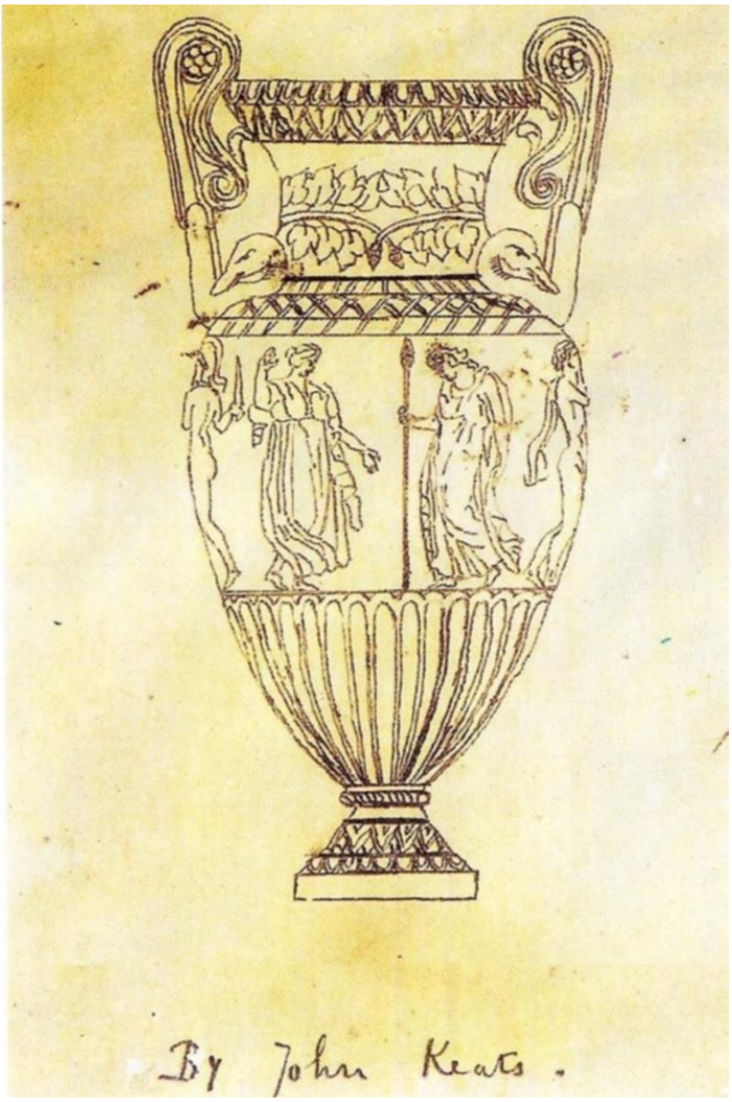
By John Keats.

Figure 6.3 John Keats, *Drawing or Tracing of the Sosibios Vase, c*. 1816, drawing, courtesy of the Keats-Shelley House, Rome[79]

Theresa M. Kelley has claimed that, with the Grecian Urn ode, Keats tried to 'settle [his] debt to his early mentor Haydon by interrogating the strengths and liabilities of poetic ekphrasis'.[80] Precisely in the *Annals*, Haydon had declared that 'Poetry and Painting require the same minds', arguing that 'the means only are different': 'language and versification are the means of the one, and form, colour, and light and shadow, the means of the other'.[81] This self-proclaimed 'historical painter' might indeed have inspired Keats's poetic address to a storied Urn—which the poet regards as a 'Historian' (a narrator in a visual language) who can 'express | A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme'.[82] In his ekphrastic attempt, in the meantime, the poet finally frustrates himself, calling the carven narrative a 'Cold Pastoral' of untranslatability.[83] It is uncertain, though, whether Keats was profoundly conscious of Haydon's presence in writing this quasi-ekphrastic ode in the spring of 1819: as mentioned above, after all, their relationship had already somewhat cooled.[84] Nevertheless, we could still perceive Haydonesque echoes in the last, ventriloquial lines in the ode:

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[79] 'According to the curator of the Keats-Shelley Memorial House the height of the vase on the drawing measures 10 cm. 9 mm. from the plinth to the rim and 11 cm. 7 mm. including the handles' (Dickie, 'The Grecian Urn: An Archaeological Approach', p. 105). For discussion of Keats's sketch, see also *KMA*, p. 284, n. 22.

[80] Theresa M. Kelley, 'Keats, Ekphrasis, and History', in *Keats and History*, ed. by Nicholas Roe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 212–37 (p. 223).

> When old age shall this generation waste,
> Thou wilt remain in midst of other woe
> Than ours a friend to Man, to whom thou say'st
> Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty.—That is all
> Ye know on Earth, and all ye need to know.[85]

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[81] Benjamin Robert Haydon, 'To the Critic on Barry's Work in the Edinburgh Review, August, 1810', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.2 (1 October 1816), 155–72 (p. 162). This essay had first been published in the *Examiner* for 26 January 1812 (pp. 60–64).

[82] [Keats], 'On a Grecian Urn', p. 638; ll. 3–4. According to the *OED*, the etymological implications of the word 'ekphrasis' are such as 'to recount', 'to describe', and to 'explain' (*OED*, s.v. 'ekphrasis, *n.*', etymology); see also Stephen Cheeke, *Writing for Art: The Aesthetics of Ekphrasis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), p. 21.

[83] [Keats], 'On a Grecian Urn', p. 639; l. 45. James A. W. Heffernan also points to Keats's seeming 'resistance' to the traditional genre of ekphrasis in the ode (see *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 107–15).

[84] As it happens, on 22 November 1817, Keats had mentioned 'a Coldness in Haydon' (*LJK*, I, 184).

[85] [Keats], 'On a Grecian Urn', p. 639; ll. 46–50. Stillinger's authoritative edition has quotation marks for the phrase 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty' in line 49 (*PJK*, p. 373).

To be sure, the identification of Beauty and Truth—an idea perhaps dating from Plato—had been commonplace, and eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century writings often employed this cliché.[86] However, given the date of composition of the ode, Haydon's published commentary on the early 1819 exhibition of his pupils' drawings was arguably one of the most immediate influences on Keats's aphorism:

> It is not marble, at least one loses the impression that it is so, it is a living creature; the appearance of vitality destroys the impression of inanimate matter;—art vanishes,—and truth and beauty take its place.[87]

Traces of artificiality would 'vanish', Haydon insisted, by the intensity of 'truth and beauty'. Haydon's aesthetic idea also corresponded to Keats's as expressed in his 'Negative Capability' letter of late 1817: 'with a great poet the sense of Beauty overcomes every other consideration, or rather obliterates all consideration' (*LJK*, I, 194). Haydon proclaimed something very similar—as if his words were 'all ye need to know' on earth. Keats's possible 'quotation' from Haydon with a dagger siglum might indeed have intended to 'settle' his intellectual debt to Haydon; it also, possibly, gestured his own implicit farewell to this man of egotistical irresponsibility. Not long after seeing the Grecian Urn ode printed in the *Annals*, the poet wrote to Georgiana Keats about his separation from 'Haydon and Co' (*LJK*, II, 241), indicating the termination of his reciprocal relationship with this artist-polemicist.

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[86] See, for example, James A. Notopoulos, '"Truth-Beauty" in the "Ode on a Grecian Urn" and the Elgin Marbles', *Modern Language Review*, 61.2 (April 1966), 180–82; Harry M. Solomon, 'Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* and the Conclusion of "Ode on a Grecian Urn"', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 24 (1975), 89–101; and John Keats, *The Complete Poems*, ed. by John Barnard, 3rd edn (London: Penguin Books, 1988), pp. 676–77.

[87] 'B. R. H.' [Benjamin Robert Haydon], *Description of the Drawings from the Cartoons & Elgin Marbles, by Mr. Haydon's Pupils, Now Exhibiting at the Great Room, No. 29, St. James's Street* (London: Reynell, 1819), p. 8. In 1813, Haydon had also noted: 'Beauty of form is but the vehicle of conveying Ideas, but truth of conveyance is the first object' (*Diary*, I, 280).

In fact, the same letter to Georgiana Keats of 15 January 1820 registered Keats's lack of enthusiasm for Haydon's 'discourses of poetry and painting':

> I am tired of the Theatres. Almost all the parties I may chance to fall into I know by heart—I know the different Styles of talk in different places: what subjects will be started how it will proceed, like an acted play, from the first to the last Act—If I go to Hunt's I run my head into many-times heard puns and music. To Haydon's worn out discourses of poetry and painting: […]. 'T is best to remain aloof from people and like their good parts without being eternally troubled with the dull processes of their every day Lives. (*LJK*, II, 244)

'In conversation', according to Haydon, Keats was 'nothing': 'He was the most unselfish of human creatures; […] he cared not for himself, & would put himself to any inconvenience to oblige his Friends' (*Diary*, II, 316). With his 'most unselfish' and chameleon-like versatility, Keats 'acted' routine 'plays' with his friends. Keats had already been fed up with Haydon's 'worn out' monologues on 'poetry and painting'—which also, importantly, suggests the poet's thorough familiarity with the painter's argument.

Appearing in the *Annals* six months earlier (on 1 July 1819), the Nightingale ode might have responded, at least in part, to the problem of the sister arts—including not only 'poetry and painting' but also music.[88] In the same magazine for 1 January 1818, an anonymous author had claimed 'Music' as one of 'the intellectual branches of the Fine Arts', publishing a poem on the subject with the concluding words: 'We're lost in extacy'.[89] In the

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[88] See, for example, 'Publius' [Prince Hoare], 'On the Waterloo Monument', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 2.5 (1 September 1817), 145–60, in which the author writes that 'in the list of the Fine Arts are included poetry, music, architecture, sculpture and painting' and that these sister arts are '*all united*' (p. 150). For the authorship of this essay, see Appendix III, p. 309.

[89] 'W. S. I——n', 'Music', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 2.7 (1 January 1818), 564–65.

Annals, such a discussion would have anticipated the (again anonymously printed) 'Ode to the Nightingale': 'In some melodious plot' of 'extacy', the poet is enraptured by 'being too happy in thine happiness'.[90] As Helen Vendler notes, readers of the *Annals* would have reckoned the ode as 'a poem on the art of music'.[91] However, it is debatable whether, as she goes on to argue, Keats therefore even 'defined' the Nightingale ode as 'a poem about one of the fine arts'.[92] In composing his spring odes, Keats had probably no intention to publish them in the *Annals*. McGann's presupposition that Keats 'decided to publish' his work first in the art magazine is also not entirely correct.[93] Keats was only encouraged afterwards by Haydon (who arranged for the two odes to appear in the periodical). As Joseph Grigely points out, there is a clear difference between the deliberate publication and the consequent appearance: Keats's odes were just 'printed' in the *Annals* and were not 'voluntarily sent' by him to them.[94]

Perhaps, Keats's somewhat playful experiment with light and shade in words (rather than his 'dedication' to the cause of the sister arts as espoused in the *Annals*) happened to gratify Haydon—a great exponent of chiaroscuro effects—to print the poems there. In this literary-aesthetic respect, Keats might also have found a ground to accommodate the artist's request to submit them to the *Annals*. An inspiration for Keats's half-adumbrated texture was, possibly, Wordsworth's 1815 celebration of 'Twilight':

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[90] [Keats], 'Ode to the Nightingale', pp. 354, 356; ll. 8, 58, 6. For the word 'extacy' in line 58, Stillinger's authoritative edition reads 'ecstasy' (*PJK*, p. 371).

[91] Helen Vendler, *The Odes of John Keats* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 77.

[92] Ibid., p. 306.

[93] Jerome J. McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 43.

[94] Joseph Grigely, 'Textual Criticism and the Arts: The Problem of Textual Space', *Text*, 7 (1994), 25–60 (pp. 30–31).

Hail Twilight,—sovereign of one peaceful hour!
Not dull art Thou as undiscerning Night;
But studious only to remove from sight
Day’s mutable distinctions.—Ancient Power!
Thus did the waters gleam, the mountains lower
To the rude Briton, when, in wolf-skin vest
Here roving wild, he laid him down to rest
On the bare rock, or through a leafy bower
Looked ere his eyes were closed. By him was seen
The self-same Vision which we now behold,
At thy meek bidding, shadowy Power, brought forth;—
These mighty barriers, and the gulph between;
The floods,—the stars,—a spectacle as old
As the beginning of the heavens and earth![95]

Indeed, it was not precisely the kind of evening twilight (which Wordsworth had honoured) that Keats afterwards envisioned in his own ode. The younger poet was concerned with the ‘embalmed darkness’ in a ‘forest dim’ with ‘shadows numberless’; his contrast of light and darkness seems to figure in the somewhat faint and uncertain form of an approaching morning twilight: ‘here there is no light | Save what from heaven is with the breezes blown | Through verdurous glooms and winding mossy ways’.[96] Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the older poet’s apostrophe to the ‘shadowy Power’ which would materialize ‘[t]he self-same

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[95] William Wordsworth, *Shorter Poems, 1807–1820*, ed. by Carl H. Ketcham (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 111. This sonnet first appeared in Wordsworth’s 1815 two-volume *Poems* (II, 163). For the influence of the volumes on Keats, see also *KRRP*, pp. 60–61 (in which, though, the present sonnet is not discussed).

[96] [Keats], ‘Ode to the Nightingale’, pp. 354–55; ll. 43, 20, 9, 38–40.

Vision' here and now as there and then, prefigured the younger poet's idea of 'the self-same song' transcending space and time:

> The voice, I hear this passing night, was heard
>   In ancient days, by Emperor and Clown;
>   Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
>   Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
> She stood in tears amid the alien corn […].[97]

In the fading, 'passing night', the poet noticed a melody from time 'ancient' and immemorial. In these seemingly oppositional but significantly continuous tensions, the poet perhaps discerned the everlasting, 'sad' music of humanity which would integrate all the past, the present, and the future. What Wordsworth had called a 'peaceful hour'—reminiscent of Keats's 'peaceful citadel' in his ode on an urn of quietness—could also embody 'mighty barriers' stimulating one's imagination. It is in the crepuscular 'gulph' as such that Keats's nightingale seems to assume its protean and imaginatively indefinite mode of existence. In this respect, it seems meaningful that Keats later retitled the poem from 'Ode to the Nightingale' to 'Ode to a Nightingale'. 'Darkling', the poet says, 'I listen'.[98] The poet is not only standing in the shady place but also, presumably, luxuriating in his own obscure surmises about the bird's identity. The nightingale's notes sound at once permanent ('immortal') and transitory—like 'beaded bubbles winking at the brim' of a glass of wine.[99] With his mysterious 'dagger', Keats thus successfully unsettles the reader's and the poet's own sense of the gaps between the heard and the unheard, the seen and the unseen, the certain and the uncertain, and the clear and the obscure. While gesturing towards a slight ‘distance’ from the politics of art discussed by Haydon and others in the *Annals*, Keats’s dagger also seems to function as a felicitous device to help to enhance the ‘nuanced’ effects of his literary appropriation of artistic lights and shades: in this complex way, Keats’s springs odes might have served as his last poetic embodiment of a Haydonesque aesthetics of chiaroscuro.

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[97] Ibid., p. 356; ll. 63–67.

[98] [Keats], 'Ode to the Nightingale', p. 356; l. 51. Keats probably owed his image to John Milton's depiction of a nightingale in *Paradise Lost*: 'the wakeful bird | Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid | Tunes her nocturnal note' (quoted from *KPL*, p. 101; III. 38–40 (underlined by Keats)).

[99] [Keats], 'Ode to the Nightingale', pp. 355–56; ll. 61, 17.

THE 1820 VOLUME AND AFTER

In Keats’s 1820 volume, the ‘Ode to a Nightingale’ and the ‘Ode on a Grecian Urn’ were reprinted, following his three romances, ‘Lamia’, ‘Isabella’, and ‘The Eve of St. Agnes’.[100] Placed at the top of the volume, ‘Lamia’ was composed months after those spring odes.[101] R. S. White’s recent study notes that ‘[w]e know there was discussion between poet and publishers concerning which poem should open *1820*, but not why “Lamia” emerged as front-runner’.[102] Possibly, Keats intended the evanescent and evocative beauty of Lamia as an introduction to his succeeding poetic interplays of clarity and obscurity. As alluded to in the earlier part of the poem, Lamia has the capacity to control the visibility and invisibility of others. She also takes ‘a gordian shape of dazzling hue’ (I. 47):

> And full of silver moons, that, as she breathed,
> Dissolv’d, or brighter shone, or interwreathed
> Their lustres with the gloomier tapestries […]. (I. 51–53)

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[100] See *PJK*, p. 736.

[101] For the composition of ‘Lamia’, see *TKP*, pp. 254–57.

[102] R. S. White, *Keats’s Anatomy of Melancholy: ‘Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St Agnes, and Other Poems’ (1820)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), p. 139. Originally, Keats had intended to open the volume with ‘The Eve of St. Agnes’ (see *LJK*, II, 276). For discussion about the order of poems in the collection, see also Neil Fraistat, *The Poem and the Book: Interpreting Collections of Romantic Poetry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 95–140.

Lamia repeatedly changes her own form of existence—‘[e]clips’d’, ‘vanish’d’, and ‘disappear’d’ (I. 160, 165–66)—as if heralding the poet’s sympathetically ‘dissolving’ identification with the nightingale. Keats’s narrative locates Lamia in what he calls ‘the calm’d twilight of Platonic shades’ (I. 236), juxtaposing the idealism which she embodies with the scepticism of ‘cold philosophy’ (II. 230). Lamia at last ‘melt[s] into a shade’ (II. 238) as suggested in the famous ‘rainbow’ passage—which might have been inspired by Keats’s conversations with Haydon and others at the legendary ‘immortal dinner’ of 28 December 1817.[103] Lamia’s intertwined ‘tapestries’ of the bright and the gloomy, or the substantial and the illusive, perhaps reflected an obscure texture of Haydon’s huge picture-in-progress, *Christ’s Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem*, lit up by a lantern behind the table of the guests.[104]

In early 1819, an ominous article for the *Literary Journal* reported that the beaded ‘bubble’ Haydon had sought to ‘inflate’ among his adulators and lionizers were just ‘upon the point of bursting’.[105] Due to the artist’s ‘non-chalance’ and the controversies associated with the *Annals*, the ‘anonymous’ Keats might also have wished to leave the world unseen, to fade away from the sway of Haydon. Keats wrote his politically nuanced poem ‘To Autumn’ on

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[103] See Penelope Hughes-Hallett, *The Immortal Dinner: A Famous Evening of Genius & Laughter in Literary London, 1817* (London: Viking, 2000), p. 141. According to Haydon, at the dinner party, Lamb and Keats ‘agreed’ that Newton ‘had destroyed all the Poetry of the rainbow, by reducing it to a prism’ (*Diary*, II, 173). Lamb later praised Keats’s depiction of Lamia as what ‘lays open to us at once, like a picture, all the dim regions and their inhabitants’ (G. M. Matthews, ed., *Keats: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1971), p. 159).

[104] Shortly after the party, Haydon wrote: ‘There was something interesting in seeing Wordsworth sitting, & Keats & Lamb, & my Picture of Christ’s entry towering up behind them, occasionally brightened by the gleams of flame that sparkled from the fire’ (*Diary*, II, 176). Composed decades later, his *Autobiography* repeated the same account with additional embellishment: ‘It was a night worthy of the Elizabethan age, and my solemn Jerusalem flashing up by the flame of the fire, with Christ hanging over us like a vision’ (p. 319).

[105] ‘Castigator’, ‘A Quack Artist’, *Literary Journal*, 20 February 1819, p. 117. For this article, see also above at n. 58.

19 September, six days after witnessing Henry ‘Orator’ Hunt’s ‘triumphal entry into London’ (*LJK*, II, 194).[106] This new political hero of liberalism seems to have replaced, in the poet’s mind, his former artistic giant, who was still working on the subject of the Saviour’s *Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem*. The earlier, passionate friendship between Keats and Haydon was already over on earth; the memories of these (previously) close bosom-friends were about to dissolve in autumnal mists. Nevertheless, weeks afterwards, Keats wrote to Haydon from Winchester that ‘your pictures follow me into the Country—when I am tired with reading I often think them over’ (*LJK*, II, 220). As we will see in the Epilogue, the friendship between Keats and Haydon never ceased entirely; in fact, it was to enjoy a curious and significant posthumous life beyond the death-like ‘soft-dying day’ (‘To Autumn’, 25) of evening twilight.[107]

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[106] For the composition of ‘To Autumn’, see *TKP*, pp. 258–59. For the poem’s politics (especially with respect to the Peterloo Massacre of 16 August 1819), see Roe, *John Keats and the Culture of Dissent*, pp. 248–67; and Richard Marggraf Turley, ‘Objects of Suspicion: Keats, “To Autumn” and the Psychology of Romantic Surveillance’, in *John Keats and the Medical Imagination*, ed. by Nicholas Roe (Cham: Macmillan, 2017), pp. 173–205.

[107] Keats’s equivocal word ‘dying’ seems to imply both ‘to die’ (to expire) and ‘to dye’ (to tinge).

Epilogue

‘OUR BRAZEN TOMBS’: THE POSTHUMOUS LIFE OF FRIENDSHIP

By way of conclusion, in what follows, I will explore the ‘posthumous’ life of the friendship between John Keats and Benjamin Robert Haydon. Here, my concerns are not only about the two men’s peculiar and mutually sympathetic dying wishes as they expressed them in their correspondence. I will also delve into the constructions of Keats’s and Haydon’s self-epitaphs—those last words that they respectively expected to pass on to posterity. By comparing the poet’s and the painter’s remarks on their own future, I would like to point to somewhat curious and even uncanny connections between the afterlives the two men envisioned for themselves (and actually realized in part). In the words of Andrew Bennett, as a monument towards the future, ‘the epitaph itself constitutes a certain afterlife, allowing the subject to live on, to remain after his or her death’.[1] To put it another way, the epitaph—inscription upon a tombstone—can enable intertextual dialogues between the dead and the living (including posthumous generations). From this perspective, I will look at the friendship between Keats and Haydon through an analysis of the two men’s wished-for proximity in their posthumous lives. I will then conclude with a summary of the painterly poetics of light and shade which we have seen in Keats’s work throughout this thesis.

There has been a critical consensus that the two men’s friendship, begun in late 1816, had cooled as early as 1818 and was terminated the following year.[2] Indeed, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, Keats himself declared his determination to put an ‘end’ to his own friendship with Haydon on 20 September 1819 (*LJK*, II, 206). The two men’s relationship, however, was never broken completely. On 25 March 1820, already in a critical condition,

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[1] Andrew Bennett, *Romantic Poets and the Culture of Posterity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 99.

[2] See, for example, Olney (1952), pp. 137–43.

Keats 'ventured as far as the west end for the purpose of seeing M^{r} Haydon's Picture' of *Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem*, now at last exhibited after six years of production (*LJK*, II, 284).[3] Haydon also called on the seriously ill Keats in Hampstead repeatedly before the poet departed for Italy in September 1820.[4] It is true that Haydon did not accompany Keats on board (it was another painter, Joseph Severn, who was at the poet's deathbed in Rome on 23 February 1821). Yet, significantly, the fact is that, in his journey to the warm south, Keats brought seventeen (out of eighteen) letters from Haydon.[5] Keats's final months abroad were thus marked by his recollections of the days he had spent with Haydon and other contemporaries. On 21 September 1819, Keats remarked that 'there can be nothing so remembrancing and enchaining as a good long letter be it composed of what it may' (*LJK*, II, 208). Arguably, it was an embodiment of this sympathetic idea of 'remembrancing and enchaining' that Keats kept—and later took to Italy—most of the letters from Haydon.[6]

'The web of our Life', Keats said on 8 October 1817, 'is of mingled Yarn' (*LJK*, I, 169).[7] Keats was citing William Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*. The playwright had indicated some inevitable, complex, and even oxymoronic intermingling of 'good and ill together' in this world (IV. 3. 75). The Shakespearean idea of weaving a sort of tapestry with one's contemporaries also anticipated a passage in Keats's 'remembrancing and enchaining' letter of 21 September 1819:

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[3] The painting was on display at William Bullock's Great Room, Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. To its private view on 25 March 1820, Haydon invited peers, ambassadors, and many of his friends and acquaintances, including Sir George and Lady Beaumont, Sarah Siddons, Sir Walter Scott, Charles Lamb, and Bryan Waller Procter (alias 'Barry Cornwall'), besides Keats (see 'Mr. Haydon's Picture', *Morning Post*, 30 March 1820, p. 3). Haydon's *Autobiography* reads: 'The room was full. Keats and Hazlitt were up in a corner, really rejoicing' (p. 332).

[4] See *LJK*, II, 297, 308; *Diary*, II, 318; and Appendix I, p. 259.

[5] See John Barnard, 'Which Letters Did Keats Take to Rome?', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 64 (2015), 72–91 (p. 84). The only exception (in Barnard's theory) was Haydon's letter to Keats of 25 September 1818 (see ibid., p. 77; and *LJK*, I, 372–73). All the other seventeen letters were pasted into Haydon's *Diary* after Keats's death.

[6] As against the seventeen letters from Haydon, Barnard is less certain about other letters Keats brought with him to Italy (see 'Which Letters Did Keats Take to Rome?', pp. 80, 84).

[7] According to R. S. White, in one of the poet's copies of Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Keats also side-marked the following part: 'our whole life is a perpetual combate [*sic*], a

> We are like the relict garments of a Saint: the same and not the same: for the careful Monks patch it and patch it: till there's not a thread of the original garment left, and still they show it for S^{t} Anthony's shirt. This is the reason why men who had been bosom friends, on being separated for any number of years, afterwards meet coldly, neither of them knowing why—The fact is they are both altered—Men who live together have a silent moulding and influencing power over each other—They interassimulate. (*LJK*, II, 208)

In the early stages of their relationship, Keats and Haydon had precisely been close 'bosom friends', both maturing and blessing one another. The friendship between the two men would certainly have helped to inter-assimilate their literary and artistic ideas, 'moulding' and 'influencing' each other's life and work reciprocally.

On 21 April 1821, almost two months after Keats's death, Haydon recalled their own earlier and mutual admiration towards each other: 'He had great enthusiasm for me and so had I for him' (*CTT*, II, 72).[8] The strong brotherhood between the two men also appeared to indicate a shared and enchained destiny after their deaths. In March 1817, Haydon wrote to

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conflict, a set battle, a snarling fit' (*The Anatomy of Melancholy, What It Is, with All the Kinds, Causes, Symptomes, Prognostics, and Several Cures of It: In Three Partitions*, 11th edn, corrected, 2 vols (London: Walker, 1813), II, 185); see R. S. White, *Keats's Anatomy of Melancholy: 'Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St Agnes, and Other Poems' (1820)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), p. 142. For discussion about the editions Keats owned, see KL, p. 147.

[8] On 29 March 1821, Haydon also noted: 'I was attached to Keats, & he had great enthusiasm for me' (*Diary*, II, 318).

Keats: ‘God bless you let our hearts be buried in each other’ (*LJK*, I, 125). To Haydon’s rhetorical and sympathetic connotations of burying—embedding—of one’s mind in another, Keats soon added the sense of entombing, which intimated some immortalization of their relationship. Responding to Haydon in early May, Keats declared: ‘I pray God that our brazen Tombs be nigh neighbors’ (*LJK*, I, 141). Here again, Keats was alluding to Shakespeare. For the poet, the playwright was a mighty ‘Presider’ (*LJK*, I, 142), and his work was actually one of the most fascinating topics Keats shared with Haydon.[9] The opening of *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, as quoted at length in Keats’s letter to Haydon, reads:

> Let Fame, which all hunt after in their Lives,
> Live register’d upon our brazen tombs,
> And so grace us in the disgrace of death:
> When spite of cormorant devouring time
> The endeavour of this present breath may buy
> That Honor which shall bate his Scythe’s keen edge
> And make us heirs of all eternity.[10]

Notwithstanding the fact of human mortality in this world, Keats hoped that his and Haydon’s ‘brazen tombs’ would make them ‘heirs of all eternity’ in their posthumous lives. On 28 April 1821, Haydon ruminated on the departed, ‘[p]oor dear Keats’, contemplating his own death: ‘“The endeavour of this present breath” must soon be over’ (*Diary*, II, 324). Undoubtedly, Keats’s idea of coupling his own fate with that of Haydon continued to impress the surviving painter’s mind until his later years. Haydon not only noted down his comment ‘I wonder if they will be’ in Keats’s original letter containing his prayer for erecting their

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[9] On 29 March 1821, Haydon remarked: ‘I have enjoyed Shakespeare more with Keats than with any other Human creature!’ (*Diary*, II, 318).

[10] Quoted from *LJK*, I, 140–41; I. 1. 1–7 (see also Chapter 3, p. 112).

‘brazen Tombs’ together.[11] On 9 December 1841, ‘after an absence and separation of twenty years’, Haydon also reminded himself that ‘Keats said “our brazen tombs would lie together”’: ‘Perhaps I may realise the prophecy’ (*CTT*, II, 176). ‘So, perhaps’, Haydon furthermore proclaimed on 16 August 1842, ‘I shall end my days in Italy’. While again slightly misquoting Keats’s words as ‘[o]ur brazen tombs will lie together’, Haydon maintained: ‘I have had this feeling always, and so had he’ (*CTT*, II, 192). Unfortunately, within four years, Haydon was to kill himself in London, almost a thousand miles away from Rome, where Keats had been buried.[12]

As such, Haydon’s expectation—or ‘prophecy’, as he put it—to ‘meet’ Keats in the eternal city of Rome (*Diary*, II, 318) was not fulfilled. However, as it happens, the two men’s dying words for posterity were to resonate in their epitaphs on themselves as well. Compared with Keats’s well-known self-epitaph—‘Here lies One Whose Name was writ in Water’—it is less known that Haydon also drafted several versions of his own epitaph.[13] It is worth noting that, in their epitaphs, both Keats and Haydon shaped themselves as unfortunate and partly tragic figures because of their neglect by the public in this world. Savagely attacked by contemporary reviewers who denounced his poetic genius, Keats deemed it inevitable that, at least while living on earth, his own name was written upon the unstable surface of ‘Water’. Keats was ‘in bitter anguish’, his friend Charles Brown reported, ‘at the neglect of his countrymen’.[14] That was arguably part of the backdrop of Keats’s posterity-oriented statement of 14 October 1818: ‘I think I shall be among the English Poets after my death’

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[11] Quoted from *LJK*, I, 141, n. 3. For Haydon’s marginal note, see also Appendix I, pp. 250–51.

[12] For Haydon’s suicide, see also *The Times*, 25 June 1846, p. 8; and *Diary*, V, 555–62.

[13] Haydon made at least three of those drafts on, respectively, 10 October 1827, 10 June 1831, and 31 December 1841 (see *Diary*, III, 226, 520–21, V, 110–11).

[14] *The Letters of Charles Armitage Brown*, ed. by Jack Stillinger (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 91.

(*LJK*, I, 394).[15] Haydon—who expressed a desire for some posthumous redemption of his own fame on the very day he first met Keats—also considered himself to be a 'Victim' of the public taste of the age (*Diary,* III, 226).[16] England in his time was certainly not for his favourite, classical, and apparently anachronistic style of High Art on grand, historical subjects; it was more for the fashionable and commodified genre of portraiture or, as he would have put it, for Low Art.[17]

Keats's and Haydon's self-epitaphs exhibit a definite difference, too. The poet of Negative Capability wished to conceal his self-identity. Keats considered that 'no mention of his name or country' should be on his tombstone—though, despite his request, the actual monument would specify him as 'a YOUNG ENGLISH POET'.[18] In any case, his allusion to himself as the 'One Whose Name was writ in Water' was expressively laconic. It was as if his phraseology were inspired by William Wordsworth's first 'Essay upon Epitaphs', published in 1810. The older poet had argued that the character of a deceased person would need effacing and should not be perceived 'otherwise than as a tree through a tender haze or a luminous mist, that spiritualises and beautifies it'.[19] The artist of manifest egotism, by contrast, was far from that Wordsworthian principle of 'a luminous mist'—or a shadowy self-negation—in composing his own epitaph. Haydon's first surviving draft (made on 10 October 1827), for example, reads:

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[15] On 30 November 1820, Keats also mentioned 'an habitual feeling of [his] real life having past' and of already 'leading a posthumous existence' while yet on earth (*LJK*, II, 359).

[16] See Chapter 3, pp. 118–19 (see also Roger J. Porter, *Self-Same Songs: Autobiographical Performances and Reflections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), pp. 149–65).

[17] For the distinctions between High Art and Low Art, see, for example, John Landseer, 'To the Author of a Criticism in the London Magazine, on Mr. Haydon's Picture of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem', *Examiner,* 28 May 1820, pp. 346–47.

[18] 'L.' [Bryan Waller Procter], 'Death of Mr. John Keats', *London Magazine,* April 1821, pp. 426–27 (p. 427). For the authorship of this article, see Frank P. Riga and Claude A. Prance, *Index to the London Magazine* (New York: Garland, 1978), p. 33; see also Sudie Nostrand, 'The Keats Circle: Further Letters' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1973), p. 191. The entire inscription on Keats's tombstone reads: 'This Grave contains all that was Mortal, of a YOUNG ENGLISH POET, Who, on his Death Bed, in the Bitterness of his Heart, at the Malicious Power of his Enemies, Desired these Words to be engraven on his Tomb Stone "Here lies One Whose Name was writ in Water["]. Feb 24th [*sic*] 1821'.

> Here lies the body of Benjamin Robert Haydon, an English Historical Painter, who, in a struggle to make the people, Legislature, & King give that due dignity & rank to the highest walk of Painting, which had ever languished in England and ever will till Government interferes, fell a victim to his ardor & enthusiasm, and died, evidence that to tell truth to Power is a crime that can finally be expiated by the destruction of its Victim.
>
> He was born at Plymouth, Jany. 25, 1786, and died — — — —, believing in Christ as the Mediator & Advocate of Mankind.
>
> 'What various ills the Painter's life assail;
> Pride, envy, want, the *Patron*, & the Goal [*sic*]'. (*Diary*, III, 226)[20]

Thus, Haydon's epitaph on himself was to show in detail his own name, birthplace, date of birth, artistic ideals, and so on, asking posterity to do justice to his deserved merits as 'an English Historical Painter'.[21] As Alethea Hayter sees it, this was 'more a manifesto than an epitaph'.[22] Unlike Keats's 'selfless' inscription, Haydon's words would seem to be even egotistically 'self-revealing'. However, that was the way Keats also regarded and respected the character of this 'immortal' painter-to-be.[23] On 22 December 1818, Keats wrote to Haydon that 'I am certainly more for greatness in a Shade than in the open day' (*LJK*, I, 414). Keats desired 'the Priviledge [*sic*] of seeing great things'—including Haydon's triumphant success as a painter—while himself remaining 'in loneliness' (*LJK*, I, 414). Discouraged to a certain degree by harsh reviews of his ambitious poem *Endymion*, Keats felt inclined even to 'avoid publishing' any more under his own name (*LJK*, I, 415). We should not miss the point that Keats here added: 'I am speaking as a mortal' (*LJK*, I, 414). The 'mortal' Keats longed to remain 'in a Shade', 'in loneliness', and perhaps in anonymity as well; in so doing, he hoped to witness the 'great' fame and name of Haydon acclaimed 'in the open day'. Yet, in his afterlife, Keats instead seems to have expected some immortality 'among the English Poets'.

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[19] *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. by W. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), II, 58.

[20] Haydon's direct (and modified) quotation is from Samuel Johnson's 'The Vanity of Human Wishes' (1749). The original lines read: 'There mark what Ills the Scholar's Life assail, | Toil, Envy, Want, the Patron, and the Jail' (*The Poems of Samuel Johnson*, ed. by David Nichol Smith and Edward L. McAdam, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 122; ll. 159–60). The same quotation also appears in Haydon's later draft (see *Diary*, V, 111).

[21] Entitled 'Vita' and now at the Houghton Library of Harvard University (MS Eng 1331 (31)), Haydon's unpublished draft of his *Autobiography* also begins with several quotations that he seems to

'Here lies One Whose Name was writ in Water': Keats's epitaph, which he chose nine days before his death, implied the sense of transience and uncertainty, rather than the permanence or impregnability which he had wished for in a 'brazen Tomb'.[24] Keats's somewhat archaic phraseology—'writ in Water'—has long attracted attention. For this phrase, critics have suggested several potential sources, mainly from the writings of the

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have given as befitting 'epitaphs' to condense his own *life*. For example, Haydon took one of those epigraphs from Wordsworth's *The Excursion* (1814): 'he was a Man | Whom no one could have passed without remark. | Active and nervous was his gait; his limbs | And his whole figure breathed intelligence' (William Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, ed. by Sally Bushell, James A. Butler, and Michael C. Jaye (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 60; I. 454–57).

[22] Alethea Hayter, *A Sultry Month: Scenes of London Literary Life in 1846* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), p. 196.

[23] 'As soon as I had known Haydon three days', Keats wrote on 22 November 1817, 'I had got enough of his character' (*LJK*, I, 184). In 1848, Wordsworth also said that Haydon 'may be disregarded and scorned now by the ignorant and malevolent, but posterity will do him justice' (*CTT*, I, 110).

[24] See William Sharp, *The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn* (London: Low, Marston, 1892), p. 89.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England.[25] Those probable origins include Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*. It is notable that, weeks before hearing the news of Keats's death, Haydon mentioned specific lines of this play: 'Men's vices live in brass, while their virtues we write in water' (*Diary*, II, 316).[26] As Donald H. Reiman observes, before leaving for Italy, Keats 'may have discussed' with Haydon the 'appropriateness as an epitaph' of Shakespeare's words.[27] In Haydon's context, this quotation served precisely as an 'epitaph' for the journalist John Scott, who had died on 27 February 1821. Editor of the liberal *Champion* and the *London Magazine*, Scott was killed after a duel with Jonathan Henry Christie, the London agent for John Gibson Lockhart of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Referring to 'the epitaph of Keats' on 16 April 1838, Haydon declared that the poet had also been 'murdered by the crew [Sir Walter Scott] protected' (*Diary*, IV, 474), that is, by the Tory magazine associated with this Scottish writer's son-in-law, Lockhart.

Whatever the actual source (if any) of Keats's epitaph might have been, it seems likely that Shakespeare the 'Presider' acted—to an uncanny extent—as a catalyst for the shaping of the two men's mutually sympathetic dying wishes and words. Part of the inscription (now hardly legible; Figures 7.1 and 7.2) on Haydon's tombstone in St. Mary's Churchyard, Paddington Green, London, reads:

Sacred
To the memory of

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[25] See *KC*, II, 91, n. 72; and A. J. Woodman, 'Greek Sources of "Writ in Water": A Further Note', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 24 (1975), 12–13.

[26] The entry is dated 9 March 1821. Shakespeare's original lines read: 'Men's evil manners live in brass, their virtues | We write in water' (IV. 2. 45–46).

[27] Kenneth Neill Cameron, Donald H. Reiman, and Doucet Devin Fischer, ed., *Shelley and his Circle, 1773–1822*, 10 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961–2002), V, ed. by Donald H. Reiman (1973), 423, n. 79.

BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON,

Born January 26th, 1786,

Died June 22nd, 1846.

He devoted 42 years to the improvement of the taste of the English people in high art, and died broken-hearted from pecuniary distress.

> . . . . . . *Oh! let him pass he hates him*
> *That would upon the rack of this tough warld* [*sic*]
> *Stretch him out longer*. . . . .[28]

Most probably, carving the last three lines—from Shakespeare's *King Lear* (V. 3. 289–91)—on the tombstone was an idea inspired by the final page of Haydon's *Diary*:

Finis

of

B. R. Haydon

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[28] Quoted from John T. Page, 'The Resting Places of Eminent Men: XVI: Benjamin Robert Haydon, Painter', *Northampton Mercury*, 26 May 1888, p. 3. In this family tomb are buried the remains

> Also of Newton Haydon
> Who died May 19th, 1836, aged 9 months
> Also of Simon Hyman
> (Mate in Her Majesty's Service);
> Who died at Madras October 18th, 1837
> aged 21 years and 1 month
> Also of Mary Haydon
> Who died on 1854
> aged . . . years and . . months […].

According to Page, as early as 1888, '[t]he inscription is fast becoming obliterated, some part of it, near the bottom, having already quite disappeared'. For a plan to restore this grave in 1960, see '1960 Annual Meeting of Directors', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 10 (Winter 1961), 2–3 (p. 3).

‘Stretch me no longer on this tough World’—Lear. (*Diary*, V, 553)

Shortly after registering these words on 22 June 1846, Haydon killed himself, disentangling the Shakespearean ‘mingled Yarn’ of virtue and vice. The literary painter, then, perhaps hoped for further inter-assimilations with Keats in that world.

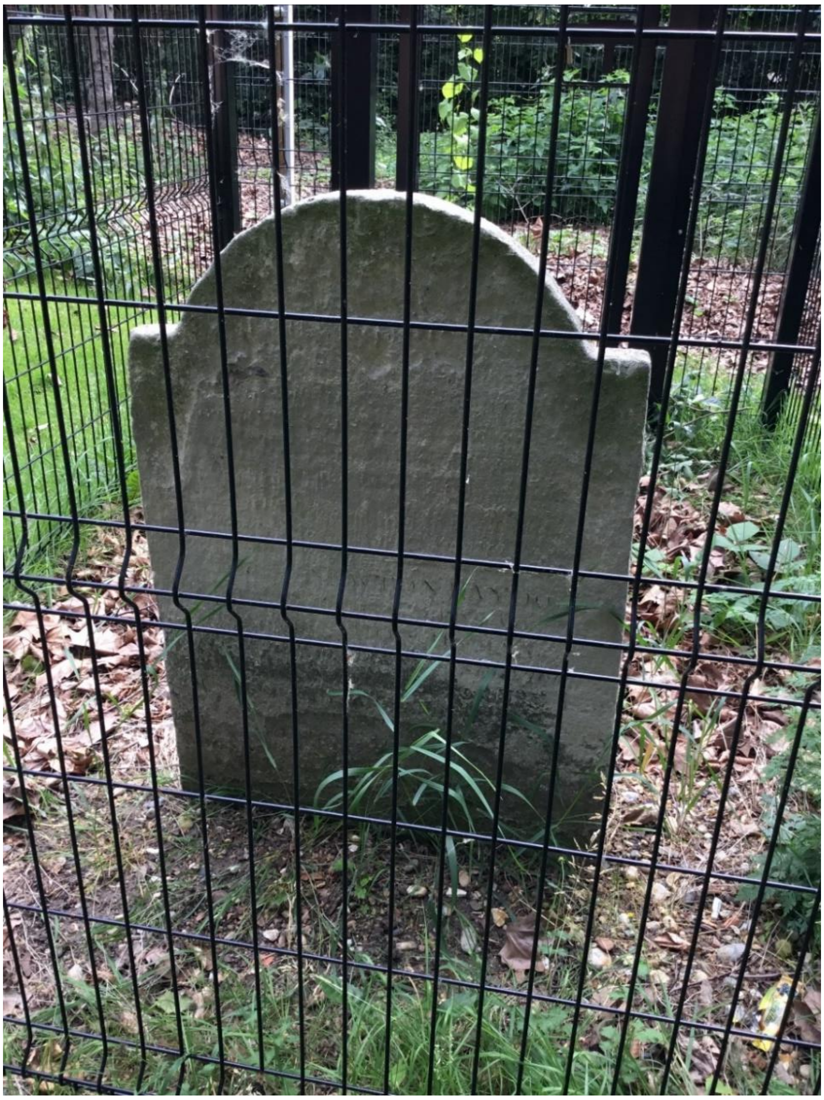

Figure 7.1 The Grave of Benjamin Robert Haydon, *c*. 1850, St. Mary’s Churchyard, Paddington Green, London, author’s photograph[29]

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[29] It remains unknown when this tombstone was erected (after Haydon had died on 22 June 1846). To the best of my knowledge, the earliest reference to the inscription is in William Robins, *Paddington: Past and Present* ([London]: printed for the author, [1853]), p. 183. Robins’s undated book seems to have appeared in the summer of 1853 (see *Examiner*, 2 July 1853, p. 422).

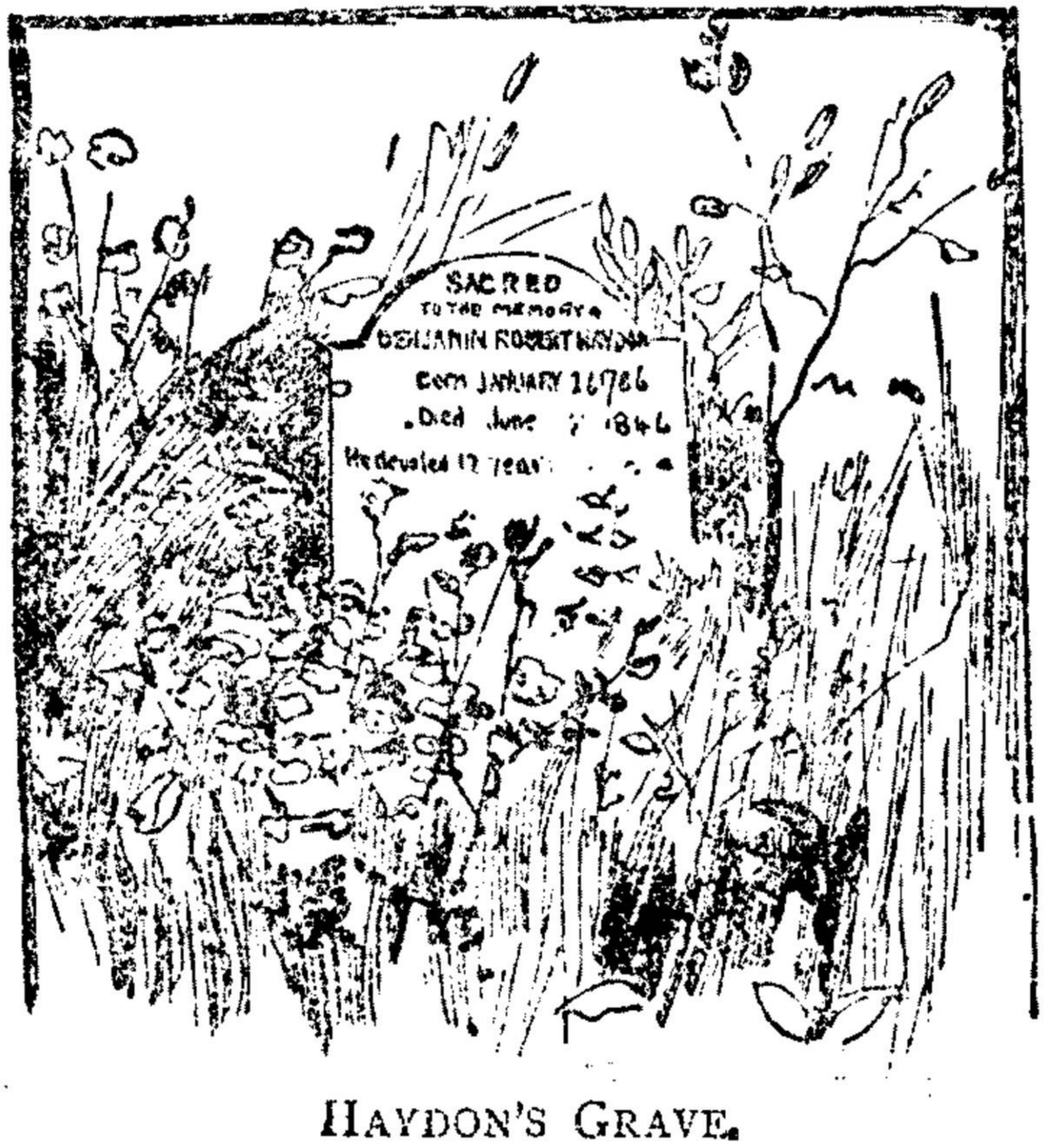
SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON
Born JANUARY 1786
Died June 1846
He devoted 17 years
HAYDON'S GRAVE.

Figure 7.2 [Anon.], *Haydon's Grave*, illustration from *Pall Mall Gazette,* 24 September 1887, p. 2, courtesy of the British Library, London

As a result, the two men's wished-for 'brazen Tombs' do not lie side by side today. Arguably, Keats and Haydon could never have become 'nigh neighbors' in their afterlives either in physical or in figurative terms. As if reflecting the present, contrasting state of attention towards the two men, Keats's grave in Rome (Figure 7.3) welcomes many visitors versed in his self-epitaph; meanwhile, Haydon's tombstone in London has long been fenced off (perhaps to prevent further dilapidation) and stands *forlorn*.[30] One may well wonder if the poet's nightingale might sing a 'plaintive anthem' for the painter, bidding him 'adieu':

> Adieu! adieu! thy plaintive anthem fades
> Past the near meadows, over the still stream,
> Up the hill-side; and now 'tis buried deep
> In the next valley-glades:
> Was it a vision, or a waking dream? ('Ode to a Nightingale', 75–79)

The poet's imaginary alter ego would evanesce beyond 'the near meadows', possibly of Kilburn, where he and the painter used to ramble together (Figure 7.4).[31] According to a contemporary topographical guide to Hampstead and its environs, the word 'Kilburn' is a compound of 'cold' and '*bourn*' (meaning 'a rivulet').[32] This etymological explanation might apply to Keats's phrase 'the still stream' in line 76. As Haydon recorded on 21 September 1820 (a couple of days after Keats had departed for Italy), in the early nineteenth century, Kilburn was full of the sounds of 'warbling birds & sighing leaves' (*Diary*, II, 282)—the latter of which would have produced shadows numberless around the strollers. The imagination of the journalist and poet William Canton also intuitively identified the 'melodious plot | Of beechen green' (8–9) where Keats might have listened to the nightingale as the Kilburn meadows—rather than, as has traditionally been believed, the garden of his lodgings at Wentworth Place, Hampstead.[33]

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[30] See Algernon Ashton, 'Benjamin Robert Haydon', *Daily Telegraph*, 30 November 1923, p. 14; and Willard Bissell Pope, 'Benjamin Robert Haydon', *C.L.S. Bulletin*, 215 (July 1972), 8.

[31] Keats also 'repeated this beautiful ode' to Haydon while 'walking along the Kilburn meadows' together (*Diary*, II, 318). For the two men and the Kilburn meadows, see also *Autobiography*, p. 297; *CTT*, II, 72; *Diary*, II, 324, III, 285; *IF*, p. 5; *KC*, II, 142; and J. Russell Endean, 'Haydon's Notes on Keats', *Athenæum*, 3 April 1897, p. 446.

[32] John James Park, *The Topography and Natural History of Hampstead, in the County of Middlesex*, republished with additions and corrections (London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1818), p. 258.

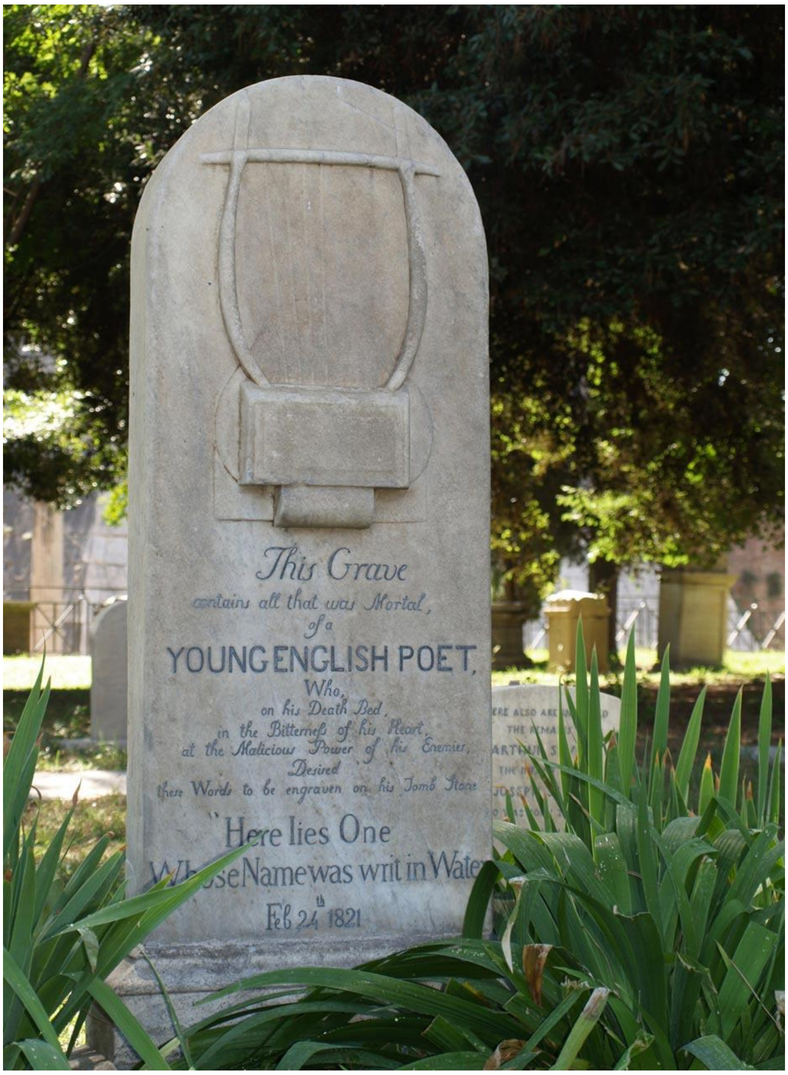
This Grave
contains all that was Mortal,
of a
YOUNG ENGLISH POET,
Who,
on his Death Bed,
in the Bitterness of his Heart,
at the Malicious Power of his Enemies,
Desired
these Words to be engraven on his Tomb Stone
Here lies One
Whose Name was writ in Wate
Feb 24th 1821

Figure 7.3 The Grave of John Keats, 1823, the Protestant Cemetery, Rome, courtesy of the Wikimedia Commons[34]

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[33] See William Canton, ‘From One Point of View’, *Good Words*, April 1901, pp. 285–88 (pp. 286–87). For the famous anecdote that Keats composed the ode at the garden of Wentworth Place, see Charles Armitage Brown, *Life of John Keats*, ed. by Dorothy Hyde Bodurtha and Willard Bissell Pope (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 53–54. Questioning the reliability of Brown’s account, Robert Gittings has suggested that he might have confounded the ‘Ode to a Nightingale’ with the ‘Ode on Indolence’ (see *John Keats* (London: Heinemann, 1968), p. 311, n. 3); see also *TKP*, p. 243.

[34] Keats’s tombstone was ‘erected in late May or early June 1823’ (Nicholas Stanley-Price, ‘The Grave of John Keats Revisited’, *Keats-Shelley Review,* 33.2 (2019), 175–93 (p. 179)).

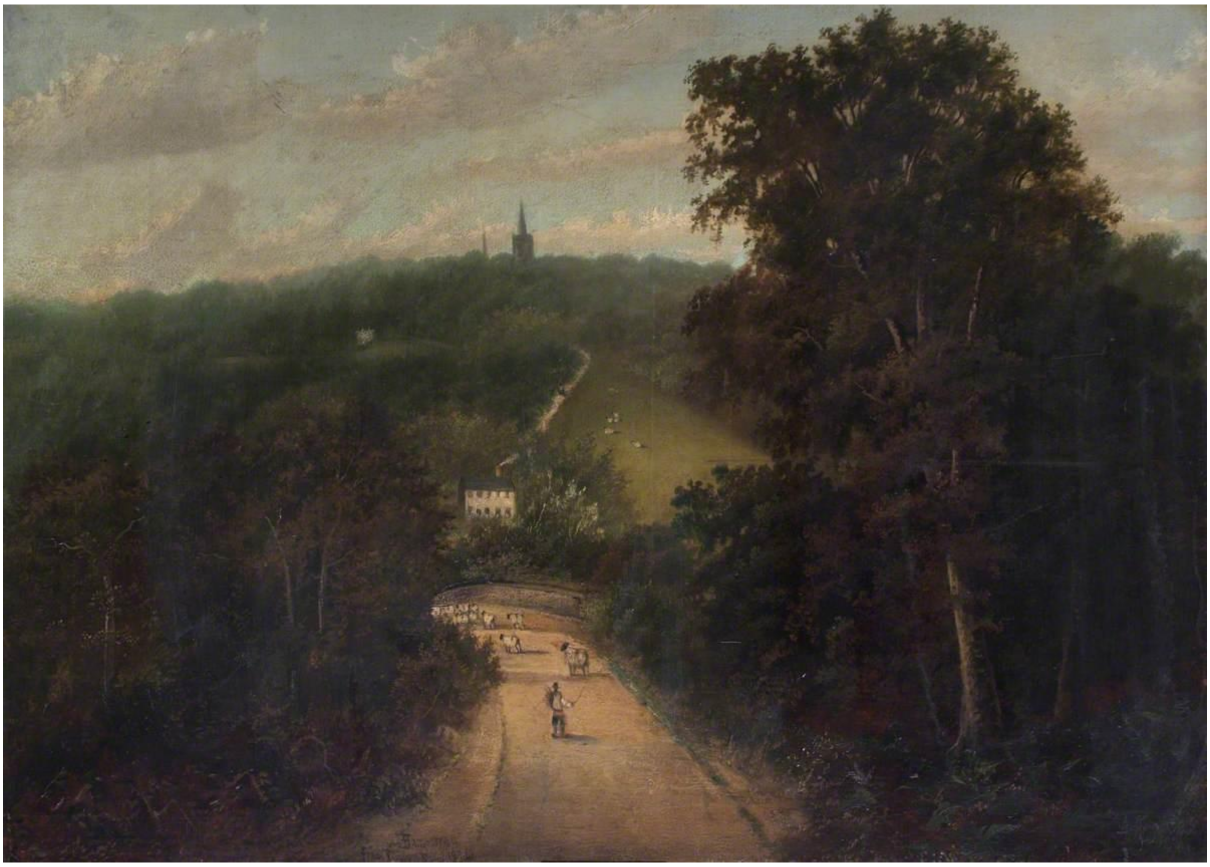

Figure 7.4 A. W. Sharp, *Hampstead from the Kilburn Road*, 1824, oil on canvas, 82 × 108.5 cm, courtesy of the Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre

Just as the nightingale's elegiac song—'buried deep | In the next valley-glades'—would seem to imply a faint link between mortality and immortality, the 'burying' of the two men's bodies might also have anticipated a certain reconnection in the 'next' world. Perhaps, the poet not only gestured *adieu* to this world but also said *au revoir* in his posthumous life with Haydon and other friends. It is remarkable that, as Grant F. Scott notes, Severn's design of the half-strung lyre on Keats's tombstone itself derived from 'one of the smaller items in Lord Elgin's collection whose nucleus was the Parthenon marbles'.[35] That is, the carved broken lyre—an emblem of impermanence—happened to materialize a 'reunion' of the dead

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[35] *Joseph Severn: Letters and Memoirs*, ed. by Grant F. Scott (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 215, n. 4. For further discussion of the design, see John Curtis Franklin, 'Once More the Poet: Keats, Severn, and the Grecian Lyre', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 48 (2003), 227–40.

Keats and the fragmentary characteristics of the Grecian antiquity to which Haydon had first drawn his attention. Keats's and Haydon's afterlives were to see their further and curious monumental coupling by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. By 30 August 1848—two years after Haydon's suicide—Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Holman Hunt had 'prepared a list of Immortals'; they believed that it would form their own artistic and literary 'creed'.[36] This Pre-Raphaelite 'manifesto', as they put it, declared their 'absence of faith in immortality, save in that perennial influence exercised by great thinkers and workers'.[37] The 'list of Immortals' exhibited a marked interdisciplinary diversity. The first figure mentioned was 'Jesus Christ****' (the number of stars indicating the grade of distinction in the Pre-Raphaelites' estimation), followed by such names as 'Homer**', 'Pheidias', 'Kosciusko', 'Raphael*', 'Alfred**', 'Shakespeare***', 'Newton', 'Columbus', and the English Romantics like:

> Keats**
> Shelley**
> Haydon […].[38]

As is well known, the Pre-Raphaelites idolized Keats, whose work they often pictorialized.[39] Though relatively less known, Haydon also epitomized the radical politics—and heroism—of this mid-Victorian group. This was not least because both Haydon and the Pre-Raphaelites attacked the Royal Academy. As Julie Codell has recently shown, the Pre-Raphaelites' canonization of their somewhat controversial 'Immortals' was a kind of 'iconoclasm'—a subversion of the Royal Academy's traditional hierarchy of values.[40] By 1848, some of those new 'Immortals' had yet to be critically stable, with their names perhaps even still 'in Water'.

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[36] *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. by William E. Fredeman, 10 vols (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2002–15), I (2002), 71.

[37] William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1905), I, 159.

[38] Ibid., I, 159.

[39] See, for example, Sarah Wootton, *Consuming Keats: Nineteenth-Century Representations in Art and Literature* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2006), pp. 42–77.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, in many respects (as I have argued throughout the thesis), the most befitting term for the relationship between Keats and Haydon is precisely 'light and shade'. After all, to borrow Alexander Pope's specifically painterly language, it is the 'well accorded strife' of 'lights and shades' that would create 'all the strength and colour of our life':[41]

> Extremes in Nature equal ends produce,
> In Man they join to some mysterious use;
> Tho' each by turns the other's bound invade,
> As, in some well-wrought picture, light and shade,
> And oft so mix, the diff'rence is too nice
> Where ends the Virtue, or begins the Vice.[42]

To Keats, Haydon's magnetic presence seemed to embody two contrary (but mysteriously 'well-wrought') tensions of personality: 'Virtue' and 'Vice'.[43] Indeed, on the one hand, Haydon's self-sacrificing approaches to art would have appeared to Keats to exemplify the bright side of Negative Capability. Yet, on the other, the manifestly self-interested painter must also have shown to the poet the dark side of egotistical sublimity. In any case, it was arguably in the ‘mingled Yarn’ of the poet’s associations with this awe-inspiring artist that Keats learned to formulate his own distinctively painterly poetics—as his last extant letter would demonstrate most tellingly:

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[40] Julie Codell, 'Dismantling the Canon: The Pre-Raphaelite List of Immortals', *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, n.s., 27 (Spring 2018), 5–21 (p. 10).

[41] Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, ed. by Maynard Mack (London: Methuen, 1950), p. 70; II. 121–22. Mack notes that Pope applied 'the Augustan conception of paintings as composed "tensions" of light and shade' here to 'the composition of human personality' (ibid., p. 70, n.).

[42] Ibid., pp. 79–81; II. 205–10.

[43] In the words of A. C. Sewter, Haydon's 'artistic character' was also 'a complex of contradictory elements': 'He was a battlefield in which the principles of classicism were incessantly at war with the urgings of romanticism' ('A Revaluation of Haydon', *Art Quarterly*, 5 (1942), 323–37 (p. 327)).

> now—the knowledge of contrast, feeling for light and shade, all that information (primitive sense) necessary for a poem are great enemies to the recovery of the stomach. (*LJK*, II, 360)

As already mentioned, in writing these last words in Rome on 30 November 1820, Keats had by his side the seventeen letters from Haydon. With the somewhat idiosyncratic phrase ‘primitive sense’, Keats might have recollected Carlo Lasinio’s ‘Book of Prints’ he had viewed with Haydon. As we have seen in Chapter 5, Lasinio’s engravings from medieval, chronologically *Pre*-Raphaelite, and indeed ‘primitive’ frescoes impressed Keats, not least because the prints divulged ‘so much room for Imagination’ (*LJK*, II, 19). Lasinio’s volume appeared to Keats to represent an unaffected yet highly engaging ‘contrast’ of actualities and potentialities. In Lasinio’s expressive artistry, Keats might have observed the essence of a Haydonesque aesthetics of chiaroscuro. The prints stimulated the poet’s imagination with their intense coalescence of clarity and obscurity. For Keats, ‘all that information […] necessary for a poem’—or perhaps *all ye need to know* about his painterly craftsmanship—was there in the poetics of an inter-assimilative ‘light and shade’.

Appendix I: Haydon's Annotated Transcripts of Keats's Letters

In the collection of the Houghton Library at Harvard University, there is a file entitled 'Transcripts of Letters and Parts of Letters from John Keats to Benjamin Robert Haydon and Tom Keats'.[1] Haydon transcribed nine of Keats's letters (eight addressed to the painter himself and one to the poet's brother Tom); some are copied in full and others in part. Haydon was by no means a fully reliable transcriber. Not only did he copy the letters inaccurately at times, but often he also chose to leave out whole sentences, even whole passages, without acknowledging the omissions. In addition, since Keats's original letters are all reproduced in full in Hyder Edward Rollins's authoritative 1958 edition, Haydon's transcripts themselves are not critically important. Yet what makes this material singular is that Haydon annotated some of the letters, and the annotations provide a glimpse of his friendship with Keats, by which we gain a better understanding of their relationship.

Judging from the content of his annotations, Haydon is most likely to have copied Keats's letters not for the painter himself but for someone else. The Houghton Library records that this material was originally in the collection of Richard Monckton Milnes, first Baron Houghton.[2] In fact, Milnes's *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains, of John Keats* (1848) evidently relies in part on Haydon's transcripts and annotations. On 30 November 1845, before making the acquaintance of Milnes, Haydon wrote to the publisher Edward Moxon:

> I send you some of Keats Correspondence which you will oblige me to forward to M^{r} Milnes. […] I do not wish to have the appearance of forcing myself on M^{r} Milnes'

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[1] Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Keats 4.7.24. For the reproduction of Haydon's transcripts below, I am grateful for the kind permission of the Houghton Library.

[2] For the provenance and physical description of the material, see *John Keats, 1795–1995: With a Catalogue of the Harvard Keats Collection* ([Cambridge, MA]: Houghton Library, 1995), pp. 39, 98; and below at n. 36.

> attention, or into his work—but I am most anxious to shew by the extracts, Keats was not the conceited person he was taken for, by being patronised by Leigh Hunt: and was as well aware of his *dilemma*, as the public. (*KC*, II, 145)

Thus, it is most plausible that Milnes received, via Moxon, the ‘extracts’ which Haydon had made from Keats’s letters while the biographer was still preparing his book to be published in 1848. This is also, I presume, the reason why the Houghton Library estimates that Haydon copied the letters some time between 1845 and 1846.[3]

Written in the third person, Haydon’s letter to Milnes of 28 May 1846 also attests to the fact that the painter assisted the biographer in working on his 1848 book:

> M^r^ Haydon’s Compts to M^r^ Milnes, & he has cut out the letter from his own memoirs—for him & only begs him to return it when done with.
>
> M^r^ Haydon begs to express his great pleasure in becoming known to M^r^ Milnes, whose poetry he has so much admired—he only fears he talked too much about himself. (*KC*, II, 158–59)

According to Rollins, the letter ‘cut out’ by Haydon is the one Keats wrote to the painter on 10 and 11 May 1817.[4] In his biography, Milnes in fact reproduced the text of the letter, in which Keats declared to Haydon: ‘I pray God that our brazen Tombs be nigh neighbors’ (*LJK*, I, 141). To this sentence, Milnes added the following footnote: ‘To the copy of this letter, given me by Mr. Haydon on the 14th of May, 1846, a note was affixed at this place, in the words “Perhaps they may be”.—Alas! no’ (*LLL*, I, 36).[5] At the same place in Keats’s original letter, now at the Houghton Library, Haydon also annotated: ‘I wonder if they will be. B R Haydon’.[6] Although Rollins suspects that Milnes’s ‘copy’ was Haydon’s transcript copy, the biographer was probably alluding instead to Keats’s original copy, which contains the annotation by ‘B R Haydon’.[7] After all, whereas Milnes reproduced nearly the full text of Keats’s letter, Haydon’s extant transcript provides only part of it. Besides, in the first place, Haydon’s copy even omits Keats’s sentence referring to their wished-for ‘brazen Tombs’, so it does not have any annotations to that part. Obviously, it is unlikely that Haydon copied the same letter twice for Milnes. Even if the painter did actually send another transcript (in this case, in full) to Milnes, it would still be most unnatural that Haydon ‘begs him to return it when done with’. Apparently, Haydon had no reason to re-claim his own transcript from Milnes. Yet, if he sent him Keats’s original letter on ‘the 14th of May, 1846’—or perhaps, more precisely, on 28 May 1846—it is quite reasonable that Haydon did indeed want to get it back, so that he could restore it to ‘his own memoirs’, that is, his *Diary*.[8]

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[3] See ibid., p. 98. Haydon died on 22 June 1846.

[4] See *KC*, II, 158, n. 5.

[5] The grave of Keats, who died on 23 February 1821, is in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome, whereas that of Haydon is in St. Mary’s Churchyard, Paddington Green, London.

The actual circumstance was probably as follows: after reading the extract transcribed by the painter on 14 May 1846, Milnes was inclined to consult the full text of Keats’s letter, asking Haydon to that effect; Haydon then accommodated Milnes’s request by sending him the original letter on 28 May 1846. There is still, however, one further matter to be considered in Milnes’s reproduction: why did he transcribe Haydon’s annotation not literally as ‘I wonder if they will be’ but as ‘Perhaps they may be’? Here, we might need to give heed to the fact that Milnes’s footnote was added only after Haydon’s death on 22 June 1846. It is conceivable that Milnes returned the letter without transcribing the annotation; shocked at the news of Haydon’s suicide shortly afterwards, Milnes might have recalled the presence of the marginal note and misquoted it, while lamenting his tragic death: ‘Alas! no’.

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[6] Quoted from *LJK*, I, 141, n. 3 (MS Keats 1.7).

[7] See *LJK*, I, 141, n. 3.

[8] Rollins notes that Keats’s letter to Haydon of 10 and 11 May 1817 was originally ‘attached to Haydon’s Journal’ (*LJK*, I, 140, n. 1 (for the letter no. 26)).

Milnes's biography does not reproduce all of Haydon's commentary—of course, he had no obligation to do so in 1848. Therefore, to the best of my knowledge, the 'entire' texts of Haydon's annotated transcripts are yet to be published.[9] As Keats himself complained, Haydon's handwriting is often hard to decipher;[10] but I have tried to reproduce his words as precisely as possible. In the footnotes, I have supplied page numbers of each original letter written by Keats in Rollins's edition. I have also noted [1] the places where Milnes's 1848 book reproduced Keats's letters—whether they were in fact transcribed from the originals or from Haydon's transcripts—and [2] where the biographer seems to have relied on the painter's annotations. Variants between the original letters and Haydon's transcripts are recorded only where those differences matter substantially to the extent that they may 'distort' Keats's intended meanings. Also, in the following reproduction of Haydon's annotated transcripts, I have followed Rollins's editorial principles:

> Where a possibility of real confusion exists, misspellings are corrected by letters inserted in square brackets ([ ]). Such brackets enclose all other editorial insertions, like words necessary for the sense and omitted by oversight. […] Curly braces ({ }) indicate letters or words inserted to fill gaps caused by holes, tears, frayed edges, and the like. […] Canceled letters or words that result from the writers' corrections of misspellings, repetitions, and so on are not noted, nor are changes by which one word is written over another (for example, when 'who' becomes 'what'). But whenever the

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[9] As mentioned in the Acknowledgements, an earlier version of this Appendix has just appeared in the *Essays in English Romanticism*, 45 (2021), 1–16.

[10] In a letter to Charles Wentworth Dilke of 4 March 1820, Keats even remarked: 'If the only copies of the greek and Latin Authors had been made by you, Bailey and Haydon they Were as good as lost' (*LJK*, II, 272). For the illegibility of Haydon's handwriting, see also Jack Stillinger, review of *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, ed. by Willard Bissell Pope (1960; vols. 1–2), *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 60.2 (April 1961), 334–36 (p. 336).

> canceled readings appear to be of interest or significance, they are, if decipherable, printed in shaped brackets (< >) or recorded in footnotes. (*LJK*, I, 16)

In contrast to the transcripts of Keats's letters by Charles Brown, Richard Woodhouse, and John Jeffrey, those by Haydon have attracted very little scholarly attention.[11] As the texts reproduced below will show, Haydon's annotated transcripts reveal in what ways he wanted to impress Milnes with the intensity of his friendship with Keats, and in what ways the painter also asked the biographer to (re-)shape the image of the poet, who had long been neglected by the public and critics.

* * *

Here follow my transcripts of Haydon's annotated copies of Keats's letters.

Extracts from

Keats

Correspondence

with me—

B R H

Extract{s from} <letters of Keats>

My dear Haydon[12]

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[11] For example, while Rollins's introduction to his own edition of Keats's letters provides a detailed account of the transcripts by Brown, Woodhouse, and Jeffrey, there is no reference at all in the same section to Haydon's annotated copies (see *LJK*, I, 18–23).

[12] See *LJK*, I, 140–45 (to Haydon, 10 and 11 May 1817); and *LLL*, I, 36–41. Since, as I have noted above, Milnes undoubtedly consulted Keats's original letter in addition to Haydon's transcript, the biographer succeeded in providing a more accurate text than the painter's somewhat 'bowdlerized' copy.

Marg{ate}

Saturday Afternoon

<A few days before Keats left England, he told me>

X X X X X X X X X X X X X

———I suppose by your telling me not to give way to forebodings that George has mentioned to you, what I have lately said in my letters to him: truth is, I have been in such a state of mind as to read over my lines and hate them.—I am one that "gathereth Sapphire", dreadful trade"[13] The Cliff of Poesy Towers above me—I read and write about 8 hours a day—There is an old saying, "Well begun is half done" tis a bad one not begun till half done—I would use instead—Thank God! I do begin ardently[14] where I left off notwithstanding my occasional depressions, and I hope for the support of a high Power, while I clime this little eminence, and especially in my years of more momentous labour.—I am glad to hear you say every Man of great Views is at times <depressed as> tormented as I am—(Sunday afternoon) This morning I received a letter from *George* by which it appears that more troubles[15] are following us up for some time to come, perhaps always—these vexations are great hindrances to one; They are not like Envy & detraction, stimulants to further exertion as being immediately relative and reflected on at the same time with the prime Object, but rather like a nettle leaf or two in your bed:—So now I revoke my promise of finishing my poem by the Autumn—I cannot write While my spirit is is[16] fevered in a contrary direction, and I am nor[17] sure of having plenty of it this Summer———I am extremely glad that a time must come when every thing will leave not a wrack behind”[18]—You tell me never to despair—I wish it was as easy for me to Observe the saying—truth is I have a horrid morbidity of temperament which has shewn itself at intervals, It is I have no doubt the greatest stumbling block I have to fear—I may even say that it is likely to be the cause [of] my disappointment—however every bane[19] has its share of good—This very bane would at any time enable me to look with an obstinate face[20] on the Devil himself: ay, to be as proud of being the lowest of mankind as Alfred could be of being the highest—I am very sure that you do love me as your own Brother—I have seen it in your continual anxiety for me, and I assure you that your welfare & fame is & will be a chief pleasure to me all my life—I know no one but you who can be fully sensible of the turmoil and anxiety, the sacrifice of all that is called comfort, the readiness to measure time by what is done and to die in six hours could plans be brought to conclusions.—The looking upon the Sun, the Moon the Stars, the Earth and its contents as materials to form greater things, that is to say ethereal things———(but I am talking like a Madman!) Greater things than our Creator himself made!!—I wrote Hunt yesterday scarcely know what I said <in it>—I could not talk about Poetry in the way I wished, for I was not in a humour with either his <and> or mine.—*His self delusions are very lamentable, they have enticed him into a situation which I should be less eager <for> after than that of a galley Slave—what you <say> Observe thereon is very true and must be in time*.—Perhaps it is self delusion to say so, but I think I could not be deceived in the manner that Hunt is—may I die to-morrow if I am to be. *There is no greater Sin after the 7 deadly than to flatter oneself into an Idea of being a great Poet*, or one of those beings who are privileged to wear out their lives in the pursuit of honor—how comfortable a feel it is, that *such a Crime must bring its heavy penalty!* That if one be a self-deluder, *accounts will be balanced!*[21]—I never quite despair and I read Shakespeare,—indeed I shall think of never reading in any other book much. now this would lead me into a long confab but I desist—I am very near agreeing that Shakespeare is enough for us[22]

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[13] 'I am "one that gathers Samphire dreadful trade"' (*LJK*, I, 141). Keats is quoting from William Shakespeare's *King Lear*: 'one that gathers samphire, dreadful trade' (IV. 5. 15).

[14] 'arduously' (*LJK*, I, 141).

[15] 'Money Troubles' (*LJK*, I, 142).

[16] *Sic*.

[17] 'now' (*LJK*, I, 142).

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[18] Keats is quoting (without quotation marks) from Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*: ‘Leave not a rack behind’ (IV. 1. 156).

[19] ‘ill’ (*LJK*, I, 142).

[20] ‘eye’ (*LJK*, I, 142).

. . . .

Tis good to see that the Duke of Wellington has a good word or two <in the Examiner>, a Man ought to have the fame he deserves, and I begin to think that detracting from him as well as from Wordsworth is the same thing—I wish he (Wordsworth) had a little more taste, and did not <respect> deal in Lieutenantility[23] Give my respects the next time you write to the North and also to John Hunt—So now in the name of Shakespeare and all our Saints,[24] I commend thee thee[25] to the care of Heaven!—your everlasting Friend

John Keats.—

In another—Sep. 28. Oxford[26]

He says . . . . . you will be glad to hear that within these last three weeks I have written 1000 lines, which are the third book of my Poem (Endymion)—My Ideas of it I assure you are very low—& I would write the subject thoroughly again, but I am tired of it and think the time would be better spent in writing a new Romance which I have in my eye for next Summer—Rome was not built in a day, and all the good I expect from my employment this Summer <is experience> *is the fruit of experience* which I hope to gather in my next Poem—

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[21] 'balanced?' (*LJK*, I, 143).

[22] 'I am very near Agreeing with Hazlit [*sic*] that Shakspeare is enough for us' (*LJK*, I, 143). By dropping (perhaps intentionally) the name of Hazlitt here, Haydon might have insisted on the significance of his own influence on Keats's literary taste. Nevertheless, after consulting the poet's original letter, Milnes dutifully restored Keats's reference to Hazlitt in his own biography (see *LLL*, I, 40).

[23] 'did not in that respect "deal in Lieutenantry"' (*LJK*, I, 144). Keats is quoting from Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*: 'Dealt on lieutenantry' (III. 11. 39).

[24] 'in the Name of Shakespeare Raphael and all our Saints' (*LJK*, I, 145).

[25] *Sic*.

[26] See *LJK*, I, 167–68 (to Haydon, 28 September 1817); and *LLL*, I, 60.

yours eternally

John Keats—

In another—Dated Winchester[27]—he says—

"I have done nothing except for the amusement of a few people who refine upon their feelings till any thing in the *un*-understandable way will go down with them. I have no cause to complain because I am certain any thing really fine will in these days be felt. I have no doubt that if I had written Othello I should have been cheered[28] I shall go on with patience—I came here in the hopes of getting a library, but there is none—the high S^{t}. is as quiet as a lamb—the knockers are dieted three raps per diem—the bad singing in the Cathedral I do not care to smoke—being by myself I am not very coy in my taste—At S^{t}. Cross is a very interesting Picture of Albert Durers—who being alive in such warlike times *perhaps was forced to paint in his gauntlets*, so must make all allowances—

Yours &.

J. K.

In another[29]—he says

I have been writing a little but nothing to speak of, being discontented and as it were moulting—yet I do not think I shall come to the rope or the pistol. After a day or two's melancholy, although I smoke more and more my own insufficiency—I see by little and little more of what is to be done <though I> should I ever be able to do it—By my soul there should be some reward for that continual “agonie ennuiyeuse”

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[27] See *LJK*, II, 219–21 (to Haydon, 3 October 1819); and *LLL*, II, 10.

[28] 'cheered by as good as Mob as Hunt' (*LJK*, II, 219). Keats is referring here not to Leigh Hunt but, as Rollins notes, to Henry 'Orator' Hunt.

[29] See *LJK*, II, 31–32 (p. 32; to Haydon, 10 (?) January 1819). This letter is not reproduced in *LLL*.

In another from Scotland—July 10[30] He says—

“The bonnie Doon is the sweetest river I ever saw overhung with fine trees as far as we could see—we stood some time on the Brig o’er which Tam O’ Shanter fled—we took a pinch of snuff on the key stone—then we proceeded to <the> Auld Kirk Alloway—as we were looking at it, a Farmer pointed out the spots where Mungo[’s] Mither drowned[31] herself and drunken Charlie brake’s neck’s Bane—Then we went to the cottage in which Burns was born There was a board to that effect by the door’s side—it had the same effect as the same sort of memorial at Stratford upon Avon—we drank some Toddy to Burns[’s] memory with an old man who knew Burns—there was something good in his description of Burns[’s] melancholy the last time he saw him—I was determined to write a sonnet in the cottage—I did—but it was so bad I cannot venture it here—

In another[32]—he says—

Conversation is not a search after knowledge but an endeavour at effect—In this respect two most opposite men are the same Wordsworth & Hunt—a Friend said if Lord Bacon <were> was alive and to <utter a word> make a remark in the present day—in company the conversation would stop <on> a sudden I am convinced of this.

---

[30] See *LJK*, I, 327–33 (pp. 331–32; to Tom Keats, 10, 11, 13, 14 July 1818); and *LLL*, I, 158–59. Since Haydon here did not mention that Keats had sent this letter to Tom, Milnes (mis)understood it as having been addressed instead to the painter himself (see *LLL*, I, 158).

[31] ‘hang’d’ (*LJK*, I, 331).

[32] See *LJK*, II, 42–43 (p. 43; to Haydon, 8 March 1819); and *LLL*, I, 74.

These extracts I hope will prove Keats' sense, and that he was not, the vain, silly<ing>[33] self deluded thing he was suspected to be—

The last Time I <His Friend> saw him, he was lying in a white bed, with white quilt, & white sheets, the only colour visible was the hectic flush of his cheeks—he was deeply affected and so was I <his Friend>—Often & Often he confessed to me Hunt had ruined him, but said he "I shall not live long—It is not worth while now to withdraw" and besides it was inadvertence, and he is in trouble & I will stick to him.[34]

B. R. HAYDON

Shortly after I saw him in the touching condition, Italy was talked of—& the following letter is the last I ever received from him—

Mrs Brawne[']s next door to
Brown's Wentworth place
Hampstead 1820[35]

My dear Haydon

---

[33] It is obscure but it looks as if Haydon wrote 'sillying' and then scored out the 'ing'.

[34] Milnes's biography reads:

> Mr. Haydon has recorded in his journal the terrible impression of this visit: the very colouring of the scene struck forcibly on the painter's imagination; the white curtains, the white sheets, the white shirt, and the white skin of his friend, all contrasted with the bright hectic flush on his cheek and heightened the sinister effect: he went away hardly hoping. (*LLL*, II, 66)

Milnes probably consulted, in addition to Haydon's note above, the painter's 'journal' for 29 March 1821 (see *Diary*, II, 318).

[35] See *LJK*, II, 328 (to Haydon, August (?) 1820); and *LLL*, II, 65–66.

I am much better this morning, than I was when I wrote you the note, that is my hopes & spirits are better which are generally at a very low ebb from such a protracted illness—I shall be here for a little time and at home at all & every day.

A Journey to Italy is recommended me which I have resolved upon & am beginning to prepare for. Hoping to see you shortly

I remain Your
affectionate Friend
John Keats

Two Notes which accompanied the Sonnet "Great Spirits &."[36]

Copy

Nov 20th—1816[37]

My dear Sir

Last evening wrought me up, and I cannot forbear sending the following—

yours unfeignedly
John Keats

Great Spirits now on Earth are sojourning
&   &   &   &

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[36] Haydon might have sent Milnes the following part separately from the above. Whereas he made the annotated transcripts below of Keats's two letters about the 'Great Spirit' sonnet on a single piece of paper (which is slightly different from the rest), the manuscript copies of the seven letters above were numbered serially at the upper right corner by Haydon himself.

[37] See *LJK*, I, 117 (to Haydon, 20 November 1816); and *LLL*, I, 28.

<He had spent the previous Evening with me in my painting Room—the rendezvous of all the Genius of that time, when they used to declare they enjoyed my *Historical tea,*[38] more than at any other man[’]s—before them was some large Picture in hand, & or used to criticise, argue, defend[,] attack & quote & as Keats said “Make us Wings” for the night. (Private)>[39]

I thanked him for the honor, but objected to part of a line & suggested its *omission* and I told him I would forward the Sonnet to Wordsworth,—I received the following reply[40]

—Thursday afternoon[41]

My dear Sir

your letter has filled me with a proud pleasure, and shall be kept by me as a stimulus to exertion—I begin to fix my eye on one horizon My feelings entirely fall in with yours in regard to the Ellipsis and I glory in it.

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[38] Haydon’s *Autobiography* recounts how he enjoyed tea with some of his friends, who included David Wilkie, in 1807: ‘My tea was so good and my cups so large that they always used to say: “We’ll have tea at Haydon’s in the grand style”’ (p. 65).

[39] The whole passage is crossed out by Haydon. It seems that, after making this note, Haydon considered the account too ‘Private’ to be published. Nevertheless, Milnes himself regarded the part instead as being worthy to be inserted in his own book:

> In the previous autumn [of 1816] Keats was in the habit of frequently passing the evening in his friend’s painting-room, where many men of genius were wont to meet, and, sitting before some picture on which he was engaged, criticise, argue, defend, attack, and quote their favourite writers. Keats used to call it ‘Making us wings for the night’. (*LLL*, I, 28)

For the phrase ‘Make us Wings’, see also *LJK*, I, 414.

[40] ‘Haydon in his acknowledgment, suggested the omission of part of it; and also mentioned that he would forward it to Wordsworth; he received this reply’ (*LLL*, I, 28).

[41] See *LJK*, I, 118–19 (p. 118; to Haydon, 21 November 1816); and *LLL*, I, 28–29.

The idea of your sending it to Wordsworth put me out of breath, you know with what reverence I would send my well-wishes to him.

Yours sincerely

John Keats

I send this to shew you, how *reverently* he spoke of Wordsworth before that ill-bred "pretty piece of Paganism"; and that if in his letters he has spoken *irreverently* after, it was from his wounded feelings[42]

B. R. HAYDON

* * *

These are Haydon's annotated transcripts which he made shortly before his death in the summer of 1846. In the early 1840s, Haydon had been preoccupied with recollecting his early associations with several of the Romantics, in addition to an imminent pecuniary pressure that would before long lead to his suicide. Towards the end of his life, Haydon was in fact engaged in writing his *Autobiography*, which, in the end, covered only the years up to 1820—the last year when he had seen Keats. In a letter to Elizabeth Barrett Barrett (later Browning) of 25 April 1843, Haydon also recalled 'Leigh Hunt's despotism of Conceit' which, the painter claimed, had 'soiled' Wordsworth, Keats, and even himself (*IF*, p. 87). While in this way inventing the myth of Hunt's baleful influence on his contemporaries, an idea that originated in the painter's early antagonism of the man, Haydon reaffirmed how Keats had been, by contrast with Hunt, 'well bred' in terms of his sympathetic character: 'from dignity of right feeling I never respected any Man so much' (*IF*, p. 87). In his annotated transcripts, too, the painter's verbal portrait was consistent both in contemplating the poet's otherwise glorious career and in reinforcing his own attachment to, and formative influence on, 'poor dear Keats' (*IF*, p. 16).

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[42] For the phrase 'pretty piece of Paganism' and Haydon's denunciation of Wordsworth as an 'ill-bred' man, see also James Thorpe, 'A Copy of "Endymion" Owned by Haydon', *Notes and Queries*, 27 November 1948, pp. 520–21 (p. 520); and *KC*, II, 144. Milnes's biography reads:

> The young Poet had been induced to repeat to the elder the fine 'Hymn to Pan', out of 'Endymion' […]: Wordsworth only remarked, 'it was a pretty piece of Paganism'. The mature and philosophic genius, penetrated with Christian associations, probably intended some slight rebuke to his youthful compeer, whom he saw absorbed in an order of ideas, that to him appeared merely sensuous, and would have desired that the bright traits of Greek mythology should be sobered down by a graver faith, as in his own 'Dion' and 'Laodamia'; but, assuredly, the phrase could not have been meant contemptuously, as Keats took it, and was far more annoyed at it than at pages of 'Quarterly' abuse, or 'Blackwood's' ridicule. (*LLL*, I, 86–87)

The real Keats, Haydon insisted, had never been 'the vain, silly self deluded thing' that had been foisted upon posterity—an impression widely 'suspected' by the public to be accurate. Haydon's words encouraged Milnes to present in his biography a new image of the long 'misapprehended' poet. Instead of the then prevailing view of Keats as a 'wayward, erratic' writer whose 'self-indulgent' literary life was to be finally snuffed out by the press, Milnes sought to delineate the sustained trajectory of 'distinct and positive progress' in the poet's life and work (*LLL*, I, pp. xvi–xvii). In truth, it was arguably a case of Haydon hyperbolizing Hunt's 'ruinous' influence on Keats, as well as Wordsworth's 'ill-bred' response to the 'Hymn to Pan', but it is also true that Haydon's assertive voice was such that it had a certain power that made his view—albeit that it was subjective and, in part at least, actually unfair—credible, and it is only relatively recently that critics and biographers have begun to suggest 'corrections' to his overstatement.[43] Nevertheless, and notwithstanding his biased judgements of Hunt and Wordsworth, Haydon's annotations—and the ways he cut, sometimes, and patched up, as he might have seen it, on other occasions the words of Keats in the letters—remain significant, not least in that they illustrate how the painter continued to cherish his ‘everlasting’ friendship with the poet, even until the last months before his own death. In this regard, I believe, Haydon’s annotated transcripts, reproduced above, will be an important addition to Keatsiana.

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[43] See, for example, Jack Stillinger, *Romantic Complexity: Keats, Coleridge, and Wordsworth* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), pp. 20–21; and Nicholas Roe, 'Leigh Hunt and Romantic Biography', in *Romanticism, History, Historicism: Essays on an Orthodoxy*, ed. by Damian Walford Davies (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 203–20 (p. 213).

Appendix II: An Updated List of Poems Addressed to Haydon

During his lifetime, Benjamin Robert Haydon undoubtedly enjoyed ‘the admiration of the Literary’ more than any other contemporary English artist.[1] While he made a lot of enemies in the art world, largely due to his ‘incendiary’ publications targeted often at the Royal Academy and at connoisseurs including Richard Payne Knight, it is curious that a number of notable literary figures of the day quite willingly wrote poems for this somewhat vainglorious painter.[2] Just as while two opposite poles will attract but two similar poles will repel, so did the ‘magnetic’ presence of Haydon frequently draw the attention of poets at the same time as it often alienated his fellow artists and art critics. William Hazlitt, who had been a portrait painter himself before turning to writing, was driven to ask in 1826: ‘Why must the place where he is always have one note of admiration more than any other?’ (*CWWH*, XX, 392).[3] After all, Haydon longed for ‘contemporary praise more than anything in the world’, as Robert Southey put it on 5 January 1821, ‘except abiding fame’.[4] Nevertheless, it is certainly a peculiar and even extraordinary phenomenon that Haydon received successive and lavish tributes from contemporary poets, and all the more so given the fact that the majority of his artworks attracted very little attention from the public—or at least fell short of the glory he had looked for. In the nation's eyes, he appeared rather a controversial and sometimes even 'insane' artist whose focus on historical subjects was evidently at odds with the taste of the time which favoured less the neoclassical 'grand style' than the fashionable and lucrative art of portraiture.[5]

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[1] ‘Mr. Haydon’s Picture in Edinburgh’, *London Magazine,* February 1821, pp. 220–21 (p. 221).

[2] For example, the art critic William Carey’s *Desultory Exposition of an Anti-British System of Incendiary Publication, &c.* (1819) bitterly denounced Haydon’s mouthpiece magazine the *Annals of the Fine Arts* as a malignant, ‘*Incendiary*’ work (see Chapter 6, pp. 210–16).

[3] Hazlitt’s words are quoted from ‘Boswell Redivivus: A Fragment’, in which Haydon is also described as a man always looking for those who would ‘blow a trumpet in his own praise’ (*CWWH*, XX, 391). P. P. Howe notes that this ‘Fragment’, not published during the author’s lifetime, was to be included in the third of Hazlitt’s series of conversations with James Northcote in the *New Monthly Magazine* for October 1826 (see ibid., XX, 447).

[4] *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. by Charles Cuthbert Southey, 6 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849–50), V (1850), 55. As noted below (p. 273), Southey himself praised Haydon in his long poem *A Vision of Judgement* (1821).

Notwithstanding the neglect of his artistic talent by the public in his own time—and, possibly, in ours as well—Haydon nevertheless gloried in the privileged status of a 'poets' painter' in his own right.[6] Up until 1820, for example, as many as twenty poems had been dedicated to (or written about) him, and most of them had been published in newspapers and periodicals. Among the writers of these poems were William Wordsworth, Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Mary Russell Mitford, Benjamin Bailey, John Hamilton Reynolds, and John Keats. Witnessing the profusion of poetic tributes to the painter, Reynolds wrote to Haydon on 22 November 1816: 'you are now getting "golden opinions from all sorts of men"' (*LJK*, I, 119).[7] Verse panegyrics for Haydon continued to be his lot for decades to come. Furthermore, the number of poems for Haydon increased even after he had died on 22 June 1846, not least because his suicide attracted deep sympathy in the mid-Victorian period. As might be expected, while most of the poems written during his lifetime praised (or sometimes defended) his artistic talent and work, the voice shifted from eulogy to lamentation in those written after his death, revolving around the neglected genius of ‘Poor Haydon’, whose life full of ups and downs he had ended by his own hand at the age of sixty.

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[5] For instance, John Ruskin dismissed the Haydonian obsessive engagement with the classical ideal of High Art as 'partly insane' ('Lectures on Art', in *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: Allen, 1903–12), XX (1905), 17–179 (p. 30)).

[6] See 'George Paston' [Emily Morse Symonds], *B. R. Haydon and his Friends* (London: Nisbet, 1905), p. 74; and Eric George, 'A Poets' Painter', *Spectator*, 21 June 1946, p. 633. As David Higgins remarks, whereas literary critics have often paid posthumous attention to Haydon's writings, art historians have normally deprecated his paintings as 'of little value' (*Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 127). W. J. T. Mitchell's *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) also has no discussion of Haydon.

[7] Reynolds's direct quotation is from William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, in which the eponymous protagonist declares: 'I have bought | Golden opinions from all sorts of people, | Which would be worn now in their newest gloss, | Not cast aside so soon' (I. 7. 32–35). Reynolds sent his own sonnet to Haydon on 22 November 1816, after having been impressed by Keats's sonnet written for the painter a few days earlier (see *LJK*, I, 117–20). Haydon's *Autobiography* also recollects the year 1816

To the best of my knowledge, there have been five significant attempts so far to compile a list of poems addressed to Haydon. The first was by Edmund Blunden, who attached a list of fourteen ‘SONNETS ADDRESSED TO HAYDON’ to his 1927 edition of the painter’s *Autobiography*.[8] And then, in his 1932 doctoral dissertation, Willard Bissell Pope catalogued nineteen ‘Poetic Tributes to Haydon’, which contained five new poems that had not been collected by Blunden.[9] In 1948, Eric George appended a still more extensive list of poems to the first edition of his scholarly biography of Haydon.[10] Although he appears not to

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(when the British government decided to purchase the Elgin Marbles, which he had long championed) as follows: ‘I had won golden opinions from all sorts of people, and secret denunciations of vengeance from all connoisseurs’ (p. 282).

[8] See *Autobiography of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, ed. by Edmund Blunden (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. xvii–xxii. Blunden’s list covers not only ‘SONNETS’ but also such poems as Lamb’s thirteen-line Latin verses and his own translation of them into English. Also, to be precise, his list refers to sixteen poems in total. Yet, as I have noted below, two of them by Wordsworth (the one beginning ‘While not a leaf seems faded,—while the fields’ and the other beginning ‘How clear, how keen, how marvellously bright’) are not specifically addressed to Haydon but are just transcribed in the poet’s letter to the painter of 21 December 1815. Therefore, just as subsequent scholars excluded them from their lists, I have not counted the two poems as those written for Haydon.

[9] See Willard Bissell Pope, ‘Studies in the Keats Circle: Critical and Biographical Estimates of Benjamin Robert Haydon and John Hamilton Reynolds’, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1932), II, 796–97.

[10] See Eric George, *The Life and Death of Benjamin Robert Haydon, 1786–1846* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 306–07. Although Odessa Farley also listed twelve poems for Haydon in

have consulted Pope's unpublished doctoral dissertation, George succeeded, nonetheless, in including all the five poems Pope had added to Blunden's list, with the single exception of Benjamin Bailey's unpublished verses, and in garnering four more works that had not been listed before.[11] In 1952, four years after the publication of George's list in his biography, Clarke Olney confirmed the existence of three more poems addressed to Haydon.[12] Finally, in 1967, Dorothy George published the second edition of Eric George's biography, in which she supplemented his 1948 list with the one additional poem which had recently been published by Pope.[13]

To summarise, substantially speaking, twenty-seven poems were confirmed by 1967 as having been written for or about Haydon during the nineteenth century in Britain. Scholars felt that they had already exhausted materials for contemporary poetic tributes to Haydon. In 1952, even Olney remarked that his own updated list should now be considered '*substantially complete*' (Olney (1952), p. 260). As my research has discovered, however, nineteenth-

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her 1944 doctoral dissertation, all of them had already been catalogued by Pope (see 'Haydon as Critic' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1944), pp. 219–25).

[11] To his own list, George annexed the following note: 'Those [poems] marked with an asterisk are not given in the World's Classics edition of the *Autobiography*' (p. 306). This sentence suggests that George consulted Blunden's list in his 1927 Oxford 'World's Classics edition of the *Autobiography*' but not Pope's updated list in his 1932 doctoral dissertation.

[12] See Olney (1952), pp. 260–70. Indeed, Olney's 1933 doctoral dissertation (the basis of his 1952 biography of the painter) also had a list of fifteen 'Poetical Tributes to Haydon and His Art' (see 'Benjamin Robert Haydon as a Figure in the Romantic Movement in English Literature' (doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1933), pp. 193–97). However, all the fifteen of the poems had already been listed by Pope, excepting only an anonymous piece printed in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.3 (1 January 1817), 415–18 (see below, pp. 281–82).

[13] See Eric George, *The Life and Death of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, 1786–1846*, 2nd edn, with additions by Dorothy George (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 307. Although Dorothy George added four poems to Eric George's list, three of them had already been catalogued either by Pope or by Olney. The only substantial addition was David Trevena Coulton's sonnet, 'The Painter's Daughter' (see below, p. 292).

century Britain witnessed in fact a very considerably larger number of poetic glorifications of Haydon. The number of those poems that I have located and itemized below indeed doubles the total to fifty-four. That is, my list contains a further twenty-seven poems that have not been collected before. Though it must be said that, in truth, most of the newly added poems were written by those who are now considered relatively minor literary figures, at least in comparison with such celebrated authors as Wordsworth, Lamb, and Keats, yet, among them, some works might interest scholars of Romantic literature and art in one way or another—as witness two sonnets by James Elmes, editor of the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, and an ekphrastic poem by Felicia Hemans, who has indeed been reappraised for the last couple of decades.

I have found these 'new' poetic tributes to Haydon mainly through two approaches. First, recent technological developments, mostly involving online databases, enabled me to consult the materials in a variety of resources, including newspapers, periodicals, and hitherto largely un-visited collections of verse. Previous compilers of poems addressed to Haydon had had to rely on hard copies only. Therefore, some of the materials were not easily accessible in their lifetime. Secondly, I made research trips to libraries and archives in Britain and in America, through which I was able to find several unpublished poems addressed to Haydon. At the Morgan Library & Museum (formerly the Pierpont Morgan Library) in New York, for instance, there is the single copy of a manuscript entitled 'Sonnets addressed to & not Written by B. R[.] Haydon: From 1817 to 1841: Twenty Four Years: Copied for Fun: 1844'.[14] To quote from Sotheby's sale catalogue for 22 June 1976:

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[14] New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MA 2987, Gift, Fellows Fund, in memory of Albert A. Tarrant, Jr., from his family and friends; 1976 (hereafter Morgan MS). The word after 'Sonnets addressed to &' in the title, in Haydon's handwriting, has been deciphered either as 'MS' or as 'one' (see Herbert Cahoon, 'Complete Checklist of British Literary Manuscripts and Autographs in the Pierpont Morgan Library', in Verlyn Klinkenborg, Herbert Cahoon, and Charles Ryskamp, *British*

> This manuscript contains all four of the sonnets addressed to Haydon by Keats (two transcribed by Haydon himself and two by his daughters [*sic*]), the three sonnets addressed to him by Wordsworth (all transcribed by Haydon), and sonnets addressed to him by J. H. Reynolds, Elizabeth Barrett, Mary Russell Mitford etc. Two of the sonnets are not included in the list of poems addressed to him in Eric George's *Life and Death of B. R. Haydon* (1967) and are apparently unpublished.[15]

When Jack Stillinger published his authoritative edition of Keats's poems in 1978 as a result of his extensive research of texts and manuscripts, he also mentioned this manuscript by Haydon but without being able to consult it or even to know its then whereabouts.[16] Yet the material is now confirmed to be available for inspection at the Morgan Library & Museum. Thanks to the kind permission of the library, I have reproduced below the texts of the two 'apparently unpublished' sonnets addressed to Haydon and 'Copied for Fun' by himself in 1844.[17]

Literary Manuscripts, 2 vols (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1981), II: *From 1800 to 1914*, pp. 263–311 (p. 282); and William Wordsworth, *Last Poems, 1821–1850*, ed. by Jared Curtis (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 453). As I have checked, however, Haydon's almost illegible word should be read instead as 'not' (which would make more sense than 'MS' or 'one'). I am grateful to the Morgan Library & Museum for updating the title in their catalogue as I suggested.

[15] Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. (London), *Catalogue of Valuable Autograph Letters, Literary Manuscripts and Historical Documents*, sale date 22 June 1976, p. 123 (item 235). As of 1844, Haydon had no other daughter but Mary, whose name he mentioned in this manuscript.

[16] Stillinger notes that 'a Miss A. Folbare' purchased the manuscript at Sotheby's on 27 June 1972 but that his efforts 'to identify Miss Folbare and locate the MS have so far been unsuccessful' (*PJK*, p. 744). Sotheby's sale catalogue for that date reveals that the manuscript was originally in the possession of 'Mrs. Madeleine Buxton Holmes', daughter of Maurice Buxton Forman (Sotheby & Co. (London), *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters and Historical Documents*, sale dates 26 and 27 June 1972, pp. 80, 89 (item 366)).

[17] By courtesy of the British Library and the Houghton Library, Harvard University, I have also reproduced below two more unpublished poems written for Haydon.

In addition to the manuscript at the Morgan Library & Museum, archival material at the Kenneth Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas also gave me a significant insight into the character of Haydon, especially as a 'collector' of praises for himself.[18] As is well known, Haydon often pasted letters and sonnets written by his friends into his *Diary*. At the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, we can see another version of the painter's self-glorifying garland: 'Benjamin Robert Haydon Clipping Book'.[19] This item comprises cuttings from newspapers and periodicals, besides several autograph letters written by Haydon; nearly all these cuttings are either of reviews (often in a favourable tone) of his own work, or of poems addressed to himself. Haydon's vanity even impelled himself at times to submit transcripts of them to the editors of periodicals like the *Annals of the Fine Arts*. Apparently, he was not satisfied with praise from the conceivably self-regarding coterie revolving around Hunt, whose members—including Keats, Reynolds, and Haydon himself—enjoyed penning 'verse compliments' to one another, albeit only within the relatively small orbit of one of London's suburbs.[20] Through the metropolitan press, however, Haydon aimed to create a much further-reaching virtual community that would amplify the poets' hymns to the painter. Manifestly self-obsessed, he sought to command public attention as a prestigious, national, and heroic painter worthy of praises from celebrated contemporary writers—and, ultimately, to seek the patronage of the government and the nobility.

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[18] Another archival item at the Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University, 'Benjamin Robert Haydon Album, *ca*. 1830–1839' (Archives 4621 Bd. Ms. 353 +), also contains manuscripts of two sonnets addressed to Haydon; but both sonnets (the one by Francis Bennoch and the other by Mitford) have already been catalogued in the previous lists.

[19] Lawrence, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, 1813–46, MS 305 (hereafter 'Clipping Book').

[20] For the culture of dedicating poems to each other in Hunt's circle, see, for example, E. Pereira, 'Sonnet Contests and Verse Compliments in the Keats-Hunt Circle', *Unisa English Studies*, 25 (1987), 13–23.

Following the custom of the previous compilers of poems addressed to Haydon, I have focused below on cataloguing works written for and about him only in nineteenth-century Britain. Where necessary, I have corrected errors about the authorship of some of the poems which were published anonymously or pseudonymously. All the poems are arranged chronologically, based on the date (when possible) of their first publication. Also, in principle, I have not included in my list the following types of works:

(A) Long(er) poems in which Haydon is only briefly mentioned or alluded to

- George William Downing, *The Great Hewas Mine, or, the Humours of Cornwall: A Comedy Adapted for the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden* (*c.* 1816)[21]
- [Felicia Hemans], *Modern Greece: A Poem* (1817)[22]
- [John Gibson Lockhart and John Wilson], 'The Notices, Done into Metre by an Ingenious Friend' (1818)[23]

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[21] Published in London by C. Chapple. The play's 'Prologue' in verse commends Haydon's 'pure refin'd' art as what might surpass that of Raphael and Correggio (p. v). While it bears no publication date, the play seems to have been printed around 1816 (see Alan M. Kent, *The Theatre of Cornwall: Space, Place, Performance* (Bristol: Westcliffe Books, 2010), p. 441).

[22] Published in London by John Murray. The poem's ninety-first stanza praises the Elgin Marbles: 'th' essential energy of art, | There in each wreck imperishably glows' (p. 46). To the last line, the author adds the following note: '"In the most broken fragment the same great principle of life can be proved to exist, as in the most perfect figure", is one of the observations of Mr. Haydon on the Elgin Marbles' (p. 65). Hemans's direct quotation is from Haydon's essay, *The Judgment of Connoisseurs upon Works of Art Compared with that of Professional Men; in Reference More Particularly to the Elgin Marbles* (London: Carpenter and Son, 1816), pp. 6–7, first published in both the *Examiner* and the *Champion* on 17 March 1816. For the authorship of this poem, published anonymously, see, for example, the title page of Hemans's *Tales, and Historic Scenes, in Verse* (London: Murray, 1819).

[23] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, June 1818, unpaginated (pages following the issue's table of contents). The poem's fifteenth stanza mocks at the 'Cockney treats' of 'Hunt and Hazlitt, Haydon, Webb and Keats'. For the authorship of this poem, published anonymously, see Alan Lang Strout, *A Bibliography of Articles in 'Blackwood's Magazine', Volumes I through XVIII, 1817–1825* (Lubbock: Texas Technological College, 1959), pp. 4, 41.

- William Wordsworth, *Peter Bell, a Tale in Verse* (1819)[24]
- 'Oehlenschlaeger' [William Maginn and John Gibson Lockhart], 'The Building of the Palace of the Lamp' (1820)[25]
- Robert Southey, *A Vision of Judgement* (1821)[26]
- [Thomas Hood and John Hamilton Reynolds], 'Ode to W. Kitchener [*sic*], M.D.' (1825)[27]

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[24] Published in London by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. The poem's Part III refers to Christ 'Entering the proud Jerusalem, | By an immeasurable stream | Of shouting people deified' (p. 72). To the words 'By an immeasurable stream', Wordsworth added the following note when he collected the poem in his 1820 volumes: 'I cannot suffer this line to pass, without noticing that it was suggested by Mr. Haydon's noble Picture of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem' (*The Miscellaneous Poems of William Wordsworth*, 4 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820), II, 347). *Christ's Entry* was still unfinished when the first edition of *Peter Bell* appeared in 1819; the picture was first exhibited in London on 25 March 1820, and Wordsworth published his *Miscellaneous Poems* months later, in July (see *Diary*, v, 588; and *Morning Post*, 17 July 1820, p. 2).

[25] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, September 1820, pp. 675–79. The poem makes a passing reference to *Christ's Entry*, jeering it as a picture 'by greasy-pate Haydon' (p. 677). For the authorship of this poem, published anonymously, see Strout, *A Bibliography of Articles in 'Blackwood's Magazine'*, p. 71.

[26] Published in London by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. The poem's eleventh section proclaims that Haydon would surely leave his work and his 'undying' name on earth after his death (p. 41). In a letter of 5 January 1821, Southey also defends himself against those people who 'think meanly of [him] for offering a deserved compliment to Haydon' (*The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, V, 54).

[27] [Thomas Hood and John Hamilton Reynolds], *Odes and Addresses to Great People*, 2nd edn (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1825), pp. 117–27. In praising William Kitchiner's multifaceted achievement as a scientist, a musician, and a cook, the authors declare: 'Let slender minds with single themes engage, | Like Mr. Bowles with his eternal Pope,— | Or Haydon on perpetual Haydon' (p. 121). The phrase 'Haydon on perpetual Haydon' was newly added to the second edition of the poem, originally published earlier in the same year, 1825, in the first edition of the same book. For the authorship of the *Odes and Addresses to Great People*, published anonymously, see John Hamilton Reynolds, *Poetry and Prose*, ed. by George L. Marsh (London: Milford, 1928), pp. 30–31; and *The*

- Frank Curson, ‘The Artist’ (1846)[28]
- Terence McMahon Hughes, ‘The Biliad, or How to Criticize’ (1846)[29]
- Job Thornbury, ‘Answer to the Charade in the *Bristol Times* of 29th August, Said to Be a Word of Eighteen Letters, Signed “G. B.”’ (1846)[30]
- William Heaton, ‘Lines to the Lady of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart. M.P.’ (1847)[31]
- John Keats, ‘Fragment of Castle-Builder’ (1848)[32]

Letters of John Keats, ed. by Maurice Buxton Forman, 4th edn, with revisions and additional letters (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. xxxix–xl.

[28] Frank Curson, *Lays and Legends of the West* (London: Whittaker, 1846), pp. 179–84. The poem contains the following lines: ‘Are not the great thoughts which a Haydon stirs | Within our hearts, our hearts[’] true ministers?’ (p. 183).

[29] Terence McMahon Hughes, *The Biliad, or, How to Criticize; a Satire, with The Dirge of Repeal, and Other Jeux d’Esprit*, 3rd edn, considerably augmented (London: printed for the author, 1846), pp. 25–64. The poem laments Haydon, who, ‘[n]eglected by the exoteric crowd’, killed himself on 22 June 1846 (p. 51). The reference to Haydon was newly added to the third edition of this work. While the ‘INTRODUCTION’ to both the first and second editions had been dated ‘18 *May,* 1846’ (p. 24), the ‘PREFACE’ to the third, revised edition ‘1*st August,* 1846’ (p. iv), that is, after Haydon’s suicide.

[30] *Bristol Times*, 12 September 1846, p. 4. The poem briefly mentions Haydon’s ‘splendid talents’ which should ‘claim’, the author declares, ‘the lasting wreath of fame’. The succeeding lines also allude to the artist’s suicide, lamenting how ‘pity sadly draws the veil | Over [his] melancholy tale’.

[31] William Heaton, *The Flowers of Calder Dale: Poems* (London: Longman, 1847), pp. 33–34. The poem, applauding Lady Peel in that her ‘bounty oft hath made distress to smile’, mentions that ‘[t]he Widow’s heart hath lately sung for joy’. As the footnote on page 34 indicates, the ‘Widow’ is ‘Haydon’s’. A week after the suicide of Haydon, ‘a meeting of gentlemen took place’ at Serjeant’s Inn, London, where it was decided to guarantee ‘a permanent provision to his widow and daughter, left wholly destitute by his death’ and where it was also stated that ‘Lady Peel had assigned a pension of 25*l*. a year to Mrs Haydon out of a fund over which, from her position, she has control’ (‘The Late Mr B. R. Haydon’, *Examiner*, 4 July 1846, p. 419).

[32] Published posthumously in *LLL* (I, 283–85); title above taken from *PJK*, p. 286. The poem makes an apparent allusion to Haydon’s *Christ’s Entry*: ‘My pictures [should be] all Salvator’s, save a few |

- Alexander Smith, ‘Vanity Fair’ (1859)[33]
- Sebastian Evans, ‘Jones and Calypso: A Monologue in the Studio’ (1875)[34]
- Richard Langley, *Farewell to Life; or, Lyrical Reminiscences of British Peers in Art* (1878)[35]
- [John Keats and/or Richard Woodhouse], ‘*The House of Mourning* Written by Mr. Scott’ (1936)[36]

Of Titian’s portraiture, and one, though new, | Of Haydon’s in its fresh magnificence’ (*PJK*, p. 288; ll. 67–69). Keats wrote the poem some time in 1818 (see *TKP*, p. 203).

[33] *Eclectic Review*, January 1859, pp. 28–30. ‘THE world-old Fair of Vanity’ would see, the poem runs, its ‘mobs […] cram the levée of a dwarf | And leave a Haydon dying’ (p. 28). The author refers to an incident that occurred at the Egyptian Hall in the spring of 1846. There, Haydon mounted an exhibition of two of his large pictures, to neither of which did the public pay any significant attention, whereas Charles Sherwood Stratton, an American ‘dwarf’ widely known as ‘General Tom Thumb’, attracted many visitors at the same time to the same building. On 21 April 1846, Haydon wrote: ‘Tom Thumb had 12,000 last week; B. R. Haydon, 133$^{1/2}$ (a little girl). Exquisite Taste of the English people’ (*Diary*, V, 533). Considerably shocked at the result, Haydon—the penniless, ‘dying’ artist—killed himself months after the failure of this exhibition. For Tom Thumb and Haydon, see Raymund Fitzsimons, *Barnum in London* (London: Bles, 1969), pp. 108–32.

[34] Sebastian Evans, *In the Studio: A Decade of Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1875), pp. 3–30. In this monologue, an aspiring painter named Jones recalls the time when his art dealer showed indifference to his own ‘Haydons and that’ (namely, his self-important works of ‘high art’) and denounced them as his ‘grand, high-falutin’ vagaries’ (p. 11).

[35] Published in London by Samuel Tinsley. The poem’s ‘Introduction’ in verse mentions ‘Poor Haydon […] to madness driven’ (p. 4).

[36] Published posthumously in Claude Lee Finney, *The Evolution of Keats’s Poetry*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), II, 652; title above taken from *PJK*, p. 755. Line 8 of this sonnet mentions ‘Haydon’s great picture’, most probably, of *Christ’s Entry*. The authorship of this poem remains in some dispute. Finney first transcribed it from Richard Woodhouse’s scrapbook, now at the Morgan Library & Museum. In 1954, Robert Gittings suggested that the work was ‘a joint composition’ of Keats and Woodhouse (*John Keats: The Living Year, 21 September 1818 to 21 September 1819* (London: Heinemann, 1954), p. 112). Yet Stillinger dismissed the attribution to Keats as ‘questionable’ and claimed instead that this sonnet was ‘by Woodhouse himself’ (*TKP*, p. 274),

(B) Poems transcribed in letters to Haydon but not specifically addressed to him

- William Wordsworth, ‘September 1815’ (‘While not a leaf seems faded,—while the fields’; transcribed on 21 December 1815)[37]
- William Wordsworth, ‘November 1, 1815’ (‘How clear, how keen, how marvellously bright’; transcribed on 21 December 1815)[38]
- William Wordsworth, ‘Six Months to Six Years Added, He Remain’d’ (transcribed on 20 January 1817)[39]
- John Keats, ‘For There’s Bishop’s Teign’ (transcribed on 21 March 1818)[40]
- John Keats, ‘Where Be Ye Going, You Devon Maid’ (transcribed on 21 March 1818)[41]

(C) Poems whose titles mention the name of Haydon but whose lines themselves are not specifically addressed to him

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though John Barnard opposed his theory and argued that ‘the whole is Keats’s’ (John Keats, *The Complete Poems*, ed. by John Barnard, 3rd edn (London: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 658). Also, while the sonnet is normally regarded as a work of mid-April 1819, Ian Jack proposes ‘early 1820’ as a more probable date of composition (*KMA*, p. 44). John Scott’s poem, *The House of Mourning*, was published by Taylor and Hessey in late March 1817 (see *Champion*, 23 March 1817, p. 96).

[37] *MY*, II, 258; title above taken from William Wordsworth, *Shorter Poems, 1807–1820*, ed. by Carl H. Ketcham (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 175. In the letter, Wordsworth tells Haydon that this sonnet was occasioned by a ‘sensation which the revolution of the seasons impressed [him] with last Autumn’ (*MY*, II, 258).

[38] *MY*, II, 258; title above taken from Wordsworth, *Shorter Poems, 1807–1820*, pp. 174–75. This sonnet was suggested, as Wordsworth himself said, ‘by the sight of Langdale Pikes’ (*The Fenwick Notes of William Wordsworth*, ed. by Jared Curtis (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1993), p. 23).

[39] *MY*, II, 361; title above taken from Wordsworth, *Shorter Poems, 1807–1820*, p. 123. This is an epitaph that Wordsworth wrote for his son Thomas, who had died on 1 December 1812.

[40] *LJK*, I, 249–50; title above taken from *PJK*, pp. 238–40. In a letter to Haydon of 8 April 1818, Keats refers to this and subsequent verses (see below) as ‘nonsense’ (*LJK*, I, 264).

[41] *LJK*, I, 251; title above taken from *PJK*, p. 240. See also above at n. 40.

- Leigh Hunt, ‘Sonnet, Written on a Print (in the Possession of Mr. Haydon) from a Portrait of Raphael, Painted by Himself When a Youth’ (1816)[42]
- Josiah Nuttall [Nutt-Hall], *A Wild Rhapsody and Incoherent Remonstrance, Abruptly Written on Seeing Hayden’s* [*sic*] *Celebrated Picture of Belshazzar’s Feast* (1845)[43]

(D) Poems later published alongside an engraving of Haydon’s painting but originally written (apparently) without being conscious of the painter’s work

- Charles Swain, ‘The Death of Eucles’ (1832)[44]

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[42] *Examiner*, 17 November 1816, p. 725. Reprinted in *Foliage; or Poems Original and Translated, by Leigh Hunt* (London: Ollier, 1818), p. cxx, as ‘Written under the Engraving of a Portrait of Rafael, Painted by Himself When He was Young’.

[43] Published in Heywood by V. Cook. The only surviving copy of this poem is now at the Bury Archives, Greater Manchester. The author notes that he saw ‘Haydn’s [*sic*] celebrated picture of Belshazzar’s feast’ in Liverpool ‘in the year of Christ eighteen hundred and nineteen’ (pp. 45–46). However, as a matter of fact, Haydon never painted such a picture: it was John Martin who painted *Belshazzar’s Feast* and exhibited it at Liverpool in 1821, not in 1819 (see *British Press*, 24 August 1821, p. 2). Since the author published this poem more than twenty years after seeing the original picture, his recollections are not fully reliable. Nevertheless, it is still curious that the author misunderstood the picture as Haydon’s and even mentioned his name in the title. Also, it should be noted that the author’s facsimile autograph on the title page reads ‘J. Nutt Hall’, though he seems to have commonly been referred to instead as ‘Josiah Nuttall’ during his lifetime (see ‘Death of Josiah Nuttall, of Heywood, Naturalist’, *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1849, p. 8; and C. W. Sutton, ‘Nuttall, Josiah (1770–1849)’, rev. by Yolanda Foote, in *ODNB*). In the *Heywood Advertiser* for 17 April 1908, J. A. Green reported that the author’s name, engraved on his tombstone, is also spelt as ‘Josiah Nutt-Hall’ (p. 4).

[44] S. C. Hall, ed., *The Amulet: A Christian and Literary Remembrancer* (London: Westley and Davis, 1832), pp. 205–08. Swain’s poem was printed along with S. Sangster’s engraving of Haydon’s *The Death of Eucles* (1830). However, according to the *Odd Fellows’ Magazine* for June 1832, which first published this poem (without illustration), ‘[t]he subject is from Plutarch’ (p. 154). Even when Swain reprinted the poem (again without illustration) in his 1841 volume, *The Mind, and Other Poems* (pp. 273–77), he made no mention of or allusion to Haydon. Nevertheless, it is still worth noting that the

- Alfred Tennyson, ‘Buonaparte’ (1838)[45]
- Alaric A. Watts, ‘Envoy’ (1851)[46]
- [Anon.], ‘Love Will Find out the Way’ (1863)[47]

(E) Poems written for and about Haydon after 1900[48]

- James Norman Hall, ‘For Haydon’s “Autobiography”’ (1933)[49]

‘Clipping Book’ contains cuttings of the poem from the *Amulet* (fols 61–62), which suggests that Haydon might have accepted it as Swain’s poetic tribute to the painter himself.

[45] S. C. Hall, ed., *The Book of Gems: The Modern Poets and Artists of Great Britain* (London: Whittaker, 1838), p. 275. Tennyson’s poem was printed along with J. Brain’s engraving of Haydon’s portrait of Napoleon. Yet, as Jim Cheshire points out, there is an apparent ‘mismatch between the attitude of poet and painter’ in terms of their treatment of the subject: ‘Tennyson’s early sonnet celebrates the defeat of Napoleon and Haydon’s illustration depicts the Romantic hero as a brooding, isolated figure but hardly the “Madman” depicted in Tennyson’s poem’ (*Tennyson and Mid-Victorian Publishing: Moxon, Poetry, Commerce* (London: Macmillan, 2016), pp. 139–41). As such, the editor is likely to have paired the two works without the consent either of the poet or of the painter.

[46] Alaric A. Watts, *Lyrics of the Heart: With Other Poems* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851), pp. 315–28. The poem was printed along with W. Greatbach’s engraving of Haydon’s painting of ‘Cupid at Sea’; but the poem has no apparent allusion to Haydon and his work. In his unpaginated ‘Preface’, the author notes that all the engravings in the volume were made ‘expressly for its pages’ and that some of the images were no more than ‘emblematical’ and did not seek to represent ‘any particular scenes’ in the poems. For the original painting, not catalogued in Pope’s 1963 ‘Chronological Checklist of Oil Paintings Begun by Haydon’ (*Diary*, V, 587–601), see Paul O’Keeffe, *A Genius for Failure: The Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon* (London: Bodley Head, 2009), pp. 217, 531, n. 15.

[47] Robert Bell, ed., *Golden Leaves from the Works of the Poets and Painters* (London: Griffin, Bohn, 1863), pp. 141–43. Originally composed in the ‘SEVENTEENTH CENTURY’, the poem was printed in this volume along with W. Greatbach’s engraving of Haydon’s painting ‘Cupid at Sea’. Greatbach’s engraving is the same one which had accompanied Watts’s poem ‘Envoy’ in 1851 (see above at n. 46).

[48] Verse allusions to Haydon are also in Tom Clark, *Junkets on a Sad Planet: Scenes from the Life of John Keats* (Santa Rosa, CA: Black Sparrow Press, 1994) and Stephen Behrendt, ‘Keats and Long Autumn’, *Keats-Shelley Review*, 25.2 (September 2011), 100.

[49] *Bookman* (New York), 76.2 (February 1933), 119.

- Patrick Anderson, ‘Ode in Triumph and Despair to Benjamin Robert Haydon’ (1953)[50]
- Robert Peters, *Haydon: An Artist’s Life* (1989)[51]
- Peter Steele, ‘Haydon’ (2006)[52]
- Stephen Behrendt, ‘Palm Sunday’ (2009)[53]

Of the fifty-four poems I have listed below, [1] thirty were published during Haydon’s lifetime; [2] twenty were published after his death; and [3] four remain unpublished. Among the twenty-four poems which were not published during Haydon’s lifetime ([2] and [3]), at least six poems were composed while he was still alive. That means, *more than* thirty poems were dedicated to Haydon, if not published, before 22 June 1846. The number by itself is perhaps enough to suggest the merits of further scrutiny about the significance of Haydon’s reception in his contemporary literary culture—an aspect that has generally been paid little attention by scholars repelled possibly by his unsympathetic and solipsistic character. Arguably, Haydon’s presence and work served as one of the most important, if critically neglected, hubs for the imagination of nineteenth-century British writers—not excluding, of course, Keats, who had sworn to the painter to be his ‘everlasting friend’ (*LJK*, I, 145).

As the chronological catalogue below indicates, the vogue for mid-Victorian poetic eulogies to Haydon seemed to peter out around 1879—three years after the publication of his *Correspondence and Table-Talk*, edited (with a memoir) by his son Frederic Wordsworth Haydon. After the subsequent lapse of nearly seventy years, Benjamin Bailey’s poem for the painter saw its posthumous publication as late as 1948. I have tried every means available to locate poems for and about Haydon in nineteenth-century Britain. Nevertheless, however, there may still be more poems yet to be discovered. I do not, therefore, venture to conclude this introduction by claiming that my list has now finally come to be ‘*substantially complete*’.

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[50] Patrick Anderson, *The Colour as Naked* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1953), pp. 43–47.

[51] Published in Greensboro, NC, by Unicorn Press. This is a verse biography of Haydon.

[52] Peter Steele, *The Whispering Gallery: Art into Poetry* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 2006), pp. 56–57.

[53] *Keats-Shelley Review*, 23 (2009), 55.

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Here follows my list of poems for and about Haydon. Titles with an asterisk (*) have not appeared in previously published lists; those with two asterisks (**) are hitherto unpublished.

1815

1. James Elmes, ‘Sonnet: Addressed to B. R. Haydon, (Painter of the Sublime Picture of the “Judgment of Solomon”), on his Return from Paris’*[54]
    - Beginning ‘HAYDON, I long have mark’d thy soaring mind’

1816

2. William Wordsworth, ‘To B. R. Haydon, Painter’[55]
    - Beginning ‘HIGH is our calling, Friend!—Creative Art’ (*Examiner*); ‘High is our calling, Friend!—Creative Art’ (*Champion*)
3. [Maria Foote (?)], ‘To Mr. Haydon: On Reading his Admirable Letter, Containing a Learned and Manly Defence of the Elgin Marbles’[56]

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[54] *New Monthly Magazine*, 1 February 1815, p. 64.

[55] *Examiner*, 31 March 1816, p. 203; *Champion*, 31 March 1816, p. 102. Reprinted in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 2.7 (1 January 1818), 561. For the publication history of the poem, see also B. Bernard Cohen, ‘Haydon, Hunt, and Scott and Six Sonnets (1816) by Wordsworth’, *Philological Quarterly*, 29.4 (October 1950), 434–37; and Wordsworth, *Shorter Poems, 1807–1820*, pp. 174, 534.

[56] *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.1 (1 July 1816), 109. The authorship of this poem, published anonymously, has long been disputed. While Pope’s 1932 doctoral dissertation suggested that the poem was ‘possibly by Elmes’ (I, 202), Eric George’s 1948 list stated that its author was George Stanley (p. 307). George, however, gave no evidence for the authorship. The theory was uncritically

- Beginning ‘SPIRIT of Fire! strong, lucid, and sublime’

4. Leigh Hunt, ‘To Benjamin Robert Haydon: Written in a Blank Leaf of his Copy of Vasari’s Lives of the Painters’[57]
    - Beginning ‘HAYDON, whom now the conquered toil confesses’
5. ‘J. H. R.’ [John Hamilton Reynolds], ‘Sonnet to Haydon’[58]
    - Beginning ‘Haydon! Thou’rt born to Immortality!’

1817

6. [Anon.], ‘A Poetical Critique on the Exhibition at the British Gallery in 1812’[59]

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followed by Olney (1952; p. 267) and left unquestioned even in the second edition of George’s biography, published in 1967 (p. 307). Meanwhile, a transcript of the poem (probably by Haydon’s daughter Mary) specifies its author as ‘Maria XXXXX’, adding that the unknown female author’s surname might have been ‘Foote (?)’ (Morgan MS). Maria Foote was an actress born in Plymouth on 24 July 1797. According to Haydon’s *Autobiography*, he and Foote had been ‘on terms of family intimacy’ at some point; in 1816, Foote also first introduced Haydon to his future wife Mary Hyman (pp. 282–83). Haydon’s own transcript of the poem refers to its author only as a woman of mysterious identity, whom he calls ‘A—— B——’; on the verso of this transcript, Haydon also wrote (possibly to his sister Harriet Cobley Haydon, later Harriet Haydon Haviland): ‘Who A—— B—— is God knows, my darling, but that she is a dear creation, for such an address, you must own’ (‘Clipping Book’, fols 87–88).

[57] *Examiner*, 20 October 1816, p. 663. Reprinted in Hunt’s 1818 volume, *Foliage* (p. cxxix); and William Hazlitt, ed., *Select British Poets, or New Elegant Extracts from Chaucer to the Present Time, with Critical Remarks* (London: Hall, 1824), p. 735. After receiving Hunt’s sonnet (dated 3 September 1816), Haydon also sent him a letter in verse the following day, 4 September (see *Diary*, II, 46–47, n. 9).

[58] *Champion*, 24 November 1816, p. 374. See also above at n. 7.

[59] *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.3 (1 January 1817), 415–18. Reprinted in the *Amusing Chronicle* for 18 January 1817 (pp. 46–48) and for 25 January 1817 (pp. 59–60). This relatively long poem is not concerned exclusively with Haydon and his art. Yet, following Olney (1952; p. 260), I have included it in my list. The exact full title of the poem remains unknown. The *Annals* printed only extracts of the poem, and I have taken the title above from the issue’s table of contents (p. vii). The *Annals* noted that

    - Containing those lines praising Haydon's 1812 picture *Macbeth* that begin 'Now struck by Macbeth, a cold chill seized my blood'

7. John Keats, 'To Haydon, with a Sonnet Written on Seeing the Elgin Marbles'[60]
    - Beginning 'HAYDON! forgive me that I cannot speak' (*Examiner*); 'Forgive me, Haydon, that I cannot speak' (*Champion*)
8. John Keats, 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles'[61]
    - Beginning 'My spirit is too weak—Mortality' (*Examiner*); 'My spirit is too weak—mortality' (*Champion*)
9. John Keats, 'Addressed to Haydon'[62]
    - Beginning 'HIGHMINDEDNESS, a jealousy for good'
10. John Keats, 'Addressed to the Same'[63]

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this poem was originally written 'for the amusement of a small circle of friends' (p. 415), which suggests that it was not published but was printed for private circulation. According to the editor James Elmes, the extracts were sent by a correspondent 'whose hand-writing [he] recognised with pleasure' (p. 415). The sender was, most likely, Haydon. In his unpublished letter to Elmes of 29 November 1816, Haydon asked him to 'put this note after Macbeth': 'This is purchased by S. [*for* Sir] G. Beaumont for whom it was originally painted' (Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, Y.c.1366 (1)). When he shortly afterwards printed the poem in the *Annals*, Elmes dutifully added the following footnote to the word 'Macbeth': 'A LARGE PICTURE by Mr. HAYDON, now the property of Sir George Beaumont, Bart' (p. 416).

[60] *Examiner*, 9 March 1817, p. 155, signed 'J. K[.]'; *Champion*, 9 March 1817, p. 78. Reprinted in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.8 (1 April 1818), 171–72. Together with 'On Seeing the Elgin Marbles' (see below), the *Champion* version was printed in Reynolds's review of *Poems, by John Keats* (1817).

[61] *Examiner*, 9 March 1817, p. 155, signed 'J. K[.]'; *Champion*, 9 March 1817, p. 78. Reprinted in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.8 (1 April 1818), 172. See also above at n. 60. Although this sonnet was not specifically written for the painter, Haydon nonetheless accepted it as 'addressed to me' (*KC*, II, 141).

[62] *Poems, by John Keats* (London: Ollier, 1817), p. 91. Keats's 1817 volume was published on 10 March 1817 (see John Barnard, 'The Publication Date of Keats's *Poems* (1817)', *Keats-Shelley Review*, 28.2 (September 2014), 83–85).

[63] *Poems, by John Keats*, p. 92. See also above at n. 62.

- Beginning 'GREAT spirits now on earth are sojourning'

11. 'M.' [James Anthony Minasi], 'Sonetto a Haydon Pittore'[64]

- Beginning 'L'Arte tua magica, e l'Armonia soave'

12. 'M. R. M.' [Mary Russell Mitford], 'To Mr. Haydon: On a Study from Nature'[65]

- Beginning '"Tears in the eyes and on the lips a sigh!"'

1818

13. James Elmes, 'To B. R. Haydon, the Painter: On the Anonymous Attacks that Have Been Made upon Him, his Style of Art, his Pupils, and his Works'*[66]

- Beginning 'HEED not, my friend, the hateful taunts and jeers'

14. George Stanley, 'On Seeing the Portrait of Wordsworth, by Haydon'[67]

- Beginning 'Great intellect is here! whether it speak'

1820

15. Thomas Gent, 'On Haydon's Picture of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem'*[68]

- Beginning 'GLORIOUS his task, by Genius taught to trace'

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[64] *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 2.4 (30 June 1817), 114–15. For the authorship of this poem, see Olney (1933), p. 417; and *Diary*, II, 51.

[65] *Literary Gazette*, 19 July 1817, p. 41. Reprinted in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 2.5 (1 September 1817), 292–93; the *Museum* for 21 December 1822 (p. 556); and Mary Russell Mitford, *Dramatic Scenes, Sonnets, and Other Poems* (London: Whittaker, 1827), p. 302. For the publication history of this sonnet, see also William A. Coles, 'Magazine and Other Contributions by Mary Russell Mitford and Thomas Noon Talfourd', *Studies in Bibliography*, 12 (1959), 218–26 (p. 220).

[66] *Monthly Magazine*, 1 March 1818, p. 142.

[67] *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.9 (1 June 1818), 331. For Haydon's portrait (now in the National Portrait Gallery, London), see Frances Blanshard, *Portraits of Wordsworth* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959), pp. 59–60, 149–50.

[68] *Poems; by Thomas Gent* (London: Warren, 1820), pp. 138–39.

16. 'Carlagnulus' [Charles Lamb], 'In tabulam eximii pictoris B. Haydoni, in quâ Solymæi, adveniente domino, palmas in viâ prosternentes mirâ arte depinguntur'[69]
    - Beginning 'Quid vult iste equitans? et quid velit ista virorum'
17. 'C. L.' [Charles Lamb], 'Translation of the Latin Verses on Mr. Haydon's Picture'[70]
    - Beginning 'What rider's that? and who those myriads bringing'
18. 'Trissino' [George Croly], 'The Entry into Jerusalem (Mr. Haydon's Great Picture)'[71]
    - Beginning 'The air is filled with shouts, and trumpets' sounding'
19. [Anon.], 'Epigram: By a Gentleman Passing from Haydon's Picture of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, Exhibiting in the Egyptian Hall, to Mons. Jerricault's Raft of the Medusa, in the Room Below'*[72]
    - Beginning 'Down Bullock's stair, a wit who punned and laugh'd'

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[69] *Champion*, 6 May 1820, p. 302. Reprinted in the *Champion* for 7 May 1820 (p. 302); the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 5.17 (1 August 1820), 439–40; and John Thelwall, *The Poetical Recreations of the Champion, and his Literary Correspondents* (London: Champion Press, 1822 [1821]), pp. 188–89, under the same signature. Although the title page of Thelwall's *Poetical Recreations* specifies that it appeared in '1822', its actual publication was in early December 1821 (see *Champion*, 9 December 1821, p. 784). For the authorship of this poem, see James Elmes, 'Haydon and Charles Lamb', *Notes and Queries*, 12 March 1859, pp. 214–15; D. F. MacCarthy, 'John Thelwall, Charles Lamb, and Benjamin Robert Haydon', *Notes and Queries*, 5 April 1873, pp. 269–71; and *Diary*, II, 319. For the signature 'Carlagnulus', see also William Mathews, *Words; their Use and Abuse* (Chicago: Griggs, 1876), p. 269.

[70] *Champion*, 13 May 1820, p. 318. Reprinted in the *Champion* for 14 May 1820 (p. 318); the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 5.17 (1 August 1820), 440; and Thelwall, *The Poetical Recreations of the Champion*, p. 189, under the same signature. See also above at n. 69.

[71] *Literary Gazette*, 13 May 1820, p. 315. Reprinted in George Croly, *Paris in 1815: With Other Poems* (London: Warren, 1821), pp. 101–03; and *The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Croly, A.M. H.R.S.L.*, 2 vols (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1830), II, 294–96.

[72] *Literary Gazette*, 24 June 1820, p. 412. Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* (1819) was on display at the Egyptian Hall from 12 June to 30 December 1820 (see Christine Riding, 'Staging *The Raft of the Medusa*', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 5.2 (Winter 2004), 1–26); see also *BRH*, pp. 12–13.

1821

20. ‘Δ’ [David Macbeth Moir], ‘Sonnet to Haydon’[73]

- Beginning ‘GENIUS immortal, industry untired’

1824

21. Catherine Grace Garnett, ‘On Haydon’s Picture of the Raising of Lazarus’*[74]

- Beginning ‘HE comes! behold him, gazing Bethany!’

22. ‘F.’, ‘Written after Seeing Haydon’s Picture, “The Raising of Lazarus”’*[75]

- Beginning ‘Lo! where, in conscious pow’r sublime’

1826

23. ‘Mrs. H———’ [Felicia Hemans], ‘On the Painting of “Pharaoh’s Submission”, by Haydon; in the Gallery of the British Institution’*[76]

- Beginning ‘THERE is a sudden wail of woe’

1831

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[73] *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1821, p. 526. Reprinted in ‘Delta’ [David Macbeth Moir], *The Legend of Genevieve, with Other Tales and Poems* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1825), p. 103. ‘Delta’ (Δ) was Moir’s pseudonym (see Strout, *A Bibliography of Articles in ‘Blackwood’s Magazine’*, p. 76; and David Finkelstein, ‘Moir, David Macbeth [*pseud.* Delta] (1798–1851)’, in *ODNB*).

[74] Catharine [*sic*] Grace Garnett, *The Night before the Bridal, a Spanish Tale: Sappho, a Dramatic Sketch, and Other Poems* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824), pp. 189–92.

[75] *Edinburgh Magazine*, September 1824, p. 360. Author unknown.

[76] *La Belle Assemblée*, May 1826, p. 211. When the poem was reprinted in the *New-York Mirror* for 5 August 1826, its author was identified as ‘Mrs. Hemans’ (p. 16).

24. William Wordsworth, ‘To B. R. Haydon: Composed on Seeing his Picture of Napoleon Musing at St. Helena’[77]
    - Beginning ‘HAYDON! let worthier judges praise the skill’

1840

25. ‘The Author of “Italy”, “Catiline”, “Drama of a Life”, Etc.’ [John Edmund Reade], ‘Napoleon at St. Helena; Suggested by Haydon’s Picture’*[78]
    - Beginning ‘HE sate upon the savage crag where Fear’
26. Walter Farquhar Hook, ‘Sonnet: On Transcribing Wordsworth’s Sonnet on Haydon’s Picture of the Duke of Wellington’**[79]
    - Beginning ‘Lady, I have transcribed, at thy Command’
27. William Wordsworth, ‘Sonnet: Suggested by Haydon’s Picture of the Duke of Wellington and his Horse, Copenhagen, on the Field of Waterloo, Twenty Years after the Battle: Painted for St. George’s Hall, Liverpool; and Now Engraving by Lupton’[80]
    - Beginning ‘THROUGH Art’s bold privilege Warrior and War-Horse stand’

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[77] *New Monthly Magazine*, 33.2 (1 July 1831), 26. On 12 April 1831, Haydon noted: ‘[Wordsworth] spoke of Napoleon so highly that I wrote & told him to give me a Sonnet’ (*Diary,* III, 515). For the publication history of the poem, see also Wordsworth, *Last Poems, 1821–1850,* pp. 222, 453.

[78] *Monthly Chronicle,* August 1840, pp. 163–66. Reade is the author of *Italy: A Poem, in Six Parts* (1838), *Catiline; or, The Roman Conspiracy* (1839), and *The Drama of a Life* (1840). A nineteenth-century American anthology incorrectly attributed the authorship of this poem to George Croly, who had also published a tragedy entitled *Catiline* in 1822, but not ‘Italy’ or ‘Drama of a Life’ (see *Select Works of the British Poets, in a Chronological Series from Southey to Croly* (Philadelphia: Wardle, 1845), pp. 753–55).

[79] Hitherto unpublished. Composed on 15 September 1840. See my transcript below, pp. 292–94.

[80] *Literary Gazette*, 19 September 1840, p. 614. For the publication history of the poem, see Wordsworth, *Last Poems, 1821–1850,* pp. 351–53, 488–90.

1841

28. Francis Bennoch, ‘To Haydon, on Seeing his Painting of Christ’s Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem’[81]
    - Beginning ‘WHAT great magician of the earth art thou’
29. John Hanmer, ‘Sonnet: To Haydon, Suggested by his Napoleon’**[82]
    - Beginning ‘The fields of famous battles have seen’

1842

30. Sir Henry Halford, ‘Lines Suggested by Mr. Haydon’s Picture of Buonaparte, in the Possession of Sir Robert Peel’*[83]
    - Beginning ‘Tristis, iners, solusque abrupto in limite rupis’
31. Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, ‘Sonnet: On Mr. Haydon’s Portrait of Mr. Wordsworth’[84]
    - Beginning ‘Wordsworth upon Helvellyn!—Let the cloud’

1843

32. [William Cox Bennett], ‘Haydon’s Napoleon at St. Helena’*[85]

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[81] Francis Bennoch, *The Storm, and Other Poems* (London: Smith, 1841), p. 131.

[82] Hitherto unpublished. Composed on 11 February 1841. See my transcript below, pp. 294–95.

[83] *Nugæ metricæ: By Sir H. Halford, Bart., M.D.* (London: Murray, 1842), p. 32. First printed in *Nugæ metricæ: By Sir H. H., Bart., M.D.* (London: printed by Clowes and Sons, 1839), p. 34, whose title page specifies that this volume was ‘*NOT PUBLISHED*’.

[84] *Athenæum*, 29 October 1842, p. 932. Reprinted in Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, *Poems*, 2 vols (London: Moxon, 1844), I, 125. For Haydon’s portrait (now in the National Portrait Gallery, London), see Blanshard, *Portraits of Wordsworth*, pp. 88–91, 108–10, 167–68; and Figure 1.2.

[85] [William Cox Bennett], *My Sonnets* (Greenwich: printed by Henry & Richardson, 1843), p. 20. For the authorship of this poem, printed anonymously, see Thomas James Wise, ed., *The Ashley Library: A Catalogue of Printed Books, Manuscripts and Autograph Letters*, 11 vols (London: printed for private circulation only, 1922–36), XI (1936), 5.

- Beginning ‘In the lit ocean sinks the setting sun’

1846

33. Anne Jane Leechman, ‘The Fate of Haydon’**[86]

- Beginning ‘A son of genious [*sic*] is gone down’

34. ‘The Author of “Orion”’ [Richard Henry Horne], ‘To the Memory of B. R. Haydon’[87]

- Beginning ‘MOURN, fatal Voice, whom ancients call’d the Muse!’

35. ‘C. B.’ [Charles Boner], ‘The Death of Haydon’[88]

- Beginning ‘Poor heart! I little thought when thee I met’

36. Eliza Northhouse, ‘Lines on Haydon’*[89]

- Beginning ‘Poor Haydon! thou no more shalt give’

37. Mary Mordwinoff Haydon, [untitled]**[90]

- Beginning ‘And art thou gone, & art thou still’

38. [Anon.], ‘The Poor Painter (Suggested by the Death of the Late B. R. Haydon)’*[91]

- Beginning ‘By the soft light which o’er his canvas page’

39. ‘The Author of “Orion”’ [Richard Henry Horne], ‘To Sir Robert Peel, Bart.: On the Death of B. R. Haydon’*[92]

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[86] Hitherto unpublished. Composed after 22 June 1846. See my transcript below, pp. 295–97.

[87] *Daily News*, 29 June 1846, p. 3. For the authorship of this poem, see below at n. 92.

[88] *Reading Mercury*, 18 July 1846, p. 4. The poem was later collected in Charles Boner, *Verse: 1834–1858* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1858), pp. 84–85.

[89] *Morning Advertiser*, 23 July 1846, p. 3.

[90] Hitherto unpublished. Composed on 26 July 1846. See my transcript below, pp. 297–300.

[91] *Union Magazine*, August 1846, pp. 117–18.

[92] *People’s Journal*, 17 October 1846, p. 218. The author is identified as ‘R. H. Horne’ in the table of contents for the second volume of this periodical (p. vii). Horne had published *Orion: An Epic Poem in Three Books* in 1843.

- Beginning ‘A single heart and mind laid bare to view’

1847

40. Thomas Ragg, ‘On the Death of Haydon’*[93]

    - Beginning ‘ALAS! my country, foremost in the race’

1848

41. John Morgan, ‘Lines to the Late Mr. Haydon, who, through Neglect and Poverty, Cut his Throat’*[94]

    - Beginning ‘While sorrow saddens many a heart’

42. [Anon.], ‘Raising the Widow’s Son: Lines Suggested on Seeing Haydon’s Picture of Christ Raising to Life the Widow’s Son’*[95]

    - Beginning ‘How great thy power, and fascinating spell’

1849

43. William Sawyer, ‘A Thought of Haydon’*[96]

    - Beginning ‘Mourn not for Haydon! Twine not for his urn’

1852

44. William Duff Telfer, ‘To B. R. Haydon’*[97]

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[93] Thomas Ragg, *Scenes and Sketches from Life and Nature; Edgbaston; and Other Poems* (London: Washbourne, 1847), pp. 168–70.

[94] John Morgan, *Original Poems, Written in Hours of Leisure* (London: Harvey, 1848), pp. 63–64.

[95] *Church-Warder*, 1 February 1848, p. 61.

[96] William Sawyer, *Thought and Reverie* (Brighton: Wilmott, 1849), pp. 26–27.

[97] William Duff Telfer, *Andromeda: And Other Poems* (London: Lucas, 1852), p. 57.

- Beginning ‘MY DEAR dead Master; like a Roman thou’

1853

45. Mary Russell Mitford, ‘Sonnet to B. R. Haydon, Esq.’[98]

    - Beginning ‘Haydon! this dull age and this northern clime’

46. ‘K.’, ‘Benjamin Robert Haydon: Died June 22, 1846: Aged 60’*[99]

    - Beginning ‘Here rests awakened from life’s fitful dream’

1854

47. Elizabeth Rainier Bailey, ‘Thoughts Occasioned by Reading the Memoirs of Haydon’*[100]

    - Beginning ‘’Tis ended now—the sad convulsive strife’

48. William Bell Scott, ‘On Reading Haydon’s Autobiography’[101]

    - Beginning ‘The coarse-voiced peacock spreads his starry tail’

1857

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[98] *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, from his Autobiography and Journals*, ed. by Tom Taylor, 3 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853), II, 61; dated ‘(September 4th) 1823’.

[99] Author and publication details unknown. Printed on a leaf of paper and pasted into the binding of a copy of the first volume of Haydon’s *Lectures* (1844) at the University of California, Berkeley, Library (ND1135 .H3); the paper is smaller than, and different from, the rest of the book. I am grateful to the librarian Stacy Reardon, who has examined the printed material for me. For a digitised copy of this poem, see <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b122008?urlappend=%3Bseq=23> [accessed 3 April 2021]. The place and date of composition, ‘*Bath, Nov*., 1853’, suggests that the author was inspired by reading Taylor’s *Life*, which had been published on 24 June 1853 (see *The Times*, 20 June 1853, p. 14).

[100] Elizabeth Rainier Bailey, *Lady Jane Grey, and Other Poems*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), II, 247–49.

[101] *Poems, by William Bell Scott* (London: Smith, Elder, 1854), p. 171.

49. Charles Swain, ‘The Two Exhibitions: A Dramatic Sketch’*[102]
    - Beginning ‘The world may say I’ve failed; I have *not* failed’

1879

50. John Watson, ‘The Contrast’*[103]
    - Beginning ‘WHY write in polished verse your lofty thought?’

1948

51. Benjamin Bailey, ‘On a Female Figure in Mr Haydon’s Picture of Christ Entering Jerusalem’[104]
    - Beginning ‘Her arms are folded meekly on her breast’

1952

52. Daniel Terry, ‘Lines Addressed to Haydon’[105]
    - Beginning ‘Thou has[t] a Spirit, of power and magnitude’

1963

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[102] *The Art-Treasures Examiner: A Pictorial, Critical, and Historical Record of the Art-Treasures Exhibition, at Manchester, in 1857* (Manchester: Ireland, [1857]), p. 112. The poem was later collected in Charles Swain, *Art and Fashion: With Other Sketches, Songs, and Poems* (London: Virtue Brothers, 1863), pp. 39–53, as ‘Haydon (the Two Exhibitions)’.

[103] John Watson, *Poems* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1879), p. 380.

[104] Published posthumously in *The Keats Circle: Letters and Papers, 1816*–1878, ed. by Hyder Edward Rollins, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948), II, 281–82; dated ‘1815–16’. First printed in Pope’s 1932 unpublished doctoral dissertation (II, 796).

[105] Published posthumously in Olney (1952), pp. 268–69. Date of composition unknown. The actor and playwright Daniel Terry died in June 1829 (see Joseph Knight, ‘Terry, Daniel (1789–1829)’, rev. by Klaus Stierstorfer, in *ODNB*).

53. David Trevena Coulton, ‘The Painter’s Daughter’[106]

- Beginning ‘From Infancy there stole into the mind’

2010

54. George Markham Tweddell, ‘Benjamin Robert Haydon’*[107]

- Beginning ‘Haydon, thine was a truly noble soul!’

* * *

Here follow my transcripts of the texts of four unpublished poems addressed to Haydon; line numbers are added.

Walter Farquhar Hook, ‘Sonnet: On Transcribing Wordsworth’s Sonnet on Haydon’s Picture of the Duke of Wellington’[108] (composed on 15 September 1840)

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[106] Published posthumously in *Diary*, V, 412. Transcribed in the entry for 25 January 1845. As his *Diary* reveals, the sonnet was actually ‘Addressed to Miss Mary Haydon’ and not specifically to the painter himself. Yet since Dorothy George included it in her 1967 list in the second edition of Eric George’s biography (p. 307), I have not excluded this poem from my list.

[107] Published posthumously in *A Collection of the Poetry of the Cleveland Poet George Markham Tweddell (1823–1903)*, ed. by Trevor Teasdel and Paul M. Tweddell, 3 vols ([n.p.]: published by the editors, 2008–10), III (2010), 264–65. Composed after 22 June 1846.

[108] Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Eng 1331 (27). Morgan MS also contains a transcript of this sonnet in Haydon’s handwriting (which has only one significant variant, as I have noted below, from the original at the Houghton Library). In Morgan MS, Haydon copied the sonnet (dated ‘Sep 15 1840’) under the title: ‘Sonnet: To Haydon, by the Rev. W. F. Dr Hook Vicar of Leeds—on Transcribing Wordsworth['s] Sonnet of Haydon’s Picture of the Duke & Copenhagen’. Hook read Wordsworth’s sonnet some time between 2 and 8 September 1840, that is, before its first publication in the *Literary Gazette* for 19 September (see above at n. 80). Wordsworth composed an earlier version of the sonnet on 31 August and transcribed it in a letter to Haydon of 2 September (see *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Later Years*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt, 2nd

Lady, I have transcribed, at thy Command,

The Words by which a master mind declared

His thoughts, suggested by the skilful Hand

A kindred spirit guided, while both shared

5 An admiration, glowing and intense,

For Him, the glory of their native Land;

An admiration chastened by a sense

Of sadness, as they see the Hero stand

Bowed down with age, in his last Field of Fame.

---

edn, rev. by Alan G. Hill, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978–88), IV: *1840–1853* (1988), 100–01). On 8 September, Hook sent the following letter to Haydon (MS Eng 1331 (27)):

Vicarage Leeds
8 Sept 1840

My dear Mr Haydon

There is nothing like daring a Man. You have dared me to answer your Letter, and behold an answer you have.

I am very obliged to you for sending me Wordsworth[']s Sonnet. I saw the great Poet a few weeks ago looking very well. I see he notices as a Beauty what I had remarked as a blemish in your Picture,—the 'Ground yet strewn with their last Battle's wreck'. This prevents the picture from telling its own story—scarce twenty years after the Battle we know that the Ground *is not* so strewn, neither is it likely to be. Forgive my noticing this speck as I thought it, but after Wordsworth[']s notice of it, scarcely dare to think it any longer. I can assure you that I was very deeply impressed by the stoking you were so kind as to send me. The Picture surpasses my Expectations of it, though they were high. I defy any one to look at it without being at once elevated & melancholy—and to excite these counter-acting feelings was, I presume, your Subject. The Subject is a Sublime one.

Yours Most truly
W. F. Hook

For Hook, see George Herring, 'Hook, Walter Farquhar (1798–1875)', in *ODNB*.

10 A few short years, & Warrior, Painter,[109] Bard,
All will have passed from Earth: There at the name
Of Each shall England glow; proud that a Son
Hath done the deeds that Wellington hath done,
Proud that two Sons, his Doings could record.

W. F. H.

John Hanmer, 'Sonnet: To Haydon, Suggested by his Napoleon' (composed on 11 February 1841)[110]

The fields of famous battles have seen
Martyrs taken by the Danube grey;
And realm was there; and still bends the way
Napoleon's footsteps as I went, have been.
5 Then chang'd my thoughts & came the Airy Queen
Imagination, and the willed spray
Of the Sea mountains volley night and day,
Topped by long flight; until by S^{t}. Helene,
Lone as the shades of some conqueror
10 Cast our Ægypt as the Sun goes down,
From a mermaid image in the Lands,
Loomed at his presence, and the Atlantic roar

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[109] 'Artist' (Morgan MS).

[110] Morgan MS; dated 'Feb 11. 1841'. Hanmer purchased a version of Haydon's portrait of Napoleon (see *Diary*, V, 596). For Hanmer, see Bertha Porter, 'Hanmer, John, Baron Hanmer (1809–1881)', rev. by H. C. G. Matthew, in *ODNB*.

Rose up to meet him, answering at his Crown
As motionless he stood with folded hands.
J. H.   Bettisfield Park

Anne Jane Leechman, ‘The Fate of Haydon’ (composed after 22 June 1846)[111]

A son of genious[112] is gone down
Into the gloom of death;
Without the call which all obey,
He yielded up his breath,
5 And sought in brighter worlds away
The peace not found beneath.
Does not a nation feel the shocks
When great ones pass away?
They leave a vacant place on earth,

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[111] © British Library Board, Add MS 40593, fol. 337. Some time after hearing the news of Haydon’s suicide on 22 June 1846, Leechman wrote the poem and sent it to Sir Robert Peel with the following letter (© British Library Board, Add MS 40593, fol. 336):

> To the Right honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart.
>
> If the following lines, (written by the wife of an humble Artist, who deeply sympathises in the fate of Haydon) will be read by Sir Robert Peel, the noble and liberal encourager of the fine arts and literature; I shall feel honoured and happy in my poor efforts, to subscribe myself
>
> your most obedient humble servant
> Anne Jane Leechman
> Bready
> Strabane

[112] A non-standard spelling of the word ‘genius’, used especially between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (*OED*, s.v. ‘genius, *n*. and *adj*.’).

A name without decay;
Bright as the liquid light that shines
Around the god of day.
Oh! Haydon, what a fate was thine?
Untiring in thy toil,
Without thy well-sought meed of praise;
Uncheered by fortunes smile;
Though genious shed her beam around
Thy weary path the while.
Thy spirit could no longer brook
The wearing ills and strife,
Of this cold world, nor look upon
Thy uncomplaining wife!
Alas! thy children's bread is bought
With a fond father's life.
Yet there was one who heard thy call
And lent a willing ear,
And stretched the hand that could not save
With ready aid to cheer;
And gave perchance, to genious son
The tribute of a tear.
'Twas Peel who with a nation's cares
Fast crowding on his head;
Could hear the voice from thee that came
When hope itself was fled,

This name shall be a deathless name,

Undying, with the dead.

A. J. Leechman

Mary Mordwinoff Haydon, [untitled] (composed on 26 July 1846)[113]

1

And art thou gone, & art thou still,

That high & restless living spirit,

Alas! alas! what heavy care

Must have borne thee down to make thee still it.

2

What heavy care must have been thine,

To make thee quit a world so dear,

And fly unto thy Maker's shrine,

Tho'[114] with thy dread of Him & fear.

3

What heavy clouds around thee gathered,

From petty minds & wretched men,

Oh what a heart & brain they severed,

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[113] Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Eng 1331.4 (70). Mary Mordwinoff Haydon, the painter's daughter, sent this epistolary poem to the journalist David Trevena Coulton, who himself had dedicated a sonnet to her on or before 25 January 1845 (see above, p. 292). The fifth and ninth stanzas were first printed in Sotheby & Co. (London), *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters and Historical Documents*, sale dates 26 and 27 June 1972, p. 90 (item 368), which notes that the poem 'seems to have remained hitherto unrecorded'.

[114] Written 'Thou~~gh~~'.

Can they recall thee? ne’er again.

4

Oh what despair they’ve scattered round us,
By milling him on whom we rested,
The pity of the world confounds us,
Our hearts are of all hope divested.

5

Can I forget that last fond look,
That tender broken hearted sorrow,
It seemed to say, alas! alas!
For me, there will be no tomorrow.

6

And as he turned him from my sight,
I heard him breathing thick & loud,
Alas! I had no power or might,
I seemed to live as in a cloud.

7

I did not see I did not feel
The wretched fate that was so near me,
I heard him shut his study door,
And know not why, it seemed to cheer me,

8

And soon I came to look on him,
Stretched by his hand in death so still,

Oh how I envied that calm sleep,
Had it been me, or God thy will.

9

I gazed upon his handsome face
Calm & devoid of any pain,
And seeing all his suffering ceased,
I did not wish him back again,

10

The night came on, the wind arose,
And whistled through the creaking door,
The thunder roared, the lightning flushed,
For death was stretched upon the floor.

11

And when the sound of death went forth,
The eyes that were dry were scarcely any,
For we had lived there very long,
And he was loved by very many.

12

What felt his landlord’s iron heart,
At his own work? I cannot tell
But he must know the awful part,
He took in his sad fate, *too* well.

13

Long may he live & long retain,

The recollection of the last,

Appeal to him tho’ made in vain

And from his door the dying man went forth,

To sigh, to plead, to ask no more.

Mary Haydon

July 26th 1846

D. T. Coulton Esqr

Appendix III: Authorship and Publication Dates of the *Annals of the Fine Arts*

Curiously and coincidentally, the great years of 1816–20, during which John Keats was active as a poet, also represent exactly the period of the foundation, apogee, and demise of the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, the magazine which served in its time as a highly successful, if at times quite controversial, forum for the discussion of painting, sculpture, architecture, music, engraving, and last, but not least, poetry. 'The earliest popular art periodical in English', the *Annals* defended the Elgin Marbles, drew attention to the Raphael Cartoons, and championed the cause of historical painting, while emphasizing the importance of the sister arts—mostly in terms of the relationship between poetry and painting.[1] The first volume opened with Lord Sidmouth's essay 'On the Affinity between Painting and Writing, in Point of Composition'. Subsequent contributions included not only those by Benjamin Robert Haydon and other art critics and connoisseurs, but also essays and poems by notable contemporary writers such as William Wordsworth, Robert Southey, Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, Bryan Waller Procter (alias 'Barry Cornwall'), Mary Russell Mitford, and, indeed, Keats.

Especially since the publication of Ian Jack's *Keats and the Mirror of Art* in 1967, the *Annals* have attracted particular attention in the studies of Romantic literature and art, and most prominently in Keats scholarship.[2] After all, it was this magazine that first printed two of his great spring odes of 1819: 'Ode to a Nightingale' and 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', which appeared there under the titles 'Ode to the Nightingale' and 'On a Grecian Urn', respectively.

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[1] Tom Devonshire Jones, '*Annals of the Fine Arts*: James Elmes (1782–1862), Architect: From Youthful Editor to Aged Gospeller', *British Art Journal*, 10.2 (Winter 2009), 67–72 (p. 67). For the reception of the *Annals* in early nineteenth-century England, see also *CTT*, I, 104.

[2] See, for example, *KMA*, pp. 46–57; Grant F. Scott, *The Sculpted Word: Keats, Ekphrasis, and the Visual Arts* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994), pp. 45–67; and R. S. White, 'Gusto: Keats, Hazlitt, and Pictorial Art', *Keats-Shelley Review*, 32.1 (2018), 47–54.

As such, the *Annals* hoard rare materials that potentially provide us with significant insights into aspects of the fine arts of the Romantic period. Nevertheless, there is a critical problem in using this magazine as a point of reference, especially when we try to take a historical approach in our research: the *Annals* are not dated. Apart from the fact that they were published quarterly between the years 1816 and 1820, the *Annals* tell us virtually nothing about their own publication dates. Only occasionally did the editor and architect James Elmes announce the publication dates of succeeding issues (but not in most cases). Therefore, we are not entirely sure of the exact date on which each issue appeared. For any further historical studies of or through the *Annals*, it would be vital or, at least, useful if we could give more specific and precise dates of their publications than those that we have been offered so far.[3]

Today, in most cases, we access the *Annals* as a work of five volumes, comprised of seventeen numbers in total. Yet, between 1816 and 1820, each number first appeared as a quarterly issue; then those annual volumes followed that contained several numbers which had already been published. In this appendix, accordingly, I have focused on establishing the publication dates of each number of the *Annals*. In her 1955 essay, which was written in part to correct Helen Darbishire's misunderstanding about the publication dates of the *Annals,* Barbara Garlitz mentioned that this quarterly magazine appeared, in principle, 'on the first day of January, April, July, and October'.[4] As Garlitz noted, there were in fact several exceptions to this rule. Nevertheless, her own updated account did not only fail to give all the 'correct' publication dates of the magazine but also, unfortunately, contained 'incorrect' information.[5] As I have listed more fully and precisely below, ten of the seventeen numbers of the *Annals* were published as scheduled 'on the first day of January, April, July, and October'. However, among the rest, five numbers were issued *after* the delay of a month or, in some cases, even more, and the remaining two numbers appeared *before* their scheduled dates (a month earlier).

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[3] Partly due to the dearth of information about the publication dates of the *Annals*, some critics have given a slightly incorrect account of Keats's ode 'On a Grecian Urn'. While, as I have noted below, the ode appeared in the *Annals* on 1 January 1820, several recent studies of the ode refer to its publication date instead as '4 January 1820' (see, for example, Michael O'Neill, *Romanticism and the Self-Conscious Poem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 210; and Alex Watson, '"Truth in Beauty and Beauty in Truth": Rabindranath Tagore's Appropriation of John Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn" (1819)', in *British Romanticism in Asia: The Reception, Translation, and Transformation of Romantic Literature in India and East Asia*, ed. by Alex Watson and Laurence Williams (Singapore: Macmillan, 2019), pp. 169–90 (p. 187)). Presumably, some of the ways editors of Keats's poems give the ode's publication details have caused the minor misunderstanding among those critics. For instance, *TKP* notes that the poem was '[f]irst published in *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 4 (January 1820)' (p. 246). The number '4' here clearly refers to the magazine's volume which contains the ode and not to a specific day in January 1820.

As for methodology, I have established the publication dates of each number of the *Annals* primarily through consulting those daily or weekly newspapers (or sometimes monthly magazines) that were published in London between 1816 and 1820. When an issue of the *Annals* was advertised in them as having already been published on a specific day, I have accepted that date as being the most reliable. Yet, when no information as such was available, I have looked for instances in newspapers and periodicals where an issue of the *Annals* was advertised as forthcoming on a specific day. Also, when no external evidence was available either in newspapers or in periodicals, I have tried to determine the issue's publication date from internal evidence, that is, from references to some specific dates on its pages; in those cases, as a rule, I have given the first day of a quarterly month as the issue's publication date. That is not only because Garlitz indicated so in 1955 but also because it was, as a matter of fact, the official date for the magazine's publication.[6]

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[4] Barbara Garlitz, 'Egypt and *Hyperion*', *Philological Quarterly*, 34.2 (April 1955), 189–96 (p. 189); see also Helen Darbishire, 'Keats and Egypt', *Review of English Studies*, 3.9 (January 1927), 1–11.

[5] Garlitz's essay refers to only the ninth, tenth, and eleventh numbers of the *Annals*. For the ninth and eleventh issues, she gives the correct publication dates. However, her statement (p. 190) that the tenth number appeared in 'October 1818' needs rectifying. It was issued, as I have noted below, a month earlier, on 1 September 1818.

In the following summary of the publication dates of the *Annals*, I have also listed notable contributions to each number and specified, when possible, whether they appeared first in this magazine or were reprinted from elsewhere. In fact, most of the contributions published as 'ORIGINAL ESSAYS' or 'ORIGINAL POETRY' in the *Annals* were not strictly 'original' but had already been published either in other periodicals or newspapers or in their authors' own volumes of works. With the almost unique exception of Keats's two odes, the *Annals* reprinted many of the principal contributions from elsewhere and, while in some cases their sources were given, in others not at all. This sort of habitual 'fabrication' of facts about the writings' publication histories seems to be a peculiar feature of the *Annals*, and this aspect might merit further scrutiny hereafter in the Romantic periodical studies.[7]

Why did the *Annals* choose so often to reprint materials? As Jack states, Haydon acted as 'virtual editor' of the magazine and made the best use of it as a potent mouthpiece for his artistic ideals, and the role of his old friend Elmes—the titular editor—was only to aid him, Haydon, as its de facto editor.[8] We can even say that the *Annals* served Haydon as a substantial ‘echo chamber’ that would amplify, reverberate, and reinforce those opinions and views of others that were, in the eyes of the egomaniac artist, in favour of his own practice. To put it another way, by *re*printing works of renowned art authorities and celebrated writers, Haydon tactically chronicled the history—indeed the *annals*—of his own artistic efforts as a glorious epic (‘a Haydoniad’, as Edmund Blunden shrewdly called this periodical), and sought to present to his readers the image of himself as an artist-hero belonging to the mainstream of contemporary art discourses.[9] Several of the essays and poems in the *Annals* were, apparently, even not sent in by their authors directly to the editor, but were more likely to be reprinted because Haydon suggested to Elmes that they should be so.[10]

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[6] The unpaginated 'ADVERTISEMENT' in the fourth number of the *Annals* announced that the sixth and seventh numbers were to be published 'on their proper days, that is to say, on the first of October [1817] and first of January [1818]'. As I have noted below, whereas the seventh number was published as scheduled on 1 January 1818, the sixth number appeared a month after the planned date, on 1 November 1817. Nevertheless, it is still worth noting that the editor specified the first day of a quarterly month as the 'proper' date for this magazine's publication.

[7] Recently, Jon Klancher has also asserted that the '*Annals* deserves a full study of its influential mediation of the arts to nineteenth-century readers in its own right' (*Transfiguring the Arts and Sciences: Knowledge and Cultural Institutions in the Romantic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 122).

[8] Ian Jack, *English Literature, 1815–1832* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 538. For the editorship of the *Annals*, see also *CTT*, I, 357; and *Monthly Magazine*, 1 December 1820, p. 462.

The *Annals* saw their last issue on 1 August 1820. As if commemorating the efforts of Haydon up to that time, the issue’s last pages were devoted to Lamb’s poetic tribute to the painter (reprinted from the *Champion*). The poem’s closing lines read:

> Painters with poets for the laurel vie:
> But should the laureat [*sic*] band thy claims deny,
> Wear thou thine own green palm, Haydon, triumphantly.[11]

With the demise of the *Annals* in 1820, the first ‘life’ of Haydon, too, virtually came to an end. The following year, 1821, not only marked the passing of Keats, whom Haydon regarded as ‘the only man’ close in age who could share the value of intense friendship and high calling with himself (*Diary*, II, 107). During the same year, Haydon was also arrested for debt, married a widow with two children, and was reluctantly forced to consider producing fashionable portraits (besides historical paintings) to support his own family. Symbolically enough, Haydon's *Autobiography* ends its narrative somewhat in a fragmentary way, by covering his life only up to the year 1820.

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[9] Edmund Blunden, ‘“Annals of the Fine Arts”’, *Studies in English Literature*, 25.2 (July 1948), 121–28 (p. 125).

[10] See, for example, Olney (1933), p. 417.

[11] ‘C. L.’ [Charles Lamb], ‘Translation of the Above [i.e. Lamb’s own Latin poem for Haydon’s picture *Christ’s Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem*]’, *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 5.17 (1 August 1820), 440. For the publication details of the poem, see Appendix II, p. 284.

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Vol. 1, No. 1 (1 July 1816)[12]

Containing:

Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth, 'On the Affinity between Painting and Writing, in Point of Composition' (pp. 1–20)[13]

'Philo-Graphicus' [Benjamin Robert Haydon (?)], 'Analysis of the Poem Called "Liberty": By James Thomson, Author of the "Seasons"' (pp. 49–65)[14]

[James Elmes (?)], 'A Slight Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Domestic Architecture in Great Britain' (pp. 21–43)[15]

Vol. 1, No. 2 (1 October 1816)[16]

Containing:

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[12] '*On the* 1*st July* 1816, *will be Published* [...] THE FIRST NUMBER OF A NEW WORK, TO BE CALLED Annals of the Fine Arts' (unpaginated advertisement in the *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, &c.* for 1 June 1816); see also the 'ADVERTISEMENT' in the first number of the *Annals* (pp. i–iii (p. iii)).

[13] Reprinted (with an introduction by Elmes) from the *Classical Journal* for March 1811 (pp. 219–31). Lord Sidmouth won the Oxford English Prize with this essay in 1779 (see *The Oxford English Prize Essays*, 4 vols (Oxford: Talboys, 1830), I, 21–41).

[14] Jack suggests that this essay was 'possibly by Haydon' (*KMA*, p. 55). For discussion of it, see Paul Magnuson, *Reading Public Romanticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 197–98.

[15] Published anonymously, the essay saw its conclusion in the second number of the *Annals* (pp. 140–47). Extracts appeared later in the *La Belle Assemblée* for March 1817 (pp. 142–43), where it is noted that they were 'said to be from the pen of one of our first professors of architecture, Mr. Elmes'.

[16] 'No. II. *Will be Published on the First of October*' ('Contents to No. I.', *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.1 (1 July 1816), pp. v–vii (p. vii)); see also *Courier*, 30 September 1816, p. 1.

Benjamin Robert Haydon, ‘To the Critic on Barry’s Work in the Edinburgh Review, August, 1810’ (pp. 155–72)[17]

[Benjamin Robert Haydon], ‘A Catalogue Raisonnée (Raisonné) of the Pictures Now Exhibiting in Pall-Mall, 1816’ (pp. 189–209)[18]

[Anon.], ‘On the Evidence Given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons Respecting the Value of the Elgin Marbles’ (p. 265)[19]

Vol. 1, No. 3 (1 January 1817)[20]

Containing:

Benjamin Robert Haydon, ‘To the Critic on Barry’s Works in the Edinburgh Review, Aug. 1810’ (pp. 269–94)[21]

‘B. R. H.’ [Benjamin Robert Haydon], ‘Decision of Character, the Great Requisite for a Young Student of Historical Painting in England’ (pp. 300–12)[22]

[Anon.], ‘Abstract of a Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Earl of Elgin’s Sculptured Marbles, &c.’ (pp. 352–58)[23]

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[17] Reprinted (with an introduction by Elmes) from the *Examiner* for 26 January 1812 (pp. 60–64).

[18] For the authorship of this essay, published anonymously, see Kearney (1972), p. 275.

[19] First published in the *Morning Chronicle* for 6 July 1816 (p. 3). Jack refers to this short verse as ‘an acceptable epigram on the Elgin Marble controversy’ (*KMA*, p. 56).

[20] ‘No. III. will be published on the first of January, 1817’ (‘To Correspondents’, *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1.2 (1 October 1816), unpaginated).

[21] Reprinted from the *Examiner* for 2 February 1812 (pp. 76–78) and for 9 February 1812 (pp. 92–96).

[22] For discussion of this essay, see Clarke Olney, ‘Keats as John Foster’s “Man of Decision”’, *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 16 (Winter 1967), 6–8.

[23] Continued from the second number (pp. 225–42). For discussion of this abstract, see George Allan Cate, ‘Annals of the Fine Arts’, in *British Literary Magazines*, ed. by Alvin Sullivan, 4 vols (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983–86), II: *The Romantic Age, 1789–1836* (1983), pp. 7–12 (pp. 8–9).

Vol. 2, No. 4 (30 June 1817)[24]

Containing:

Sir Richard Colt Hoare, 'On the Conduct of the Directors of the British Institution, in Regard to their Patronage of British Artists; with Some Account of the Present State of the Arts in England' (pp. 1–19)[25]

James Elmes, 'On the Best Situation and Most Proper Mode of Commemorating the Great Victories of the Late Wars by Sea and Land, and of Honouring the Two Great British Commanders, Nelson and Wellington' (pp. 26–36)[26]

'M.' [James Anthony Minasi], 'Sonetto a Haydon pittore' (pp. 114–15)[27]

Vol. 2, No. 5 (1 September 1817)[28]

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[24] 'On the 30th of June was published [...] the Fourth Part of this new Work' ('Annals of the Fine Arts', *Courier*, 4 July 1817, p. 2). The unpaginated 'Advertisement' in the fourth number of the *Annals* reads:

> OUR Friends and Subscribers are requested to accept our apologies for the non[-]appearance of the present Number in due time. The death of the principal proprietor caused a disarrangement of its concerns, from which it has but lately been redeemed, and it was then sent to press with all possible expedition.

[25] For discussion of this essay, see Cate, 'Annals of the Fine Arts', p. 10.

[26] For discussion of this essay, see Jeffrey N. Cox, *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School: Keats, Shelley, Hunt and their Circle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 165–66.

[27] For more about this poem, first published in the *Annals*, see Appendix II, p. 283.

[28] Although I could not find any external evidence to support this publication date, it is certain from internal evidence that this number was issued no earlier than 24 August 1817 (it has a reference on page 288 to Haydon's essay which was published in the *Examiner* on that day). The actual publication date of this number is presumably some time early in September 1817 and most likely on 1 September, given the following account and announcement on the same page, 288:

Containing:

‘The Ghost of Barry’ [James Elmes (?)], ‘Letter to the Dilettanti Society, Respecting the Partial Performance of Certain Matters Essentially Necessary for the Improvement of Public Taste, and for Accomplishing the Original Views of the Royal Academy of Great Britain; by the Establishment of the British Institution, and by the Forming of a School of Painting in the Royal Academy’ (pp. 129–45)[29]

‘Publius’ [Prince Hoare], ‘On the Waterloo Monument’ (pp. 145–60)[30]

‘M * * * R * * * * * * M * * * * * *’ [Mary Russell Mitford], ‘Sonnet to Mr. Haydon on a Study from Nature, Exhibited at the Spring Garden Exhibition, 1817’ (pp. 292–93)[31]

Vol. 2, No. 6 (1 November 1817)[32]

Containing:

> ‘THE ACADEMICIANS have taken away the cartoon of Ananias from the gallery of the British Institution […] and removed it to their own little garret at Somerset-place, where it will be hermetically sealed from all inspection during the autumnal vacation (all September)’.

See also above at n. 6.

[29] Kearney (1972; p. 276) considers from internal evidence that it was Haydon who wrote this and subsequent two letters from ‘the Ghost of Barry’ in the *Annals* (2.6 (1 November 1817), 295–305; and 2.7 (1 January 1818), 447–61); see also Magnuson, *Reading Public Romanticism*, pp. 193–94, 196, 203. However, in the seventh number of the *Annals*, Haydon himself denies his authorship of these letters (p. 507), and elsewhere he also indicates that they were written by Elmes (see Olney (1933), p. 417).

[30] Reprinted (with corrections and additions by the author and with an introduction by Elmes) from the *Sun* for 29 May 1817 (p. 3) and for 23 June 1817 (p. 4). For the authorship of this essay, see Olney (1933), p. 417.

[31] First published in the *Literary Gazette* for 19 July 1817 (p. 41), signed ‘M. R. M.’ For more about this poem, see Appendix II, p. 283.

[32] ‘On the 1st of November will be published [...] No. VI., of ANNALS of the FINE ARTS’ (*Morning Post*, 31 October 1817, p. 1); see also *Star*, 29 October 1817, p. 1.

‘J. E. S.’, ‘General Observations on the Culture of the Fine Arts in Great Britain; the Disadvantages of Former Times Compared with the Present, and the Necessity of a More Decided Study of Them by those Whose Pursuits Are Not Strictly Graphic’ (pp. 306–12)[33]

‘A Student’ [Benjamin Robert Haydon], ‘On Mr. Richter’s Pretended Recent Discovery in the Art of Painting’ (pp. 359–67)[34]

‘Veritas’ [James Elmes (?)], ‘Review of a Late Controversy on Mr. Haydon’s Opinions Relating to the Cartoon of Ananias, in the Examiner of October Last’ (pp. 402–10)[35]

Vol. 2, No. 7 (1 January 1818)[36]

Containing:

‘Somniator’ [Benjamin Robert Haydon], ‘The River of Time: A Vision’ (pp. 461–74)[37]

William Wordsworth, ‘Upon the Sight of a Beautiful Picture’ and ‘To B. R. Haydon, Esq.’ (p. 561)[38]

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[33] For discussion of this essay, see Andrew Hemingway, *Landscape between Ideology and the Aesthetic: Marxist Essays on British Art and Art Theory, 1750–1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 107.

[34] For the authorship of this essay, see Kearney (1972), p. 276.

[35] For the authorship of this review, see *Diary,* I, 60–61, n. 6.

[36] It is certain from external evidence that this number was published some time between 1 and 23 January 1818 (see ‘Monthly List of New Publications for January’, *Globe,* 5 February 1818, p. 4; and *Morning Post,* 23 January 1818, p. 2). Internal evidence also suggests that this number appeared on or before 1 January 1818, since it contained a list of ‘Names and Residences of the Principal Living Artists Residing or Practising in the Metropolis, […] Corrected up to the 1st. January, 1818’ (pp. 566–95); see also above at n. 6.

[37] For the authorship of this work, see Olney (1933), p. 417; and Kearney (1972), p. 276. For discussion of it, see David Higgins, *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 132.

[38] ‘Upon the Sight of a Beautiful Picture’ was first published in Wordsworth’s 1815 two-volume *Poems* (II, 160). ‘To B. R. Haydon, Esq.’ appeared first in both the *Examiner* and the *Champion* on 31

‘W. S. I——n’, ‘Music’ (pp. 564–65)[39]

Vol. 3, No. 8 (1 April 1818)[40]

Containing:

John Bailey, ‘On Mr. Haydon and his Pupils, with an Etching’ (pp. 58–67)[41]

[Benjamin Robert Haydon], review of William Carey, *Critical Description and Analytical Review of ‘Death on the Pale Horse’, Painted by Benjamin West, P.R.A.* (1817) (pp. 79–90)[42]

John Keats, ‘To Haydon: Wtth [*sic*] a Sonnet Written on Seeing the Elgin Marbles’ and ‘On Seeing the Elgin Marbles’ (pp. 171–72)[43]

Vol. 3, No. 9 (1 June 1818)[44]

March 1816 (see Appendix II, p. 280). In a letter to Haydon of 13 January 1816, Wordsworth had suggested that, in reprinting ‘Upon the Sight of a Beautiful Picture’, it should be ‘paired with’ ‘To B. R. Haydon, Esq.’ (*MY*, II, 274).

[39] The anonymous author of this poem sees ‘Music’ as one of ‘the intellectual branches of the Fine Arts’ (p. 564). Keats’s Nightingale ode appeared in the *Annals* the following year, 1819 (see below). As Helen Vendler notes, ‘readers would have taken *Nightingale* to be a poem on the art of music’ (*The Odes of John Keats* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 77).

[40] ‘On the 1st of April will be published […] Part VIII. of ANNALS of the FINE ARTS’ (*Star*, 31 March 1818, p. 1); see also *Literary Gazette*, 28 March 1818, p. 208; and *British Press*, 31 March 1818, p. 1.

[41] For discussion of this essay and etching, see *Life and Letters of William Bewick (Artist)*, ed. by Thomas Landseer, 2 vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871), I, 42–43; Olney (1952), pp. 100–01; and *BRH*, pp. 113–14.

[42] For the authorship of this review, published anonymously, see Kearney (1972), p. 277.

[43] The two sonnets first appeared in both the *Examiner* and the *Champion* on 9 March 1817 (see Appendix II, p. 282).

[44] ‘*No*. IX. *will be published on the* 1*st of June*’ (‘To Correspondents’, *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 3.8 (1 April 1818), unpaginated); see also *New Times*, 29 May 1818, p. 1.

Containing:

Benjamin Robert Haydon, 'On the Comparison between the Venetian Horse's Head, Said to Be by Lysippus, and the Horse's Head from the Parthenon, in the Elgin Collection' (pp. 177–85)[45]

Benjamin Robert Haydon, 'On the Cartoons of the Beautiful Gate, and Christ's Charge to Peter, Now Exhibiting at the British Gallery, Pall Mall' (pp. 242–59)[46]

George Stanley, 'On Seeing the Portrait of Wordsworth, by Haydon' (p. 331)[47]

Vol. 3, No. 10 (1 September 1818)[48]

Containing:

William Hazlitt, 'On the Character of Sir Joshua Reynolds' (pp. 337–57)[49]

Richard Payne Knight, 'On the Elgin Marbles in Reply to the Quarterly Review' (pp. 383–91)[50]

[Anon.], 'Arrival of a Colossal Head, Said to Be of Memnon; Some Shafts of Columns, Capitals, and Other Sculptures, from Africa, at the British Museum' (pp. 494–98)[51]

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[45] Later in the same year, 1818, Haydon also published this essay in French under the title *Comparaison entre la tête d'un des chèvaux de Venise, qui etoient sur l'arc triomphale des Thuilleries, et qu'on dit être de Lysippe, et la tête du cheval d'Elgin du Parthenon*. For discussion of this essay, see *BRH*, pp. 91–92.

[46] First published in the *Examiner* for 17 May 1818 (pp. 316–18) and for 31 May 1818 (pp. 348–49).

[47] For more about this poem, first published in the *Annals*, see Appendix II, p. 283.

[48] 'The tenth number of the Annals of the Fine Arts will be published on the 1st of September' (*New Monthly Magazine*, 1 September 1818, p. 174); see also *Morning Chronicle*, 29 August 1818, p. 1; and *Star*, 29 August 1818, p. 1.

[49] First published in the *Champion* for 30 October 1814 (pp. 350–51) and for 6 November 1814 (pp. 358–59).

[50] First published in the *Examiner* for 9 June 1816 (pp. 363–65).

[51] The ninth number made a brief announcement of this report (pp. 323–24); it was concluded in the eleventh number (pp. 589–92). For discussion of the entire report, see *KMA*, pp. 168–70.

Vol. 3, No. 11 (1 January 1819)[52]

Containing:

Benjamin Robert Haydon, ‘On the Injustice of Reynolds, in his Comparison of Raffaelle with Michaelangiolo [*sic*]’ (pp. 531–41)[53]

‘R.’ [Benjamin Robert Haydon], ‘A Reply to “A Defence of the Royal Academy”, in the 10th Number of Annals of the Fine Arts: Taken from the Times Daily Paper’ (pp. 542–51)[54]

James Elmes, ‘On the Introduction of Casts from the Elgin Marbles into Russia’ (pp. 565–70)[55]

Vol. 4, No. 12 (1 April 1819)[56]

Containing:

William Hazlitt, ‘An Account of the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds’ (pp. 34–48)[57]

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[52] ‘On the First of January 1819, was Published [...] No. XI, of ANNALS of the FINE ARTS’ (*New Times*, 12 January 1819, p. 1); see also *Morning Post*, 8 February 1819, p. 2.

[53] Haydon’s marginalia in his copy of the third edition of *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (1801) prefigure his argument in this essay (see Frederick W. Hilles, ‘Reynolds among the Romantics’, in *Literary Theory and Structure: Essays in Honor of William K. Wimsatt*, ed. by Frank Brady, John Palmer, and Martin Price (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 267–83 (pp. 276–77)); see also *CTT*, II, 174–75.

[54] For the authorship of this essay, see Kearney (1972), p. 278. The tenth number reprinted the ‘Defence of the Royal Academy’ (pp. 392–96), an anonymous article originally published in *The Times* for 1 July 1818 (p. 3).

[55] First published in the *Examiner* for 15 November 1818 (pp. 730–31).

[56] ‘On the 1st of April was published [...] No. XII. of ANNALS of the FINE ARTS’ (*Observer*, 5 April 1819, p. 1); see also *The Times*, 17 April 1819, p. 2.

[57] First published in the *Champion* for 27 November 1814 (p. 381) and for 4 December 1814 (pp. 391–92).

‘P. R.’ [Bryan Waller Procter], ‘Sonnet, Descriptive of a Painting of Nicolo [*sic*] Poussin’ (pp. 162–63)[58]

Charles Lamb, ‘Lines, on the Celebrated Picture by Leonardo da Vinci, Called the Virgin of the Rocks’ (pp. 163–64)[59]

Vol. 4, No. 13 (1 July 1819)[60]

Containing:

William Hazlitt, ‘An Account of the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds’ (pp. 165–78)[61]

Benjamin Robert Haydon, ‘On the Cartoon of the Sacrifice at Lystra’ (pp. 226–47)[62]

‘†’ [John Keats], ‘Ode to the Nightingale’ (pp. 354–56)[63]

Vol. 4, No. 14 (1 October 1819)[64]

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[58] Reprinted from the first volume of Leigh Hunt’s *Literary Pocket-Book* (p. 224), which was published in early December 1818 (see *Statesman*, 8 December 1818, p. 1; and *Morning Chronicle*, 10 December 1818, p. 2). In the *Literary Pocket-Book*, too, Procter’s poem appeared as a work by ‘P. R.’ In his undated letter (written probably in December 1818) to Charles Cowden Clarke, Hunt disclosed that ‘P. R.’ was Procter’s pseudonym (see Charles Cowden Clarke and Mary Cowden Clarke, *Recollections of Writers* (London: Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1878), p. 201; and John Barnard, ‘Leigh Hunt and Charles Cowden Clarke, 1812–18’, in *Leigh Hunt: Life, Poetics, Politics*, ed. by Nicholas Roe (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 32–57 (pp. 49–51)).

[59] Reprinted from *The Works of Charles Lamb*, 2 vols (London: Ollier, 1818), I, 51–52.

[60] ‘On the 1st of July was published […] No. XIII. of ANNALS of the FINE ARTS’ (*Morning Post*, 5 July 1819, p. 2).

[61] First published in the *Champion* for 25 December 1814 (pp. 415–16).

[62] First published in the *Examiner* for 2 May 1819 (pp. 285–87) and for 9 May 1819 (pp. 300–01).

[63] The author is identified as ‘Mr. Keats’ in the index of the volume (p. 672). The poem was later reprinted in John Keats, *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1820), pp. 107–12, as ‘Ode to a Nightingale’.

[64] ‘On the 1st of October was published […] No. XIV. of ANNALS OF THE FINE ARTS’ (*Literary Gazette*, 2 October 1819, p. 640).

Containing:

‘A.’ [Benjamin Robert Haydon], ‘Vindication of Sir Joshua Reynolds from the Attempts Made in Mr. Farington’s Memoir to Prove That He Was Wrong in his Quarrel with the Royal Academy; Addressed Principally to the Nobility, and to those among Them, Still Living, Who Were Sir Joshua’s Friends’ (pp. 357–84)[65]

William Hazlitt, ‘On the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds: No. III’ (pp. 385–97)[66]

Robert Southey, ‘The Painter of Florence’ (pp. 497–99)[67]

Vol. 4, No. 15 (1 January 1820)[68]

Containing:

William Hazlitt, ‘On Gusto’ (pp. 543–49)[69]

‘†’ [John Keats], ‘On a Grecian Urn’ (pp. 638–39)[70]

‘Barry Cornwall’ [Bryan Waller Procter], ‘Sonnet to Michel Agnolo [*sic*]’ (p. 640)[71]

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[65] For the authorship of this essay, see Olney (1933), p. 417; and Kearney (1972), p. 279.

[66] First published in the *Champion* for 8 January 1815 (pp. 15–16).

[67] First published in the *Morning Post* for 2 November 1798 (p. 2); thereafter collected in Matthew Gregory Lewis, ed., *Tales of Wonder*, 2 vols (London: Bulmer, 1801), I, 187–90, and several other volumes, before being reprinted in the *Annals*. Originally entitled ‘The Pious Painter: A Catholic Story’, the poem was composed in two parts. Yet, for unknown reasons, the *Annals* reprinted the first part only.

[68] ‘On the 1st of January were published […] No. 15, ANNALS of the FINE ARTS’ (*The Times*, 21 January 1820, p. 4).

[69] First published in the *Examiner* for 26 May 1816 (pp. 332–33); thereafter collected in William Hazlitt [and Leigh Hunt], *The Round Table: A Collection of Essays on Literature, Men, and Manners*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Constable, 1817), II, 20–27.

[70] The author is identified as ‘Mr. Keats’ in the index of the volume (p. 672). The poem was later reprinted in Keats, *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems*, pp. 113–16, as ‘Ode on a Grecian Urn’.

[71] Reprinted from ‘Barry Cornwall’ [Bryan Waller Procter], *Dramatic Scenes and Other Poems* (London: Ollier, 1819), p. 162.

Vol. 5, No. 16 (1 May 1820)[72]

Containing:

Sir Humphry Davy, 'Some Experiments and Observations on the Colours Used in Painting by the Ancients' (pp. 1–36)[73]

'A.' [Benjamin Robert Haydon], 'The Miseries of an Artist' (pp. 76–84)[74]

Henry Hart Milman, 'The Belvidere [*sic*] Apollo' (pp. 218–19)[75]

Vol. 5, No. 17 (1 August 1820)[76]

Containing:

William Hazlitt, 'An Inquiry, Whether the Fine Arts Are Promoted by Academies and Public Institutions?' (pp. 284–98)[77]

James Elmes, 'Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon' (pp. 335–78)[78]

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[72] 'On the 1st of May was published […] No. XVI. of ANNALS OF THE FINE ARTS' (*Champion*, 11 June 1820, p. 384).

[73] Reprinted (with an introduction by Haydon) from the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* for 1815 (pp. 97–124).

[74] For the authorship of this essay, see Olney (1933), p. 417; and Kearney (1972), p. 279.

[75] Reprinted from *Oxford Prize Poems: Being a Collection of Such English Poems as Have at Various Times Obtained Prizes in the University of Oxford*, 5th edn (Oxford: Parker, 1816), pp. 177–82 (or 6th edn (Oxford: Parker, 1819), pp. 155–58). Milman won the Newdigate Prize with this poem in 1812.

[76] In the *Champion* for 11 June 1820 (p. 384), this number was advertised as to be published on 1 July 1820. However, the number could not have been issued before 26 July (it has a reference on page 369 to Haydon's essay which was published in *The Times* on that day). External evidence further suggests that this number was published on or before 5 August (see *Morning Chronicle*, 5 August 1820, p. 2). Its actual publication date was arguably 1 August, since it printed William Harvey's engraving of Haydon's portrait which has the description that reads: '*Pub.^{d} for the proprietors, Aug^{t} 1. 1820*'.

[77] First published in the *Champion* for 11 September 1814 (pp. 294–95).

[78] For discussion of this biographical account of Haydon, see Higgins, *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine*, pp. 133, 136.

‘Carlagnulus’, ‘C. L.’ [Charles Lamb], ‘In tabulam eximii pictoris B. R. Haydoni, in quá Solymæi, adveniente domino, palmas in viá prosternentes, mirá arte depinguntur’ and ‘Translation of the Above’ (pp. 439–40)[79]

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As a coda, I will list below those three copies of the *Annals* that formerly belonged to Haydon. The first is a five-volume set that later came into the possession of William Roberts, who owned it at least between 1920 and 1938: the volumes contain Haydon’s marginal notes, including those on Keats’s Nightingale ode and the Grecian Urn ode.[80] Possibly, this is the copy which the artist in debt had to relinquish in the summer of 1823.[81] The second is a set that Clarke Olney reported as in the collection of the Detroit Public Library as of 16 December 1933.[82] While this set seems to have no commentary on Keats, it is significant that Haydon’s annotations identify many of the anonymous or pseudonymous contributions. Unfortunately, I could not find the current whereabouts of these two sets. Lastly, the third is a separate copy of the fourth volume, now at the Princeton University Library: Haydon’s marginalia in this copy are concerned mainly with authorship and mention Keats’s two odes, too (in a way slightly different from the Roberts copy).[83]

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[79] The Latin poem, first published in the *Champion* for 6 May 1820, was reprinted from the *Champion* for 7 May 1820. The author’s own ‘Translation’ of it into English was first published in the *Champion* for 13 May 1820. In the *Champion*, as in the *Annals*, the two poems originally appeared under the signatures, ‘Carlagnulus’ and ‘C. L.’, respectively. For more about these poems, see Appendix II, p. 284.

[80] See William Roberts, ‘Keats and Haydon’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 25 March 1920, p. 201; and William Roberts, ‘Ode on a Grecian Urn’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 August 1938, p. 544.

[81] See A. N. L. Munby, ed., *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, 12 vols (London: Mansell, 1971–75), IX: *Poets and Men of Letters*, ed. by Roy Park (1974), 534. The other two copies contain Haydon’s annotations dated *after* 1823.

[82] See Olney (1933).

[83] Princeton, Princeton University Library, RHT 19th-287 (see also Chapter 6, p. 204).

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[2] Digitized copy available at: <https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:10358> [accessed 3 April 2021].

[3] These items are yet to be catalogued.

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European Magazine

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Globe

Good Words

Heywood Advertiser

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Indicator

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Leigh Hunt's London Journal

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Literary Gazette

Literary Journal

Literary Pocket-Book

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Monthly Magazine

Morning Advertiser

Morning Chronicle

Morning Post

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Nation & Athenæum

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