

The Promethean Spark, Or, The Classics Unbound: The Role of Prometheus in the Work of Lord Byron, Percy Shelley and Mary Shelley

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The debate over the relevance of the classical tradition in the modern world is not just a late twentieth century phenomenon: it was a seriously contested issue two hundred years ago among the first English Romantic writers. The earliest of these authors, Blake, Coleridge and Wordsworth, rejected the classics as an impediment to their literary revolution. The next wave of romantics, on the other hand, led by Lord Byron, Percy Shelley, and Mary Shelley, not only reappropriated the classical tradition, but actually made it a rallying point in their assault on convention. Like the Greek authors Hesiod and Aeschylus almost two and a half millennia earlier, they discovered in the mythical figure of Prometheus a powerful and timely symbol for the eternal problem of the proper relationship of humanity to the powers that control its universe.

Romantics in general, as described by Morse Peckham, embrace the values of "change, imperfection, growth, diversity, the creative imagination, the unconscious."¹ Blake, Coleridge and Wordsworth saw the classical tradition as the source of much that they disliked in conventional literary practice. Coleridge, for instance, criticized the classicism of Alexander Pope, saying that his works were "characterized not so much by poetic thoughts, as by thoughts translated into the language of poetry."² In a similar vein, Wordsworth, in his preface to the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, explained his preference for using "language really used by men" and "situations from common life" in order to connect with "elementary feelings."³

Of these three early romantics, however, the most uncompromising was William Blake, who wrote in his preface to his poem *Milton*:

The Stolen and Perverted Writings of Homer & Ovid, of Plato and Cicero, which all men ought to condemn, are set up by artifice against the sublime of the Bible . . . Shakespeare & Milton were both curb'd by the general malady & infection from the silly Greek & Latin slaves of the Sword.⁴

To Blake, the ancient literary canon was one manifestation of the "mind-forged manacles" that he felt ham-

pered true creativity. In another place he went so far as to say:

The Classics! It is the Classics, & not Goths nor Monks, that desolate Europe with wars.⁵

Small wonder that classical allusions are virtually nonexistent in his work!

These earlier authors believed that an over-reliance on the classics led to an intellectualizing of poetry that prevented it from making a direct, genuine connection with their readers' experience. Lord Byron and the Shelleys were no less interested in making an authentic experiential connection with their audience, but they found much in the classical *corpus* that touched upon "elemental feelings." They were drawn also by the suitability of classical figures for representing *inner* experience,⁶ especially the experience of the human spirit struggling to transcend constraints both external and self-imposed. These three later writers all used the mythological figure Prometheus to represent this inner struggle.

In Greek mythology Prometheus was a member of the pre-Olympian race of Titans. He was credited with giving fire to humanity and, in some instances, with creating the human race itself, a role which scholars refer to as *plasticator*, a Latin term meaning "former" or "shaper." His name was generally understood among the Greeks to be a masculine form of the noun *Προμηθεία*, "foresight."⁷ Foresight, therefore, is one of his chief attributes. Despite the magnitude of his gifts to humanity, he seems to have been a "minor figure" in the classical tradition, except in Athens, where he was the patron of potters and had a yearly procession in his honor.⁸ On the few occasions when he does receive a major literary treatment, however, he becomes a powerful symbol of humanity's relationship to the power of heaven.

Prometheus' earliest literary appearances are in the two major works by the poet Hesiod, the *Theogony* (521-616) and *Works and Days* (47-105). Both accounts include the main outlines of the Prometheus myth in antiquity: Prometheus tricks Zeus into accept-

ing the worst parts of the animal at a sacrifice (thus explaining the Greek practice of keeping the most edible portions of the victim for themselves when sacrificing); he also steals fire, and gives it to humans, which enables them to withstand Zeus' desire to destroy them. Zeus, as a punishment, creates the woman Pandora, who brings evil into the world, and punishes Prometheus himself by ordering him to be chained to a mountainside for eternity. Here an eagle eats out his liver every day; since his is immortal, the organ grows back every night, giving the eagle continuous employment and Prometheus endless torment.

Despite the grim details, however, Hesiod's Prometheus is not to be taken quite seriously.⁹ He has been called a "petty trickster"¹⁰ whose "fore-thought and cleverness are of a short-sighted and petty kind, no match for Zeus' wisdom."¹¹ Hesiod's main purpose in using the Prometheus myth is to demonstrate the omnipotence of Zeus, which is such that even forethought itself cannot out-think him. Lest his audience miss the point, Hesiod concludes each retelling of the tale with a blunt warning of the invincibility of "the mind of Zeus" (*Theog.* 613; *Op.* 105). It is clear that this Prometheus is not intended to be a sympathetic figure. The "hero" of both of the poems is Zeus and, despite his harsh treatment of Prometheus (and all others who get in his way), Hesiod very carefully shows the god to be a *legitimate* ruler. He takes up his rule, for instance, at the urging of the other gods (*Theog.* 883-85). He also, significantly, marries Themis (*Theog.* 901), whose name means "established custom," "in order to beget Good-law (Eunomia) and Peace."¹² Prometheus is simply one more detail in Hesiod's grand design showing how Zeus brings order out of chaos, and so makes civilized life possible.

It is several centuries before Prometheus makes his next notable appearance in a work of literature. Aside from a few passing references, and rather more frequent appearances in vase painting (where the visual possibilities of his predicament seem to have made him an appealing subject), no author shows much interest in Prometheus until the fifth century BC.¹³ Even then, with the exception of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, these are all "either overt comedies or at least written in a humorous manner."¹⁴ There are even humorous overtones in Plato's description of Prometheus' creation of the human race in *Protagoras*, the earliest extant instance of the *plasticator* myth.¹⁵

It is not until Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* that we see a Prometheus worthy of the admiration of later generations. According to Herington, Aeschylus himself "seems originally to have shared the general atti-

tude toward Prometheus."¹⁶ The Titan figures in several of his comic satyr-plays. In *Prometheus Bound*, however, Aeschylus was interested in examining the relationship of the individual to the power of the state and society (a topic as we shall see, of great interest to Percy Shelley as well), and for that he needed a very different Prometheus.

Prometheus Bound was itself probably just the first play in a dramatic trilogy, much as *Agamemnon* leads off the *Oresteia*. In this case, however, unlike the *Oresteia*, there is only fragmentary evidence of the other two plays.¹⁷ The surviving play, therefore, encompasses a relatively short segment of the Prometheus myth (and of Aeschylus' dramatic scheme): Prometheus is chained to his rock by Hephaistos, Power, and Violence; he discusses his misfortunes with the chorus (the daughters of Ocean) and Ocean himself; he listens to Io recount her misfortunes, how she resisted Zeus' sexual advances, but was nevertheless transformed into a crazed half-heifer by a jealous Hera; he prophesies both reconciliation with Zeus, and more ominously, the overthrow of Zeus by a son greater than he; he is visited by Hermes, who demands to know who is to be the mother of this son; he refuses to reveal the secret, and is therefore blasted into the bowels of the earth by Zeus, from which he will eventually return to even greater torment.

In his retelling of the story, Aeschylus makes a number of sharp departures from Hesiod, some of which seem to be inventions of the dramatist.¹⁸ Most of these innovations serve to ennoble Prometheus, and to make him a more worthy adversary of Zeus than Hesiod's "petty trickster." Thus Aeschylus mentions neither Prometheus' trickery in sacrificing, nor Pandora, nor Prometheus' hapless brother Epimetheus ("Hindsight"). The Titan is no longer Zeus' cousin, but his older uncle, the son rather than the grandson of Earth; Earth herself is here identified with Themis (*PV* 211), "right" or "custom", who was instead the bride of Zeus in the *Theogony* (notice who has "right" on his side!). This new, improved Prometheus not only sided with Zeus in his battle against the Titans, but was actually the chief architect of his victory (*PV* 221-23). He not only gives fire to humanity, and saves the human race from destruction at the hands of Zeus, but actually gives humans intelligence itself (*PV* 443-44). In fact, if we are to believe Prometheus' own testimony, "all skills belonging to mortals are from Prometheus" (*PV* 506). The dramatist also adds the story of Io, who belongs to an entirely different tradition.¹⁹ Her story, and Prometheus' compassion for her, intensify the effect of ennobling the Titan, while further emphasizing

the cruelty of Zeus.

At this point it might appear that Aeschylus has turned the tables on Hesiod, making Prometheus the hero and Zeus an unredeemed villain. A closer look at the text, however, and at what we know of the rest of the trilogy, suggests that Aeschylus intends something much subtler and more complex. It is true that Zeus is described as harsh, arbitrary, deceitful, and stubborn; but what emerges on further examination is that most of the same words are also used to describe Prometheus himself.²⁰ The recognition that Prometheus has most of Zeus' bad qualities suggests that, conversely, Zeus might have some of Prometheus' good qualities. Prometheus' prophecies of reconciliation with Zeus (192-95), and of the god's future gentle treatment of Io (848-49) point in this direction. Fragments from the sequel, *Prometheus Unbound*, actually describe Zeus as "pitying," "an emotion which is utterly alien to Zeus in the *Bound* . . . , there being attributed to Prometheus along."²¹ The Titan and the Tyrant are therefore closely identified with each other. One can even see them as different facets of the same mind, as Percy Shelley suggests.²² Aeschylus, in fact, seems to be depicting a Zeus who, unlike earlier gods, "has a new and extraordinary faculty: the power to think and learn by suffering".²³ The dramatist is really doing something similar to what Hesiod does in the *Theogony*, and to what he himself does in the *Oresteia*: He describes the progression from chaos into order. Here, it is through the integration of force and power, personified by Zeus, with the qualities of foresight and compassion, in the person of Prometheus.

The Romantics, of course, did not enjoy the benefit of the past hundred and seventy-five years of classical scholarship. It was therefore easy for them to "Romanticize" the Titan of *Prometheus Bound* into an unblemished, noble-minded hero, and Zeus into a base tyrant. It was his selfless stand against tyranny, with its application to the contemporary political, social, and literary environment, that first attracted them. In addition, they saw Prometheus as the only one among the Olympians to show compassion for the human race. He is, according to Percy Shelley, "the type of the highest perfection of moral and intellectual nature, impelled by the purest and truest motives to the best and noblest ends."²⁴ Shelley thus combines compassion (a recognition of the organic connection between living things) with the values of creativity, enlightenment, and resistance to tyranny in one personification of the Romantic ideal.

The fullest Romantic development of the Prometheus theme is Percy Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*. It was commonly believed in the nineteenth century

that, in Aeschylus' play of the same name, Prometheus makes a deal with Zeus in which he tells Zeus that it is Thetis who will bear a child greater than its father. Since Zeus has a sexual interest in Thetis, this information saves his throne, and so he allows Heracles to set Prometheus free. Shelley, however, has something else in mind: "I was averse from a catastrophe so feeble as that of reconciling the Champion with the oppressor of mankind."²⁵ In Shelley's play Prometheus triumphs when, impelled by the spirit of love, he withdraws a malevolent curse he has issued against Jupiter (Shelley uses the Latin designation for Zeus). Since the tyrant Jupiter, as the embodiment of hatred and lust for power, can exercise power over the minds of others only by inspiring them to hate, he is powerless once Prometheus rejects hatred. Prometheus' embrace of the power of love frees Demogorgon, the offspring of Zeus' violent and forceful union with Thetis, "the revolutionary consequence of his tyrannical acts,"²⁶ to remove Jupiter from his throne. When the tyrant falls, not only is Prometheus set free, but the entire surrounding world undergoes a wonderful transformation (3.4.100-4):

There was a change: the impalpable thin air
And the all-circling sunlight were transformed
As if the sense of love dissolved in them
Had folded itself round the sphere'd world.

This climax is strongly reminiscent of that of Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* where, in an unconscious act of love, the Mariner "blesses" the water snakes swimming around his ship and sees *his* entire world undergo a similar rebirth. The difference between the two is that Shelley uses classical imagery, which Coleridge has rejected, to make that same experience of unconditional love come alive for his readers.

Prometheus Unbound can be understood on a number of different levels. On one level, we see a clear depiction of one individual facing the tyranny imposed by another: The tyrant controls his subject through the hatred of the oppressed for the oppressor; once love has removed that hatred, the ruler has lost his power over the mind and will, if not the body, of the ruled. But Shelley suggests a further level of meaning in his preface to the play:

The imagery which I have employed will be found, in many instances, to have been drawn from the operations of the human mind. . .²⁷

One can view the action of the play as taking place within the landscape of the mind, and the characters as representing psychological qualities. Like Freud, Shelley believed that classical imagery was particularly suitable for personifying psychological traits.²⁸ Here, just as oppressive conventions and institutions are the external creations of the people over whom they rule,

the tyrant Jupiter is the power of hatred, an *internal* creation of the psyche, which is depicted as suppressing the mind's creative power. Since the tyrant's power is wholly dependent upon the willing submission of the subject, Prometheus can truly say "O'er all things but thyself I gave thee power / And my own will" (1.1.273-74). Since the obstacles to the mind's creativity are actually self-created (an echo, again, of Blake's "mind-forged manacles"), they can be removed by the power of love.

The play can also be understood as a description of how our outlook, and our expression of it, creates external reality. Thomas Frosch explains:

At the beginning [Prometheus] focused on what he hated and wished to destroy, and he got in return a world ruled by Jupiter, a principle of pure aggression; now he focuses on what he desires, and in return Asia [the personification of Love] enters the play.²⁹

The power of expression to shape reality is given voice in the play itself by Earth, who says (4.415-17):

Language is a perpetual Orphic song,
Which rules with Daedal harmony a throng
Of thoughts and forms, which else senseless and shapeless were.

Byron is equally enamored of the hero of *Prometheus Bound*, but his outlook is quite different. He is described by Morse Peckham as a "negative romantic," that is, an artist who has left behind the pre-romantic mind set, "but has not yet arrived at a reintegration of his thought and art in terms of dynamic organicism"³⁰—"dynamic organicism" is the term Peckham uses to summarize the Romantic world-view that embraces both an appreciation of growth and diversity as well as the connectedness of all reality. Stephen Behrendt goes even further, describing Byron's work as reflecting "a spiritual (or even religious) irresolution that had long troubled [him],"³¹ and a "crisis of self-knowledge and self-assurance."³² Byron focuses largely on the passing of the old order, therefore, and does not explore any new unifying concept such as the idea of universal love that is developed by both Coleridge and Shelley. Naturally, his treatment of Prometheus will be unlike Shelley's bold savior. Where Percy Shelley brings his dramatic poem to a climax with Prometheus' defeat of Jupiter, Byron's Prometheus is never released from his torment.

Byron's short poem "Prometheus" starts with a picture of the Titan that is much like Percy Shelley's at the beginning of *Prometheus Unbound* (35-38):

Thy Godlike crime was to be kind
'To render with thy precepts less
The sum of human wretchedness

And strengthen man with his own mind . . .

Thus far we see a compassionate Prometheus who brings gifts of enlightenment. But Byron's faith in the power of Prometheus (and, by extension, the human intellect) to prevail is much less sanguine than Shelley's (45-54):

Thou art a symbol and a sign
To mortals of their fate and force
Like thee, man is in part divine
A troubled stream from a pure source
And man in portions can foresee
His own funereal destiny,
His wretchedness and resistance,
To which his spirit may oppose
Itself—and equal to all woes . . .

Byron sees humanity defying, but not conquering, the forces which oppress it. At best it is "Triumphant where it dares defy, / And making death a victory" (58-59).

Byron expands on this interpretation of Prometheus in his drama *Manfred*. His protagonist, Manfred, is reminiscent of Prometheus in a number of ways. When he stands on a mountaintop and calls for an eagle to rip his flesh, it is a strong visual echo of the Titan similarly tormented on *his* mountaintop. That he is cast in a Promethean role is further made clear when he says (3.104-7):

I have had those earthly visions
And noble aspirations in my youth
To make my own the mind of other men
The enlightener of men . . .

Like Prometheus, Manfred seeks to bring the fire of creative inspiration to humanity.

In a drama which, like Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, can be seen to take place within the mind of the protagonist,³³ Manfred struggles with the spirits who control his world. At one point he says to them (1.154-57):

The mind, the spirit, the Promethean spark,
The lightning of my being is as bright,
Pervading, and far darting as your own,
And shall not yield to yours, though coop'd in clay!

At the end, when the spirits with whom he has been vying come to take him, his resistance turns them back. Following the example of Prometheus, he remains true to his values, even in the face of defeat. The mortal Manfred is killed by his enemies, but he dies unsubdued, having never discovered the transformative power of love that is the fulcrum of Percy Shelley's and Coleridge's poems.

Both Percy Shelley and Byron paint a detailed picture of Prometheus himself. Mary Shelley uses Prometheus in a rather different way. Her *Frankenstein, Or, The Modern Prometheus* is not a celebration

of the triumph of the human mind; it is rather a cautionary tale about its excesses in which her would-be Prometheus *Plasticator*, Victor Frankenstein, acts time after time in ironic contradiction to the mythical Prometheus.

We first encounter this ambivalence on the title page, where the author has included the following lines from Milton's *Paradise Lost*:

Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
To mould me man? Did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me?

This quote foreshadows Victor's failure to account for the feelings of other beings whom his actions affect (especially those of the life he calls into being), a striking lack of *προμηθεία* which is, in fact, his downfall. This lack of foresight is most notably apparent in his utter failure to consider how the life he is creating will fit into the pre-existing world. The enormity of what he is doing in creating a new life form does not become apparent to him until his creation actually comes alive. At this point, overcome with horror, he flees and allows the creature to escape, again showing no forethought as to what impact it might have upon the outside world—nor does this thought seem to occur to him at all until several years later, when the monster kills Victor's own brother.

Frankenstein does not even have the foresight to draw the obvious conclusions from this experience, or from the events subsequent: The monster has killed his brother; has caused Justine, a young woman who had been staying with the Frankenstein family, to be falsely convicted and executed for the murder; has killed Victor's life-long friend Henri Clerval; has gone so far as to describe to Victor how lonely and outcast he feels, and has evinced a desire to inflict the same sort of suffering upon his creator, which he has been doing by killing off all of Victor's family and friends. In spite of all this, it does not occur to Victor that the monster will endeavor to kill Victor's bride, Elizabeth, and not Frankenstein himself, on their wedding night. He is taken utterly by surprise when he finds Elizabeth dead.

The implication of Victor's story can be seen in the actions of Walton, the explorer through whose letters home to his sister the story is actually told. Walton has been trying to force a sea-passage around the north of the Asian land mass, which is where he encounters Victor pursuing the monster. Like Victor, Walton has been trying to impose his will on the forces of nature. After hearing Frankenstein's story, and witnessing his demise, Walton decides, against his inclinations, to give up his quest and return home. His course is more foresighted.

Victor is an ironic Prometheus: In trying to create life he creates death for his family, and a sort of death-in-life for himself. This is not to say that Mary Shelley's view is opposed to Percy Shelley's; rather, she takes a different approach. Despite the Byronic negativity of the outcome, it is clear that Victor's "true failure stems from the poverty of his imagination and from the inadequacy of his love."³⁴ Victor is not really a Prometheus at all: He much more resembles Percy Shelley's Jupiter. He creates life, not out of love—he shows no compassion whatsoever for his creation—but out of an urge to power. He wants to create a life-form under his control. Likewise, if Victor is Jupiter, then the defiant monster becomes, himself, a Prometheus. Muriel Spark argues that the "Or" of the title, emphasized by enclosing commas, implies that "the monster is an alternate Frankenstein."³⁵ The further implication is that, again, they are different facets of the same mind, engaged in internal conflict.

It has been suggested that Mary Shelley wrote her novel as a sort of feminist manifesto against the domination of women. Given her interest in the work of her mother, the feminist writer Mary Wollstonecraft, and her own experience, this certainly seems plausible.³⁶ The novel can also be interpreted as a warning against the excesses of science in the dawning industrial age. In a sense, it is both, because both of these interpretations deal with the theme of people acting, not out of a spirit of love, but out of a blind urge to control other people and things. *Frankenstein*, then is not a celebration of the individual who emulates Prometheus; rather, it is a warning against the dangers of trying to make oneself into Zeus.

The centrality of Prometheus in their work amply demonstrates that these three writers do not at all see the classical tradition as stale, stifling, or lifeless. It provides them with the ideal personification of the very modern ideas of enlightenment, human creativity, and universal love.

Nor were the three authors compelled to submerge their individuality in employing the same material. Indeed, their widely varying treatments of Prometheus highlight the fundamental differences between the three as well. Percy Shelley and Byron, for instance, identify so strongly with the mythical figure of Prometheus that he becomes an idealized version of themselves. Shelley believed that it was a poet's role to help create a more perfect social and political order. In "A Defense Of Poetry" he describes poetry as bringing "light and fire from those regions where the owl-winged faculty of calculation dare not ever soar." These are the attributes of the Prometheus who brings fire from

heaven, and uses the power of love to overthrow the tyranny of Jupiter in *Prometheus Unbound*. Byron refers to the Titan as "fellow sufferer."³⁸ A brilliant satirist and defiant social outcast, Byron never reached the stage of describing a new, better world to replace the old. The defeated but defiant Prometheus depicted in "Prometheus" and *Manfred* likewise sees victory as a matter of refusing to surrender to a "ruling principle of Hate" ("Prometheus" 20) which he can never overcome. In contrast, Mary Shelley describes an anti-Prometheus in *Frankenstein*. Her "Modern Prometheus", Victor Frankenstein, creates death where he tried to create life precisely because of his lack of the Promethean qualities of compassion and foresight. Like Percy Shelley and Byron, but in her own way, Mary Shelley uses the potent symbolism of this ancient mythological figure to attack modern forms of oppression.

In embracing Prometheus, these three actually carried the Romantic concern for growth, organicity, and creativity further than did those writers who rejected the classical tradition. They chose, not to deny the ongoing story that has fed, and been nourished by, countless previous generations, but to absorb it, and so pass it on reinvigorated to the generations that follow.

NOTES

- ¹M. Peckham, "Toward a Theory of Romanticism," in *British Romantic Poets: Recent Revelations*, S. K. Kumar, ed. (London 1966) 11.
²W. H. Marshall, ed., *The Major English Romantic Poets* (New York 1966) 9.
³Marshall (above, note 2) 104.
⁴G. Keynes, ed., *Blake: Complete Writings* (London 1967) 480.
⁵Keynes (above, note 4) 778.
⁶Shelley, P. B. "A Defense of Poetry" and "Introduction to *Prometheus Bound*" in C. Baker, ed., *The Selected Poetry of Shelley* (New York 1951) 443, hereafter **Shelley**.
⁷M. Griffith, *Aeschylus Prometheus Bound* (New York 1983)

2, hereafter **Griffith**. Line citations for *Prometheus Bound* are from this text.

- ⁸Griffith 2.
⁹J. Scully and C. J. Herington, trans. and ed., *Aeschylus: Prometheus Bound* (New York 1975) 5, hereafter **Scully and Herington**.
¹⁰Griffith 6.
¹¹Griffith 2.
¹²A. N. Athanassakis, *Hesiod: Theogony, Works and Days, Shield* (Baltimore 1991) 9.
¹³Griffith 3.
¹⁴Scully and Herington 5.
¹⁵Scully and Herington 5-6.
¹⁶Scully and Herington 6.
¹⁷Scully and Herington 16.
¹⁸Griffith 6; Scully and Herington 8.
¹⁹Griffith 6.
²⁰Scully and Herington 15.
²¹Scully and Herington 17.
²²Shelley 443.
²³G. Murray, *Aeschylus* (London 1964) 101.
²⁴Shelley 443.
²⁵Shelley 443.
²⁶T. R. Frosch, "Aggression and Regression in Prometheus Unbound," in *Approaches to teaching Shelley's Poetry*, S. Hall, ed. (New York 1991) 73.
²⁷Shelley 443.
²⁸Shelley 443.
²⁹Frosch (above, note 26) 71.
³⁰Peckham (above, note 1) 12.
³¹S. C. Behrendt, "Manfred and Skepticism," in F. W. Shilstone, ed., *Approaches to Teaching Byron's Poetry* (New York 1991) 123, hereafter **Shilstone**.
³²Behrendt (above, note 31) 125.
³³A. Richardson, "Teaching *Manfred* as Mental Theatre," in Shilstone 128.
³⁴W. A. Walling, *Mary Shelley* (New York 1972) 47.
³⁵M. Spark, *Mary Shelley* (New York 1987) 161.
³⁶L. Wolf, ed., *Mary Shelley The Annotated Frankenstein* (New York 1977) xiv-xv.
³⁷Shelley 517.
³⁸G. Highet, "The Poet and his Vulture," in *Byron: A Collection of Critical Essays*, Paul West, ed. (Englewood Cliffs 1963) 145.