Bodleian Shelley MSS. Re-examined: A Re-edited Text of Some of Shelley's Prose Works in the Bodleian MSS. (IV)

TATSUO TOKOO

'A Discourse on the Manners of the Antient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love'

The first half of this essay was published by Mary Shelley in her *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments by Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1840), with the title 'Essay on the Literature, the Arts, and the Manners of the Athenians: a Fragment.' As the title shows, she presented it as an incomplete fragment, explaining in a footnote: "It was intended to be a commentary on the Symposium, or Banquet of Plato, but it breaks off at the moment when the main subject is about to be discussed." There exists, however, an interleaved copy of the *Essays, Letters from Abroad...* into which she transcribed the second half of the essay, the last paragraph of which indicates that the essay is more or less complete. Although it is possible that before the publication of the 1840 edition she was unaware of the existence of the second part contained in a different notebook, it is more likely that she deliberately suppressed it. The reason may have been, as James A. Notopoulos argues*, that the subject of the discussion in that part seemed to her "offensive to English taste." The entire essay was published for the first time by Roger Ingpen in a limited edition of *Plato's Banquet, Translated from the Greek, A Discourse on the Manners of the Antient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love, Also a Preface to the Banquet by P. B. Shelley...from MSS. in the Possession of Sir John C. E. Shelley-Rolls* (1931). Soon after the manuscripts containing this essay were given to the Bodleian Library, Notopoulos examined them again and published the result in *The Platonism of Shelley* (1949). The text in the Julian edition is identical with Mary's except that it substitutes full stops for a few exclamation marks. Thomas Medwin had printed before Mary two excerpts from the first part of the essay in the *Athenaeum* for 15 and 29 September 1832 and included them in *The Shelley Papers* (1833). Discrepancies between Medwin's text and Mary's are noted in the Julian edition.


- 25 -
In the Textual Notes I have recorded important variants in (1) Essays, Letters . . . , I, 58-69 (MWS); (2) Mary's transcript in the interleaved copy of Essays, Letters . . . —Bodleian Shelley adds. e. 19*—(TS); (3) Plato's Banquet . . . Revised and Enlarged by Roger Ingpen, pp. 3-18 (I); and (4) The Platonism of Shelley, pp. 404-413 (N). I have given in an appendix a transcript of the manuscripts from which my text is derived.

**TEXT**

[Paragraph numbers, and words, phrases, or punctuation marks in square brackets are editorial additions or emendations; MSS. used are indicated in parentheses after each paragraph.]

A Discourse on the manners of the Antient Greeks relative to the subject of love

[1] The period which intervened between the [birth of Pericles] [and] the death of [Aristotle], is undoubtedly, whether considered in itself, or with reference to the effects which it had produced upon the subsequent destinies of civilised man, the most memorable in the history of the world. What was the combination of moral and political circumstances which produced so unparalleled a progress during that short period in literature and the arts, why that progress so rapid and so sustained[,] so soon received a check and became retrograde[,] are problems left to the wonder and conjectures of posterity[. . .] The wrecks and fragments of those subtle and profound minds[,] like the ruins of a fine statue[,] obscurely suggest to us the grandeur and perfection of the whole. Their very language—a type of the understandings of which it was the creation and the image—in variety[,] in simplicity[,] in flexibility and in copiousness[,] excels every other language of the [W]estern world. Their sculptures are such as we in our presumption assume to be the models of ideal truth and beauty, and to which no artist of modern times can produce forms in any degree comparable. Their paintings according to Pliny and Pausanias were full of delicacy and harmony, and some even were powerfully pathetic so as [to] awaken, like tender music or tragic poetry[,] the most overwhelming emotions. We are accustomed to conceive of the painters of the sixteenth century as those who have brought their art to the highest perfection[,] probably because none of the antient paintings have been preserved. For [a]ll the inventive arts maintain as it were a sympathetic connection between each other, being no

* Quoted by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
more than the various expressions of one internal power, modified by different circumstances either of an individual or of society. The paintings of that period would probably bear the same relation as is confessedly borne by the sculptures, to all succeeding ones. Of their music we know little: but the effects which it is said to have produced[,] whether they be attributed to the skill of the composer or the sensibility of his audience[,] are far more powerful than any which we experience from the music of our own times: and if indeed the melody of their compositions were more tender and delicate and inspiring than the melodies of some modern European nations their superiority in this art must have been something wonderful and wholly beyond conception. (MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, pp. 17-20.)

[2] Their poetry seems also to maintain a very high though not so disproportionate a rank in the comparison. Perhaps Shakespeare from the variety and comprehension of his genius is to be considered[,] on the whole, as the greatest individual mind of which we have specimens remaining. Perhaps Dante created imaginations of greater loveliness and energy than any that are to be found in the antient literature of Greece. Perhaps nothing has been discovered in the fragments of the Greek lyric Poets equivalent to the sublime and chivalric sensibility of Petrarch. But as a poet Homer must be acknowledged to excel Shakespeare in the truth, the harmony, the sustained grandeur[,] the satisfying completeness of his images, their exact fitness to the illustration and that to which they belong[.]. Nor could Dante, deficient in conduct[,] plan[,] nature[,] variety and temperance[,] have been brought into comparison with these men but for those fortunate isles laden with golden fruit which alone could tempt any one to embark on the misty ocean of his dark and extravagant fiction. But[,] omitting the comparison of individual minds which could afford no general inference[,] how superior was the spirit and the system of their poetry to that of any other period[!] So that, had any genius equal in other respects to the greatest that ever enlightened the world arisen in that age, he would have been superior to all from this circumstance alone that his conceptions would have assumed a more harmonious and perfect form. For it is worthy of observation that whatever the poets of that [age] produced is as harmonious and perfect as possible. If a drama for instance were the composition of a person of inferior talent, it was still homogeneous and free from inequalities: it was whole, consistent with itself. The compositions of great minds bore throughout the sustained stamp of their greatness. In the poetry of succeeding ages the expectations are often exalted on Icarian wings, and fall, too much disappointed to give a memory and a name to the oblivious pool to which they fell. In physical knowledge Aristotle and Theophrastus had already—no doubt assisted by the labours of those of their predecessors whom they criti[c]ise—made worthy of the maturity of science. The astonishing invention of geometry[,] that series of
discoveries which have enabled man to command the elements and foresee future events before the subjects of his ignorant wonder and have opened as it were the doors of the mysteries of nature[,] had already been brought to great perfection. Metaphysics[,] the science of man[,]s intimate nature, and logic, or the grammar and elementary principles of that science, received from the latter philosophers of the Periclean age a firm basis. All our more exact philosophy is built upon the labours of these great men, and many of the words which we employ in metaphysical distinctions were invented by them to give accuracy and system to their reasonings. The science of morals, or the voluntary conduct of men in relation to themselves or others, dates from this epoch. How inexpressibly bolder and more pure were the doctrines of those great men in comparison with the timid maxims which prevail in the writings of the most esteemed modern moralists[!] They were such as Phocion and Epaminondas and Timoleon who formed themselves on their influence were to the wretched heroes of [our] own age. Their political and religious institutions [are more difficult] to bring into comparison with those of other times. A summary idea may be formed of the worth of any political and religious system by observing the comparative degree of happiness and of intellect produced under its influence. And whilst many institutions and opinions which in antient Greece were obstacles to the improvement of the human race have been abolished among modern nations, how many pernicious superstitions and new contrivances of misrule and unheard[-]of complications of public mischief have not been invented among them by the ever[-]watchful spirit of avarice and tyranny[!] (MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, pp. 22-26.)

[3] The modern nations of the civilized world owe the progress which they have made[—]as well in those physical sciences in which they have already excelled their masters, as in the moral and intellectual inquiries, in which with all the advantage of their experience of the latter it can scarcely be said that they have yet equalled them[—]to what is called the revival of learning: that is[,] the study of the writers of the age which preceded and immediately followed the government of Pericles, or of subsequent writers who were[,] so to speak[,] the rivers flowing from those immortal fountains. And though there seems to be a principle in the modern world[,] which[,] should circumstances analogous to those which modelled the intellectual resources of the age to which we refer into so harmonious a proportion again arise[,] would arrest and perpetuate them[,] and consign their results to a more equal[,] extensive and lasting improvement of the condition of man[——]though justice and the true meaning of human society is[,] if not more accurately[,] more generally understood[—]though perhaps men know more and therefore are more as a mass[,] yet this principle has never been called into action[,] and requires indeed a universal and almost appalling change in the
system of existing things. The study of modern history is the study of kings[,] financiers[,] 90
statesmen and priests: the history of antient Greece is the study of legislators[,] philosophers
and poets—it is the history of men, compared with the history of titles. What the Greeks
were was a reality not a promise. And what we are and hope to be is derived as it were from
the influence and inspiration of these glorious generations. (MS. Shelley adds. e. 11,
pp. 27-29.)

[4] Whatever tends to afford a further illustration of the manners and opinions of those to
whom we owe so much and who were perhaps on the whole the most perfect specimens of
humanity of whom we have authentic record, were infinitely valuable. Let us see their
errors[,] their weaknesses, their daily actions, their familiar conversation, and catch the tone
of their society. When we discover how far the most admirable community ever formed was
removed from that perfection to which human society is impelled by some active power
within each bosom to aspire, how great ought to [be] our hopes, how resolute our strug-
gles[!] For the Greeks of the Periclean [al]ge were widely different from us[.] It is to be
lamented that no modern writer has hitherto dared to shew them precisely as they were.
Barthelemy cannot be denied the praise of industry and system, but he never forgets that he
is a Christian and a Frenchman. Wieland in his delightful novels makes indeed a very
tolerable Pagan, but cherishes too many political prejudices, and refrains from diminishing
the interest of his romances by painting sentiments in which no European of modern times can
possibly sympathize. There is no book which shews the Greeks precisely as they were; they
seem all written for children with the caution that no practise or sentiment highly inconsistent
with our present manners should be mentioned lest those manners should receive outrage and
violation. But there are many to whom the Greek language is inaccessible who ought not to
be excluded by this prudery [from] possess[ing] an exact and comprehensive conception of
the history of man, for there is no knowledge concerning what man has been and may be,
from partaking of which a person can depart, without becoming in some degree more
philosophical, tolerant and just[.] (MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, pp. 29-31.)

[5] One of the chief distinctions between the manners of antient Greece and modern Europe
consisted in the regulations and the sentiments respecting sexual intercourse. Whether this
difference arises from some imperfect influence of the doctrines of Jesus Christ who alleges
the absolute and unconditional equality of all human beings, or from the institutions of
chivalry, or from a certain fundamental difference of physical nature existing in the Celts, or
from a combination of all or any of these causes acting on each other, is a question worthy
of voluminous investigation. The fact is that the modern Europeans have in this circumstance
and in the abolition of slavery made an improvement the most decisive in the regulation of
human society, and all the virtue and the wisdom of the Periclean age arose under other institutions, in spite of the diminution which personal slavery and the inferiority of women[.] recognized by law and by opinion, must have produced in the delicacy[,] the strength, the comprehensiveness and the accuracy of their conceptions, in moral[,] political and metaphysical science, and perhaps in every other art and science. The women[,] thus degraded, became such as it was expected that they should become[.] They possessed except in extraordinary instances the habits and the qualities of slaves. They were probably not extremely beautiful[,] at least there was no such disproportion in the attractions of the external form between the female and the male sex among the Greeks, as exists among the modern Europeans. They were certainly devoid of that moral and intellectual loveliness with which the acquisition of knowledge and the cultivation of sentiment animates, as with another life of overpowering grace, the lineaments and the gestures of every form which it inhabits. Their eyes could not have been deep and intricate from the workings of the mind, and could have entangled no heart in soul-enwoven labyrinths. (MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, pp. 31-34.)

[6] Let it not be imagined that because the Greeks were thus deprived of its legitimate object [they] were incapable of sentimental love, and that this passion is the mere child of chivalry and the literature of modern times[.] This object or its archetype forever exists in the mind which selects among those who resemble it, that which most resembles it, and instinctively fills up the interstices of the imperfect image, in the same manner as the imagination moulds and completes the shapes in clouds or in the fire into the resemblances of whatever form[—]animal[,] building[,] &c.[—]happens to be present to it. Man is in his wildest state a social being: [a] certain degree of civi[li]zation and refinement ever produces the want of sympathies still more intimate and complete: and the gratification of the senses is no longer all that is sought in sexual connexion. It soon becomes a very small part of that profound and complicated sentiment which we call Love, which is rather the universal thirst for a communion not merely of the senses but of our whole nature[,] intellectual, imaginative and sensitive[,] and which, when individualised, becomes an imperious necessity only to be satisfied by the complete or partial[,] actual or supposed fulfilment of its claims. This want grows more powerful in proportion to the development which our nature receives from civilization; for man never ceases to be a social being. [T]he sexual impulse[,] which is only one, and often a small part of those claims, serves, from its obvious and external nature, as a kind of type or expression of the rest, as common basis; an acknowledged and visible link. Still it is a claim which even derives a strength not its own from the accessory circumstances which surround it and one which our nature thirsts to satisfy. To estimate this[,] observe the degree of intensity and durability of the love of the male towards the female in animals and
savages, and acknowledge all the duration and intensity observable in the love of civilised beings beyond that of savages to be produced from other causes. In the susceptibility of the external senses there is probably no important difference[.] (MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, pp. 34-37, 38.)

[7] Among the antient Greeks the male sex, one half of the human race[,] received the highest cultivation and refinement[,] whilst the other, so far as intellect is concerned, were educated as slaves, and were raised but few degrees in all that related to moral or intellectual excellence above the condition of savages. The gradations in the history of man present us with a slow improvement in this respect. The Roman women held a higher consideration in society and were esteemed almost as the equal partners with their husbands in the regulation of domes[t]ic economy, and the education of their children. The practises and customs [of] modern Europe are essentially different from and less pernicious than either, however remote from what an enlightened mind cannot fail to desire as the future destiny of human beings. From this distinction arose that difference of manners which subsists between the antient Greeks and modern Europeans. They both had arrived at that epoch of refinement when sentimental love becomes an imperious want of the heart and of the mind. The senses of both sought with the same impatience that gratification upon which the perpetuity of our species depends. In modern Europe the sensual and intellectual claims of love, by the more equal cultivation of the two sexes[,] so far converge towards one point as to produce, in the attempt to unite them, no gross violations in the established nature of man. (MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, pp. 37-39.)

[8] Among the Greeks these feelings[,] being thus deprived of their natural object, sought a compensation and a substitute. The men of Greece corresponded in external form to the models which they have left as specimens of what they were. The firm yet flowing proportion of their forms, the winning unreserve and facility of their manners, the eloquence of their speech in a language which is itself music and persuasion, their gestures animated at once with the delicacy and the boldness which the perpetual habit of persuading and governing themselves and others and the poetry of their religious rites inspired into their whole being, rendered the youth of Greece a race of beings something widely different from that of modern Europe. If my observation be correct the word καλός (beautiful) is more frequently applied to the male sex, whilst ἐνειδής (handsome) denoted the attractions of a female. Whether the cause is to be sought in the climate, in the original constitution of the peculiar race of the Greeks, or in the institutions and system of society, or in the mutual action of these several circumstances[,] such is the effect. And as a consequence of those causes beautiful persons of the male sex became the object of that sort of feelings which are only cultivated at present.
as towards females[.](MS. Shelley adds. e. 11, pp. 39-41; MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, p. 45.)

[9] An enlightened philosophy, although it must condemn the laws by which an indulgence in the sexual instinct is usually regulated, suggests however the propriety of habits of chastity in like manner with those of temperance. It regards the senses as but a minute and subordinate portion of our complicated nature, and it decides the pleasures to be derived from their exercise are weakened[,] not e[n]hanced [,] by repetition[,] especially if unassociated with some principle from which they may participate [in] permanency and excellence. Few characters are more degraded than that of an habitual libertine[,] that is a person who is in the custom of seeking a relief from the impulse of the sexual instinct divested of those associated sentiments which in a civilized state, precede[,] accompany or follow such an act. (MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, pp. 45-46.)

[10] The act itself is nothing. The sources of condemnation to be pronounced against an indulgence in this gratification are two[·]fold[;] 1st as it regards the complicated and arbitrary distinctions of society, and 2d, as it regards the indestructible laws of human nature. (MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, pp. 47-48.)

[11] With respect to the first, the one general moral law applicable to all other actions is applicable also to this—that nothing is to be done which, including your own being in the estimate, will produce on the whole greater pain than pleasure[.]. With respect to the second the following propositions may be established as applications of this general law[.](MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, p. 48.)

[12] 1st[.]. That the person selected as the subject of this gratification should be as perfect and beautiful as possible, both in body and mind, so that all sympathies may be harmoniously blended, and the moments of abandonment be prepared by the entire consent of all the conscious portions of our being; the perfection of this intercourse consisting, not perhaps in a total annihilation of the instinctive sense, but in the reducing it to as minute a proportion as possible compared with those higher faculties of our nature from which [it] derives a value. (MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, pp. 48-49.)

[13] 2dly[.]. Temperance in pleasure[.]. This prevents the act which ought always to be the link and type of the highest emotions of our nature from degenerating into a diseased habit, equally pernicious to body and mind. Every one will recollect Mrs. Shandy's clock[,] and after the customary smile has past cannot but be shocked at the ?picture it affords of [the] brutal prostitution of the most sacred impulses of our being[.](MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, pp. 49-50.)

[14] 3dly. This act ought to be indulged according to nature. A volume of definitions and limitations belong to this maxim which here may be passed over[.](MS. Shelley adds. e. 6,
To apply these propositions to the Greeks. The passion which their poets and philosophers described and felt seemed inconsistent with this latter maxim, in a degree inconceivable to the imagination of a modern European. But let us not exaggerate the matter. We are not exactly aware, and the laws of modern composition scarcely permit a modest writer to investigate the subject with philosophical accuracy, what [the] action was by which the Greeks expressed this passion. I am persuaded that it was totally different from the ridiculous and disgusting conceptions which the vulgar have formed on the subject, at least except among the more debased and abandoned of mankind. It is impossible that a lover could usually have subjected the object of his attachment to so detestable a violation, or have consented to associate his own remembrance in the beloved mind with images of pain and horror. If we consider the facility with which certain phenomena connected with sleep at the age of puberty associate themselves with those images which are the objects of our waking desires, and even that in some persons of an exalted state of sensibility a similar process may take place in reverie, it will not be difficult to conceive the almost involuntary consequences of a state of abandonment in the society of a person of surpassing attractions, when the sexual connexion cannot exist to be such as to preclude the necessity of so operose and diabolical a machination, as that usually described. This is the result apparently alluded to by Plato.* That it could seldom have approached to a resemblance with the vulgar imputation, even among the more gross and unrefined Romans, I appeal to a passage of Petronius, well known to every scholar, in which Giton the pathetic is represented to talk the language of a woman receiving pleasure from the embraces [of] Encolpius. This, even as a piece of meretricious flattery, is wholly inconsistent with the vulgar notion. (MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, pp. 50-53.)

But let us not measure the Greeks of the age to which I refer with our own feeble conceptions of the intensity of disinterested love, or according to the horrible commentary which the imitation of their manners by the licentious Romans who had contributed to the overthrow of the [R]epublic produced upon the text. Probably there were innumerable instances among that exalted and refined people, in which [no circumstance ever] happened between the lover and his beloved by which natural modesty was wronged. The lover appeased the mere physical instinct with his wife or his slave, or was engrossed in such lofty thoughts and feelings as admitted of no compromise between them and less intense emotions. Thus much is to be admitted, that[,] represent this passion as you will, there is something

* Phaedrus[,] [Shelley’s note.]
totally irreconcilable in its cultivation to the beautiful order of social life, to an equal participation in which all human beings have an indefeasible claim and from which half of the human race, by the Greek arrangement, were excluded. This invidious distinction of humankind as a class of intellectual being into two sexes is a remnant of savage barbarism which we have less excuse than they for not having totally abolished[.] (MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, pp. 53-55.)

[17] The action by which this passion was expressed, taken in its grossest sense[,] is indeed sufficiently detestable. But a person must be blinded by superstition to conceive of it as more horrible than the usual intercourse endured by almost every youth of England with a diseased and insensible prostitute. It cannot be more unnatural, for nothing defeats and violates nature or the purposes for which the sexual instincts are supposed to have existed, than prostitution. Nor is it possible that the society into which the one plunges its victim should be more pernicious than the other. Nothing is at the same time more melancholy and ludicrous than to observe that the inhabitants of one epoch or of one nation harden themselves to all amelioration of their own practices and institutions and soothe their consciences by heaping violent invectives upon those of others[,] while, in the eye of sane philosophy, their own are no[.] the less deserving of censure. If it be enquired how an individual ought to act in the

[.] the reply is[—]Make the best of a bad matter[.] (MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, pp. 55-56.)

[18] The ideas suggested by Catullus, Martial, Juvenal and Suetonius never occur among the Greeks or even among those Romans who like Lucretius[,] Virgil [and] Horace imitated them. The Romans were brutally obscene; the Greeks seemed hardly capable of obscenity in [a] strict sense. How innocent is even the Lysistrata of Aristophanes compared with the infamous perversions of Catullus[!] The earlier dramatic English writers [are] often frightfully obscene—exceeding even the Romans. I should consider obscenity to consist in a capability of associating disgusting images with the act of the sexual instinct. Luxury produced for the Romans what the venereal disease did for [the] writers of James and after the redeeming interval over which Milton presided[,] the effects [of] both were united under Charles 2 to infect literature[,] It may blunt the harshness of censure also to reflect that in the golden age of our own literature, a certain sentimental attachment towards persons of the same sex was not uncommon. Shakespeare has devoted the impassioned and profound poetry of his sonnets to commemorate an attachment of this kind; which we cannot question was wholly divested of any unworthy alloy. Towards the age of Charles the 2d it is said this romantic friendship degenerated into licentiousness, and this latter age bears the same relation to the former, as the first Roman of the Empire, to [the Republic.] (MS. Shelley adds.
Thus far the translator has thought it his duty to overstep the jealous limits between what the learned and the unlearned know of the Greeks, and to indicate a system of reasoning which may enable the reader to form a liberal, consistent [and] just judgement of the peculiarities of their domestic manners. This slight sketch was undertaken to induce the reader to cast off the cloak of his self-flattering prejudices and forbid the distinction of manners which he has endeavoured to preserve in the translation of the ensuing piece [to] interfere with his delight or his instruction. (MS. Shelley adds. e. 6, pp. 57, 58.)

**TEXTUAL NOTES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Shelley's own title.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Line 1</td>
<td>[birth of Pericles]: birth of Pericles MWS, I, N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[and]: to MS; and MWS, N; to I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 2</td>
<td>[Aristotle]: Aristotle MWS, I, N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 3</td>
<td>had: has MWS, I; had N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 5</td>
<td>unparalleled: unparalleled MS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>short: Omitted in MWS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 7</td>
<td>to: with N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conjectures: conjecture MWS, I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 11</td>
<td>excels: excells MS, N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[W]estern: western MS, MWS, I, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 15</td>
<td>music: music, MS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 16</td>
<td>conceive of: conceive MWS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 18</td>
<td>[a]ll: All MS; all MWS, I, N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 20</td>
<td>the various: various MWS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 21</td>
<td>society. The: society; and the MWS, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 24</td>
<td>composer: composer, MS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 28</td>
<td>conception.: After this the following passage is cancelled in the MS with two diagonal lines running through the page: &quot;Their poetry seems to maintain a very high tho not so disproportionate rank in the comparison though Shakespeare from the variety &amp; comprehension of his genius considered as whole, is to be exempted from a comparison with all other men &amp; though perhaps Dante has created imaginations which in themselves have greater loveliness &amp; energy than any to be found in the literature of Greece, yet considered as a mere poet Homer must be acknowledged to excel Shakespeare in the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
truth & harmony and picturesque fitness of his images – in the intire fulness & satisfactoriness which they preserve in all their parts, and in conduct & plan & nature & variety & temperance, & every thing but those majestic & beautiful fortunate isles laden with golden fruit which receive those who voyage thro' the Ocean of his dark & extravagant fiction. Few specimens of the lyrical poetry remain, but, Anacreon & the fragments of Simonides Sappho & Alcaeus teach us to hesitate in preferring even to these obscure relics the profound & chivalric sensibility of Petrarch, the only lyric poet who can enter into comparison with them. Thier dramatic poetry too.

Line 29 also: Omitted in MWS and I.
Line 31 [the]: the MWS, I; a N.
Line 37 that: to that MWS, I; that N.
Line 40 on: in N.
Line 41 But[,] omitting...: A new paragraph in MWS, I, and N.
    could: can MWS, I.
Line 42 the system: system MWS, I, N.
Line 43 any genius: any other genius MWS; any genius I, N.
Line 44 world: world, MS.
Line 45 alone: alone, MS.
Line 49 minds: minds, MS.
Line 51 pool to: pool in MWS, I, N.
Line 52 In physical knowledge...: A new paragraph in MWS, I, and N.
Line 53 made: Left thus blank in the MS. MWS supplies “advances”, I and N “[advances]”.
Line 56 wonder: wonder, MS.
    ha[ve]: which have MWS; has I, N.
Line 61 metaph[y]sical: metaphorical MS.
Line 67 [our]: Omitted in the MS; our MWS, I, N.
    Their political...: A new paragraph in MWS, I, and N.
Lines 67-68 [are more difficult]: are more difficult MWS; were more difficult I, N.
Line 71 Greece: Greece, MS.
Line 76 world: world, MS.
Line 78 their: the MWS; their I, N.
Line 84 refer: refer, MS.
    proportion: proportion, MS.
Line 87 is: are MWS; is I, N.
Line 89 appalling: appalling MS.
Line 91 priests: the: priests. The MWS, I, N.
Line 100 formed: framed MWS, I; formed N.
Line 102 bosom: bosom, MS.
[be]: Omitted in the MS; be MWS, I, N.
Line 103 [a]ge: Age MS, N; age MWS, I.
[be]: [be] I.
Line 105 Barthelemy: Barthélemy MWS; Barthélemy I; Barthelemy N.
Line 113 [from] possess[ing]: to possess MS, I, N; from possessing MWS.
Line 119 alleges: alleges MS, N.
Line 122 causes: causes, MS.
Line 126 diminution: diminution MS.
Line 127 by opinion: opinion MWS.
Line 129 The women[,] thus . . . : A new paragraph in MWS, I, and N.
Line 130 that they should: they would MWS; that they should I, N.
Lines 130–131 except in extraordinary instances: except with extraordinary exceptions MWS, I, N. Shelley writes “with” above “in” and “exceptions” above “instances” without cancelling the words he at first intended to replace. I adopt his original phrase in order to avoid the cacophony of “except . . . exception” in the alternative. Does not the sense require the omission of “except” in the phrase “except with extraordinary exceptions”?
Line 133 the male: male MWS, I, N.
Line 135 knowledge: knowledge, MS.
Line 136 it inhabits: they inhabit MWS; it inhabits I, N.
Line 139 thus: Omitted in MWS, I, and N.
Line 140 [they]: Omitted in the MS; they MWS, I; [they] N.
Line 146 [a] certain: A certain MS.
civil[li]zation: civilization MS.
Line 149 Love: love MWS, I; Love N.
Line 152 its: its MS.
Line 154 [T]he sexual impulse[,] . . . : Before this the following phrase is cancelled with a zigzag line: “And though, when individualised it often produces together with the disappointment the moral ruin of its possessor, yet if cultivated as a [universal sentiment, & particularly]”.
Line 156 as common basis; a common basis, MWS, I; as common basis, N.
Line 161 beings: beings, MS.
Line 167  *history*: society MWS, I; *history* N.
Line 169  *society*: *history* I.
Line 170  *domestic*: MWS.
Line 171  *less*: incomparably less MWS, I, N.
Line 172  *human beings*: MWS ends here.
Line 173  *From this distinction* . . . : A new paragraph in I and N.
Line 174  *modern*: the modern TS, I, N.
Line 175  both had; had both TS, I; both had N.
Line 176  *impatience*: impatient eagerness TS, I, N. Shelley writes above "eagerness" not "impatient" but "impatience", which I take to be a substitute for "eagerness" though it is left unc cancelled.
Line 177  upon: from TS; upon I, N.
Line 179  *sensual*: sexual TS, I, N.
Line 181  thus: Omitted in TS, I, and N.
Line 183  *left as*: left us as I.
Line 185  *animated*: an *dted* TS; *animated* I, N.
Line 187  *others*: others, MS.
Line 190  *attractions*: attractiveness I, N.; *attractions* TS.
Line 193  *effect*: fact TS; *effect* I, N. After "effect" the following sentence is cancelled with a zigzag line: "Richardson, that fine observer of the human heart, has made Lovelace express his contempt for the pleasure of the mere act of sexual intercourse;".
Line 194  *causes*: cause[s] N.
Line 195  that: those TS; that I, N.
Line 198  *in like manner* . . . *temperance*: Omitted in TS.
Line 199  it *decides*: deems TS; it deems I, N.
Line 200  *are weakened[.]*: as weakened, TS; as are weakened, I; such as are rather weakened, N. In the MS. "are" is written above "such as". Probably Shelley intended to replace "such as" with "are".
Line 201  *participate [in]*: Left blank in TS; *participate*, I; *participate in* N.
Line 203  *a relief*: relief TS, I; *a relief* N.
impulse: impulses I.

Line 205  an act: After this the following passage is cancelled with a vertical line running through: "The degree of criminality attached to the mode in which he resorts to this gratification must vary according to a multitude of circumstances, the highest degree of criminality was concieved to attach, & the wrong depending on opinion did consequently attach, to adultery. The sentiment of its being preferable to educate those children of which a man is the exciting physical cause, united with a reluctance that his female companion should be the source of pleasure to another (surely a narrow & an envious motive) yet remain in force as the cause of the high penalties attached to adultery. They seem to depend on elementary feelings in animals as well as men, & like revenge avarice imperiousness & pride, are found weak in proportion to the extent ?in intellectual cultivation The seduction of young virgins, a crime which the consequences attached to it impress even a darker stain, has even(sic) been regarded as a high offence."

Lines 206–207  an indulgence: the indulgence TS, I, N.

Line 207 1st as it. . . .: A new paragraph in TS, I, and N.

1st: First;— TS; 1st I, N.

Line 208 2d.: the other TS, I, N.

Line 210 moral: Omitted in TS, I, and N.

Line 212 pleasure[.].: TS has after this: "In this sense adultery, seductions &c x x x until mankind shall have arrived——"; I: "In this sense adultery, seductions &c, until mankind shall have arrived . . ."; N: "In this sense adultery, seductions &c, until mankind shall have enough."

With respect to . . .: A new paragraph in TS.

Line 215 1st[.].: That: 1st that I.

this: the TS; this I, N.

Line 216 mind: in mind TS, I, N.

Line 218 this: Omitted in N.

Line 219 proportion: portion TS; proportion I, N.

Line 220 those: the TS, I; those N.

[it]: it TS, I; its I, N.

Lines 220–221 a value: its value TS, I; a value N.

Line 223 diseased: Left blank in TS; diseased I, N.

Line 224 Every one: Everyone N.

Line 225 ?picture: picture TS, I, N.

[the]: the TS, I, N.
seemed: seems TS, I, N.

[the] : the TS, I; that N.

even that in: even in TS; even that in I, N.
   a similar: that a similar I, N.

may take: takes TS; may take I; may take[s] N.

a state: state TS; a state I, N.

with: Omitted in I and N.

even: with even N.

Encolpius: E olpius TS; Encolpius I, N.

vulgar notion.: After this the following sentence, a first draft of lines 262 and 264
("Thus much is...social life"), is left uncancelled between horizontal lines: "[But] all
this it is to be admitted refine it as you will, is something totally irreconcilable(sic)
with the beautiful harmony of social feelings".

[R]epublic: republic MS; Republic TS, I, N.
   innumerable: memorable TS; innumerable I, N.

[no circumstance ever] happened between: it never happened any circumstance
between MS; no circumstance ever happened between TS; there never happened any
circumstance between I; [it] never [happened] any circumstance happens N.

the mere: his TS, I, N.
   or his slave: & his slave TS; or his slave I, N.

irreconcilable: irreconcilable MS.
   an equal: our equal TS; an equal I, N.

half of the: half the TS, I; half of the N.

h umankind: human kind TS, I, N.
   intellectual being: beings of intellectual natures TS; beings [of] intellectual nature
   I, N.

insensible: insensate TS, I; insensible N.

epoch: epochs MS; epoch[s] N.
   nation: nation MS; nation[s] N.

no[t] the less: not less TS; none the less I; no less N.

Lines 280–281 in the , : Omitted in TS and I.

or: nor TS, I; or N.
   those: the TS, I; those N.
   [and] : and TS, I; omitted in N.

Lines 286–287 How innocent...Catullus[!] : Omitted in TS.
Bodleian Shelley MSS. Re-examined : A Re-edited Text of Some of Shelley's Prose Works in the Bodleian MSS. (IV)

Line 287 dramatic English: English dramatic TS, I; dramatic English N.
[are]: are TS, I, N.

Lines 288-289 a capability: the capability TS; a capability I, N.

Lines 289-292 Luxury produced. . . infect literature[.] : Omitted in TS.

Line 292 It may blunt. . . : A new paragraph in TS, I, and N.

Line 296 this: that TS, I; that this N.

Line 297 licentiousness, and this: licentiousness. The TS, I; licentiousness and this N.

Line 298 to [the Republic.] : to the Republic TS; to [the Republic]. I; to. . . N.

Line 300 translator: Translator TS; translator I, N.

Line 304 self-flattering: self-flattery, TS; self-flattering I, N.

Line 305 he has: the author has I; he has TS, N.

Lines 305-306 piece [to] interfere: piece to interfere TS; piece, to interfere I; piece, interfere N.

The following prose fragment jotted down on page 52 of MS. Shelley adds. e. 11 may or may not be connected with this essay: "In the [love] human world, [love is] one of the commonest expressions of love is sexual intercourse, & [the] in describing the deepest effects of abstract love the author could not avoid the danger of exciting some ideas [of] connected with [it] this mode of expression. In this he has exposed himself to the danger of awakening ludicrous or unauthorized images; but in obedience to an impulse". There seems to be no place in the essay in the present form to fit it in.

APPENDIX: Transcript of the MSS.*

[Note that here square brackets enclose, not as in the text, editorial additions or conjectures, but cancellations in the MSS; square brackets within square brackets ([ [ ] ) indicate cancellations within a cancelled phrase or sentence; words preceded by a query represent conjectural readings; illegible words are indicated by a query surrounded by angle brackets; inserted words or phrases are surrounded by ("" ); (/) denotes line division and (///) page division.]

[MS. Shelley adds. e. 11]
(p. 17) A Discourse [of altered to] on the manners of the/ Antient Greeks relative to the subject of/ Love

The [A] period which intervened between the/ [birth of Pericles] to the death of [Aristotle,]/ is undoubtedly, whether considered [with]/ in itself, or with reference to the/ effects which it "had" produced upon the [future] "subsequent"/ destinies of civilised man, the most/

* Manuscript materials are reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
memorable in the history of the world./ what was the combination of moral/ & political circumstances which produced/ so [une] unparalleled(sic) a progress during/ that short period in literature & the arts./ why that progress so rapid & so sustained/ [not with] [divided into] so soon recieved/ a check & became retrograde [is altered to]are [a]/ problem"s", [which] "left [by] to the wonder & conjectures of posterity" [tha altered to] The wrecks & fragments/ of [that altered to]those [mighty philosophers & poets] "subtle & profound minds ["for"] which" ["we"] [obscurely] like the ruins of a fine statue/ obscurely suggest to us the grandeur &//

(p. 18) perfection of the whole. Thier very language,/ — a type of the understandings of which/ it was the creation & the image—/ in variety in simplicity in flexibi/ lity & in copiousness excells(sic) every other9/ language of the western world. [It]/ [is capable of] "can express" the subtest distinctions &)/ [[the] most [majestic] combinations of]/ [thought]. Thier sculptures are such/ as we in our presumption assume to/ be the models of ideal truth & beauty,/ & "to" which [with all] no artist of modern/ times can produce [any thing]"forms" [comp]/ in any degree comparable. Thier paintings/ [if] according to Pliny & Pausanias/ were full of delicacy & harmony,/ & some even were powerfully pathetic/ so as [produce]"awaken" like tender music, or/ tragic poetry the most overwhelming/ emotions. [And] [if]"we altered to"We" are accustomed/ to conceive of the [paintings] "painters" of the/

(p. 19) sixteenth century as those who have/ brought thier art to the highest perfection/ [it is probable] ["probably"] [only] 10 [probably]11 because none of the "antient"12/ paintings [of the]14 have15 been preserved. [It]/ [is probable that] "For" All the "inventive" arts maintain/ as it were a sympathetic connection "between each other"/ being no more than the various ex/ pressions of one internal power, modified/ [by] by the different circumstances either/ of [the] "an" individual or of [the] society. [and]/ The paintings of that period would/ probably bear the same relation as/ is "confessedly" borne by the sculptures, to all/ succeeding ones. Of their music we/ know little: but the effects which it/ is [stat] said to have produced whether/ they be attributed to the skill of the/ composer, or the sensibility of his [hearer] "audience" [are] far more powerful than any/ which we experience from the music//

(p. 20) of our own times: and if indeed [thier altered to]the/ melody of thier compositions were more/ tender & delicate & inspiring than/ the melodies of some ["more"] ["more"] modern European/ nations thier superiority in this art/ must have been something wonderful/ & wholly beyond conception. [Of] Thier/ poetry [if I make two exceptions]17 "seems to maintain [the "?"]18 a very high tho not so disproportionate19/ [superiority]: for "rank
in the comparison though 'Shakespeare' from the variety & comprehension of his genius [seems], [ indivi ] considered as [an] whole, 'is' to be exem/ pted from a comparison with all other men/ & thought 'perhaps' Dante has created imaginations/ which in themselves have greater [gr] loveliness & energy than any [to be found in the] 'to be' [literature of Greece, & though the tenderness] [sublime sensibility of Petrarch finds no]/ [rival in the fragments] yet considered/ as a mere poet Homer must be/ acknowledged 'to excel Shakespeare' in the truth & harmony//

(p. 21)\(^8\) and picturesque fitness of his images \(\sim\) in the intire fulness & satisfactoriness/ [of his expressi] which they preserve in all/ their parts [to exceed Shakespeare], and/ [in the] Dante in conduct & plan & nature/ & variety & temperance, & every thing/ but those [green &] [hesperian] 'majestic & beautiful \(\&\) fortunate' isles [laded altered to] laden/ with golden fruit which [gleam] [tho] ?receive ?those who voyage thro' the/ Ocean of the his dark & extravagant fiction/

\[
\begin{array}{c}
6 \\
18. \frac{1}{2} \\
16. \frac{1}{2} \\
41: 0 \\
\end{array}
\]

Few specimens of the lyrical poetry remain/ but, 'Anacreon & the fragments of Simonides Sappho &/ ?Alcaeus teach us to hesitate in preferring/ 'even' to [them altered to] these 'obscure relics' the [\(?\>] 'profound' & chivalric sensibility/ of Petrarch, the only lyric poet who/ can enter into comparison with them. Thier/ [poetry too] dramatic poetry too//

(p. 22) Thier poetry seems 'also' to maintain a very/ high though not so disproportionate a/ rank in the comparison. Perhaps/ Shakespeare from the variety & compr/ hension of his genius is to be considered/ as [the greatest in] [as] 'on' a whole, [to be as] 'as' the greatest individual mind of which/ we have [\(?\>] \(?\>] \(?\>] 'specimens remaining.' 'Perhaps Dante/created imaginations of greater loveliness/ & energy than any that are to be found/ in the antient literature of Greece. Perhaps/ nothing [is to be found] 'has been discovered' in the [lyrical]/ fragments [of] of the Greek lyric Poets/ equivalent to the sublime & chivalric/ sensibility of Petrarch.— But as a/ [men] poet Homer must be acknowledged/ to excel Shakespeare in the truth,/ the harmony, the sustained grandeur/ the satisfying completness of his images,/ their exact fitness to the illustration/ 'and that' to which they belong: [as ?mere] and/

(p. 23) Nor could Dante, [enter into a com] deficient/ in conduct plan nature variety & temperance/ 'have' been brought into comparison with [him] 'these men' but/ for those fortunate isles laden with golden/ fruit which alone could tempt any one/ to embark on the
misty ocean of his dark/ & extravagant fiction. But²¹ omitting the/ comparison of individual minds "which could afford no general inference" how superior/ was the spirit & the system of thier poetry/ to that of any other period.²² So that, had/ any genius equal [to the] in other respects/ to the that ever enlightened the/ world, arisen in that age, he would have/ been superior to [them] "all" [in altered to]from this circumstance/ alone, that [all] his conceptions would/ have assumed a more harmonious &/ perfect from. For [this is remark- able] "it is worthy of observation"/ [in the writers of "poetry of] poets" that age] that [all] "whatever"/ [they] "the poets of that" produced is as [inten] "harmonious" & perfect as/ possible. [There are none of those inequa]/ [lities in the] [compositions] [which are]// (p. 24) [obser] If [the] "a" drama for instance were/ the composition of a person of inferior/ [genius] "talent", it was still homogeneous &/ free from inequalities: it was a whole,/ consistent with itself. [If] The compositions/ of [greater] great minds, bore throughout/ the sustained stamp of thier greatness./ In the poetry of succeeding [times] "ages" the/ [feelings] "expectations" are [too] often exalted on Icarean/ wings, & fall, too much disappointed/ to give a "memory & a" name to the oblivious pool/ to which they fell.— In physical/ [science] "knowledge" Aristote [had already] & Theophrastus/ had already — no doubt assisted by the labours/ of those of thier predecessors whom they criti/ sise(sic) — [placed such foundations] made/ worthy of the maturity of science. The/ astonishing invention of geometry [had already]/ [been brought h consider] [on which rested]/ [those altered to]that [discoveries altered to]discovery "series of discoveries" [by] [that] which have/ enabled man to command the elements// (p. 25) & foresee future events before the subjects/ of his ignorant wonder, & has opened as it/ were the doors of the mysteries of nature/ had already [ass] been [pro] brought to great/ perfection. [Metaphysics] Metaphysics the/ science of mans intimate nature, & logic,/ or the grammar & elementary principles of/ that science, recieved from the "latter" philosophers/ of the Periclean age a firm basis./ All our more exact philosophy is [founded] "built"/ [on] "upon" the labours of these great men, & the/ [very] "many of the" words which we employ in meta/ phical(sic) distinctions were invented by them/ to give accuracy & system to thier/ reasonings.— [Thier moral] The science/ of morals, or the voluntary conduct of/ men in relation to themselves or others,/ dates from this epoch. How inexpressibly/ bolder & more pure were doctrines/ of those great men in comparison with// (p. 26) the timid maxims which prevail in/ the "writings of the" most esteemed modern moralists./ They were such as Phocion & Epaminon/ das & Timoleon "who formed themselves on thier influence" were to the wretched/ heroes of own age. Thier political &/ religious institutions [it²³ were more difficult]/ to bring into comparison with those of/ other
times. A summary idea may be [conceived] "formed" of the worth of any political/ & religious system by observing the "comparative" degree/ of happiness & of intellect produced under/ its influence. And whilst many [of ins/ titutions "& opinions" which in antient Greece, were obstacles/ to the improvement of the human race have/ been abolished among modern nations, how/ many pernicious superstitions & new/ contrivances of misrule [have not been]/ [invented by the ever/ & "unheard of""] [complicated altered to] complications [systems]/ of public mischief have not been invented/ "among them" by the ever watchful spirit of [tyrannical] "avarice & tyranny"/ [imposture] [There seems indeed in]/

(p. 27) The modern nations of the civilized world,/ owe [all] the progress which they have/ made [in the common arts of life as]/ [well as in] as well in those physical/ sciences in which they have already excelled/ tither masters, as as(sic) in the moral & intell/ ecutal [imp] inquiries, in which with all/ the advantage of tither experience of the/ latter [they] "it" can scarcely be said [to] "that they" have/ yet equalled them to "what is called" the revival of learning:/ that is the study of the writers of the/ age which preceded & immediately followed/ the government of Pericles, or of [writers]/ subsequent writers who were, so to speak, the rivers flowing from those "immortal" fountain./ [This age] And though there seems to/ be a principle in [modern nations]/ the modern world, which, should [such]/ circumstances [as those] analogous to/ those which modelled the [writers to whom]/ [we refer] intellectual resources of the/

(p. 28) age to which we refer, into so harmonious/ a proportion, again arise, would [prolong] arrest &/ perpetuate them, [& consign] & consign/ their results to a more equal extensive/ & lasting improvement of the condition/ of man— [though] though justice & the/ true meaning of human society is, if/ not more accurately, more generally understood/ [yet this prin] though "perhaps" men know more and/ therefore are more as a mass, yet [these altered to]this/ [principles altered to]principle has never been called into action/ and requires indeed a universal & almost/ apalling(sic) change [in the] "in the" system of existing25/ things.

What the Greeks were was a/ reality not a promise. And what we/ are & hope to be is derived as it were/ from the influence & inspiration of these/ glorious generations.— [The Roman]/

[For the Roman literature — and tither]/ [language appears to have been at first]26/

(p. 29) [only a dialect of the Greek —]/

"Insert" The study of modern history is the study/ of kings financiers statesmen & priests:/
the [study] "history" of antient Greece is the study of legislators philosophers & poets—it is the history of men, compared with [that altered to] the "history" of titles. / [It is to be lamented that] /

Whatever tends to afford [an] a further illustration of the manners & opinions of those to whom we owe so much & who were perhaps on the whole the most perfect specimens of humanity of whom we have authentic record, were infinitely valuable. Let us see thier errors/ thier weaknesses, their daily actions, thier familiar conversation, & "catch" the tone of thier society. When we discover / [that the most] how far the most admirable [society] "[men who ever lived] community ever formed" [were altered to] was removed from //

(p. 30) [perfection] that perfection [which] to which human society is impelled by some active power within each besom, to aspire, how great ought to(sic) our hopes, how resolute our struggles. For the Greeks of the Periclean Age were widely different from us, [& it] / [were] It is to be lamented that [we have] no modern writter has hitherto dared to shew them [Greeks] "precisely" as they [are] "were". Barthelemy ["Anac"]/ cannot be denied the praise of industry and system, but he never [can] forgets/ that he is a Christian & a [European] "Frenchman"./ Wieland in his delightful novels makes/ indeed a very tolerable Pagan, but/ [does] cherishes too many political prejudici/ ces, & refrains from diminishing/ the interest of his romances by painting/ sentiments in which no [European ca] of modern times can possibly sympathize./ There is no book which shews the Greeks //

(p. 31) precisely as they were; they seem all/ written for children with the caution/ that no [idea] "practise or sentiment" highly inconsistent/ with our present manners should be/ mentioned lest those manners should receive outrageous violation. But there are many to whom the Greek language is inaccessible who ought "not to be excluded by this prudery" to possess an exact & comprehensive conception of the history of man, [&] "for" there is no knowledge concerning/ [the] what man has been [or altered to]& may be, from partaking of which a person can/ depart, [fro] without becoming in some degree more philosophical, tolerant/ and "just" [sharpsighted to estimate in]/ [just scale, the past the present & the]/ [future] [Until such a book is written]/ [the im]

One of the chief distinctions between/ [antient & modern] "the" manners [is altered to] of //

(p. 32) antient Greece & modern Europe [were] "consisted in"/ the regulations & the sentiments respect/ ting sexual intercourse. Whether this/ difference arises from [the] "some" imperfect in/ fluence of the doctrines of Jesus Christ/ who alledged the absolute & unconditional/ equality of all human beings, or from/ the institutions of chivalry, or from/ a
"certain" fundamental difference of physical/nature existing in the Celts, or from/any combination of "all or" any of these causes, [it]/acting on each other, is a question worthy/of voluminous investigation. The fact/ is that the "modern" Europeans have in this/circumstance and in the abolition of/slavery made an improvement the/most decisive in the/regulation of human/society, & all the virtue & the wisdom/ of the Periclean age [were] produced "arose under" [from] other institutions, in spite of//

(p. 33) the [evil effects] "diminution altered to"diminution" which [the] [fundame]"personal" slavery [of] & the inferiority of women/recognized by law & by opinion, must have/produced in the delicacy the strength,/the comprehensiveness & the accuracy/ of thier conceptions, in moral political/ & metaphysical science, & [in whatever]/ [other] perhaps in every other art & science./ [It is probable that] The women thus/degraded, became such as it was/expected that they should become" They [had]/ [the] "possessed" except in"with" extraordinary instances "exceptions" the/ habits & the qualities of slaves. They/were probably not "extremely" beautiful, & [certain] "at least"/[certainly bore no such] there was no/such disproportion in "the attractions of the" external form/ between the female[s] & the male sex/ among the Greeks, as exists among/ the modern Europeans. They/were/ certainly [divested] "devoid" of that moral &//

(p. 34) intellectual [harmony] "loveliness" with which/ the [boundless] acquisition of knowledge,/ & the cultivation of sentiment animates,/ [with] as with [a altered to]another life of overpowering/ grace, [lineaments which] the [features] "lineaments" "character"/ & the gestures of [the] "every" form which it/ inhabits. Thier eyes could not have/ been deep & intricate from the workings/ of the [spirit] "mind", & could have entangled/no heart in soul-enwoven labyrinths./ Let it not be imagined that "because the Greeks were" thus deprived of its legitimate object /[the]/ [Greeks] "that" (for they?) were incapable of sentimental/love, "&" that this passion is [a mere]/ the [im] mere child of chivalry &/[the sent] the literature of modern times,/ [because the Greeks had] "could have" no [objects]] [natural objects] [for] of this sentiment./ This object [for ever ex] or its arche/type forever exists in the [imagination] "mind"/ which selects among those who//

(p. 35) resemble it, that which most resembles/it, and "instinctively" fills up the interstices of the/ imperfect image, [with] [as] "in the same manner as" the imagination/ [by an involuntary operation,] "moulds &" completes the shapes [of the] "in" clouds or in the fire/into the resemblances of whatever form, animal building &c. happens to be/ present to it. "Man is in his wildest state a social being:" A certain degree of civi/[lation altered to] zation(sic for civilization) & refinement ever produces the/ want of sympathies still more intimate/ & complete: and the gratification of the/[appetite] "senses" is no longer all that
is sought in sexual connexion. It soon becomes a very small part of that profound & complicated sentiment which we call Love, which is rather [that] the universal thirst for a communion not merely of the senses but of our whole nature intellectual, imaginative & sensitive. 

(p. 36) & which, when individualised, [can only] becomes an imperious necessity only to be satisfied by the [real or imag] complete or partial 'actual' or supposed fulfilment of it's claims. This want [becomes] grows more powerful in proportion to the development which our nature recieves from civilization; [& the multifari]'ousness for man never ceases to be a social being. — [It is difficult to] believe that this thought] And though when individualised it [seldom if ever] 'often' [fails of] [producing altered to] produces together with the dissapointment the [internal] 'moral' ruin of its possessor, yet it cultivated as a universal sentiment, & particularly)[30 (And)] & [though] the sexual impulse which is only one, & often a small part of [thier altered to] those claims, serves, from its obvious & external nature, as a kind of 

(p. 37) [of basis] type or expression of the rest, as/ common basis; [+] an acknowledged & visible link. — Still it is a claim which even derives 'a' strength not its own from the accessory circumstances [with] which [it is] surround[ed] 'it' & one which our nature thirsts to satisty. [In the 'more' harmonious] [progress of human society, such]/ Among[31 the antient Greeks the male sex, one half of the human race recieved 'the highest' cultivation & refinement whilst the other, so far as intellect is concerned, were educated as slaves, & were/ raised but few degrees in all that related to moral or intellectual excellence above the condition of savages. The/

[As a proof of this only] 'To estimate this: observe the degree of intensity & durability [which] of the love of the male towards the female in animals & savages, [+] ?dec<line> [from the intensity] & acknowledge all <the>32//

(p. 38) gradations in the history of man present us with a slow improvement in this respect. The Roman women held a higher consideration in society and were [considered] esteemed almost as the equal partners 'with thier husbands' in (sic) the 'regulation of dometic(sic) economy, & the education of thier children. The [manners of] 'practises & customs with respect to the [interested] modern Europe are essentially [superior] 'different' [to both] in 'from & incomparably less pernicious than either, however remote' [from what an enligh] 'tened mind cannot much they leave' [to be des] fail to desire as the future destiny of human beings. 'an incomparably less pernicious From this [difference] distinction arose [which considered largely] [is in fact one of manners]
that difference of manners which subsists between the antient Greeks & modern Europeans. They both had arrived at that epoch of [ci] refine/

duration & intensity observable in the love of civilised beings, beyond that of savages to be produced from other causes. In the [<_>]<^4> susceptibility of the external senses/
(p. 39) mcnt when sentimental love becomes an "imperious" want of the heart & of the [understanding] mind. The senses of both, sought with the same eagerness "impatience" that gratification upon which the perpetuity of our species depends. [But] [in modern Europe. [But among these] [claims are more harmoniously united.] In modern Europe the [external] "sensual" & [internal] "intellectual" claims of love, [are] by the more equal cultivation of the two sexes so far [united] [as to] converge towards one point as to produce, [no] in the attempt to unite them, [any] no [vi] gross violations in the established nature of man.

Among the Greeks [the passion was de] [prived of its natural object] these feelings being "thus" deprived of thier natural object, sought a compensation & a substitute. [The men of Greece were] "corresponded" in external/

there is probably no important difference [?if ?there ?be the] /
(p. 40) form to the models which they have left as specimens of what they were. /

The [distinct] & [pr] "firm yet flowing" proportion[s] of thier forms, the winning [grace] "unreserve" & facility of their manners, the eloquence of thier speech in a language which is its music & persuasion, thier gestures animated at once with the delicacy & the boldness which the perpetual habit of "persuading & governing themselves & others, and the poetry of their religious rites inspired into their whole being, rendered the youth of Greece a race of beings something widely different from that of modern Europe. [The epithet] [beautiful now scarcely applied but] [to female sex, was then appropriate] [to the male]. Whether the cause is to be sought in the climate, in the (p. 41) original constitution of the peculiar race of the Greeks, "or" in the institutions & system of society, or in [any one] the mutual action of these several circum-stances such is the effect.—/

Richardson, that fine observer of the human heart, has made Lovelace express his contempt for the pleasure of the mere act of sexual intercourse; ;^37

And from the anomalous consequence < ? > the /

Mrs Müller /
If my observation be correct the word καλός (beautiful)/ is more frequently applied to the male sex, whilst/ ἐυευιδής (handsome) denoted the attractions of a female.//

[MS. Shelley adds. e. 6]
(p. 45) And [the] "as a consequence of [this altered to]those [distinction] "causes"/ [the male] beautiful persons of the male/ sex became the object of [those altered to]that sort/ of feelings which are only cultivated/ [in these] at present "as" towards females—/ [the most excellent]/

[That these feelings]/

I
An enlightened philosophy, [suggests]/ [to us the propriety of habits of chastity]/ although it [may] "must" condemn the laws/ by which an indulgence in the/ sexual instinct is usually regulated,/ suggests however the propriety of habits/ of chastity "in like manner with those of temperance". It regards the senses as/ but a minute & subordinate portion/ of [the comp] our complicated nature,/ and "it ?decides" [thier altered to]the pleasures to be derived/ from thier exercise [as] such as "are" [rather]/ weakened [than] not enhanced(sic) by repetition/ especially if unassociated with [a]/ some principle [of greater] "from which they may" "they may participate—" permanency/ & excellence. [Lastly]

[The sexual] [instinct, in its gratification reduces its]/
(p. 46) elf to a point, [without extens] & but/ for [the [ideas] impressions which] precede/ [accompany or follow it]/

Few characters are more degraded/ than that of an habitual libertine./ The mere act of the sexual instinct/ divested of the associated sentiments, which precede accompany or follw it/ [is an imaginary point, totally] / [only valuable] [is such as could]/ [would seldom be sought] is a circum/ stance wholly unimportant, except/ as its/ "that is a person who is in the [habit] "custom" of seeking a relief from the impulse/ of sexual instinct divested of those/ associated sentiments which in a civilized/ state, precede accompany or follw/ such an act.— [The mode in which]/ he [resorts to [such] this indulgence [has]]/ [a] [complicated is reprehensible in]/ [many] The degree of criminality/ attached to the mode in which/ he resorts to this gratification "must" [varies altered to]vary/ (p. 47) according to [the established modes institutions]/ a multitude of circumstaces, "< ? >" [In Greece]/ [it was] the highest degree of criminality/ was conceived to attach, & the wrong/ depending on opinion did consequently/ attach, to adultery. The [o] sentiment/ of its being preferable to educate/ those children of which a man is/ the exciting physical
cause, united/ with [the] a reluctance that [the] his/ female companion should be the [cause]/ [of pleas] source of pleasure to another/ ("surely" a narrow & an envious motive) yet remain/ in force as the cause of the high penalties/ attached to adultery. "They seem to be [? ? ?] depend on elementary "Seduction" The/ seduction of young virgins, a crime "feelings in [the] animals as well as men, & like revenge avarice" which the conse- quences attached to it "imperiousness & pride, are found weak in proportion to" impress even a darker stain, has even(sic) "the extent ?in intellectual cultivation" been regarded as a high offence."43

The act itself is nothing. [It is the]/ [modes in which [it] a person resorts]/ [to this] The sources of condemnation/ to be pronounced against an [res]/

(p. 48) indulgence in this gratification are two fold/ [one] "1st" as it regards the complicated/ & arbitrary distinctions of society, &/ [the other] "2d", as it regards the indestruc- tible [nature] "laws" of [the] human nature.

With respect to the first, the one/ general "moral" law applicable to all other/ actions is applicable also to/ this — that nothing is to be done without, including your own being/ in the estimate, will produce on/ the whole greater pain than/ pleasure: "In this sense adulteries, seductions, &c" until mankind shall have

"< ? ? ?> With respect to the second the/ [same law applies] [with this par]/ [attended with this particular app]/ [lication-]/

following [maxims] "propositions" may be/ established as applications of this/ general law—/

1st That the person selected as/ the subject of this gratification/ (p. 49) should be as perfect & beautiful as/ possible, both in body & mind, / so that [there may be a harmony]/ [&] all sympathies may be/ harmoniously blended, & the/ moments of abandonment be/ prepared by the entire consent/ of all the conscious portions of/ our [nature] "being"; [&] the perfection of/ this intercourse consisting, not/ perhaps in a total annihilation/ of the instinctive sense, but in/ the reducing it to as minute a/ proportion as possible compared/ with those higher [porti] faculties of/ our nature from which its(sic) derives a/ value./

2dly Temperance in pleasure— This/ prevents the act which ought always/ to be the [ty] link & type of the/ highest emotions of our nature/ from degenerating into a diseased/ (p. 50) habit, equally pernicious to body &/ mind. Every one will recollect/ Mrs. Shandy's clock— and after the/ [first smile has] customary smile has/ past cannot but be shocked at/ [this] "the" [p] "picture it affords of" brutal prostitution of the/ most sacred impulses of our being—/
3dly. This act ought to be indulged/ according to nature. A volume of definitions & limitations belong to this maxim/ which here may be passed over—/

[The G] To apply these propositions/ to the Greeks— The [habitual] passion/ [seems] which their poets & philosophers/ [not] described & [practised] felt/ seemed/ inconsistent with this latter maxim,/ in a degree inconceivable to the/ imagination of a modern European—/ [There may] [It will not] [It ought]/ [No] [But let us not confound the]/ [Greeks with the Romans, who]/ [when they]//

(p. 51) But let us not exaggerate ["Phaedrus"]" the matter/ [That some acts of] We are not exactly/ aware, & the laws of modern/ composition scarcely permit a/ modest writer to investigate the [affair] "subject"/ with philosophical accuracy, what/ [[this altered to] the] action was by which the Greeks/ expressed this passion. I am persuaded that it was totally/ different from the [vulgar conception]/ ridiculous & [vulgar] disgusting/ conceptions of/ [which] the vulgar [on the]/ [subject] have formed on the subject,/ at least except among the more/ debased & abandoned of mankind./ It is impossible that a lover could/ [ever] ["often"] "usually" have subjected the object of/ his attachment to so detestable/ a violation, or have consented to/ associate his [image] "own remembrance" in the/ beloved mind with images/ of pain & horror. If we reflect[ed]//

(p. 52) [how easy, in an exalted state of the]/ [external] consider the facility with/ which certain phenomena connected/ with sleep at the age of puberty/ associate themselves with those images/ which are the objects of our/ waking desires.— & even [perhaps] "that" in some persons of an exalted state/ of sensibility [the so] "that" a similar/ process "may" take[s] place in reverie,/ it will not be difficult to con/ cieve the almost involuntary/ consequences of a state of abandon/ ment in the society of a person of/ surpassing attractions, [to be] when/ the sexual connexion cannot exist/ to be such as to preclude the necessity/ of so operose & diabolical a/ machination, as that usually/ [conceived] described. This is the/ result apparently alluded to by/ Plato.* "Phaedrus" That it could have//

(p. 53) been nothing "seldom have approached to a" [resembling altered to] resemblance "with" the vulgar/ imputation, [& that] even among/ the more gross & unrefined Romans/ I appeal to a passage of Petronius,/ well known to every scholar in/ which Giton the pathetic is [made] "represented"/ to talk the language of a woman/ [which] receiving pleasure from the/ embraces [of] Encolpius— This,/ even as a piece of meretricious/ flattery, is wholly inconsistent/ with the vulgar notion. [It is true]/ [that Theocritus & Aristophanes]/ [contain some gross allusions to the]/ [vulgar idea]//
it is to be admitted refine it as you will, is something totally irreconcilable\(sic\) with the beautiful harmony of social feelings

But let us not measure the Greeks of the age to which I refer with our own feeble conceptions.\(p. 54\) of the intensity of disinterested love, or according to the horrible commentary which the imitation of their manners by the licentious Romans who had contributed to the overthrow of [their altered to] the republic produced upon the text [of] [those\(^47\) manners] Probably there were innumerable instances among that exalted & refined people, in which it never happened any circumstance between the lover & his beloved by which natural modesty was wronged. The [mere physical] [instinct] lover [gratified] appeared the mere physical instinct with his wife or his slave, or was engrossed in such lofty thoughts & feelings as admitted of no compromise between them & less intense emotions. It Thus much is to be admitted, that represent this passion as you will, there is something totally irreconcilable\(sic\)\(p. 55\) irreconcilable\(^48\) in its cultivation to the beautiful order of social life, to an equal participation in which all human beings have an indefeasible claim & from which half of the human race, by the Greek arrangement were excluded. – This [[individua altered to] invidua] invidious distinction, of [man] human kind as a class of being an intellectual [being] nature into two sexes is a remnant of savage barba rism which we have less excuse than they for not having totally abolished —/

The action by which this passion was expressed, taken in its grossest sense is indeed sufficiently detestable. But a person must be [sufficiently] blinded by superstition to conceive of it as more horrible than the usual intercourse endured by [the] almost every youth of England with a diseased & [cold] insensible prostitute. It cannot be\(p. 56\) more unnatural, for nothing defeats & violates nature or the purposes for which the sexual instincts are supposed to have existed, than prostitution. Nor is it possible that the society into which the one plunges its victim should be more pernicious than the other. Nothing is at the same time more melancholy & ludicrous than to observe that [a person that two different periods] [or] the inhabitants of [two different] one\(^7\) epochs or of different one nations harden themselves to all amelioration of their own practices & [their own] institutions & soothe their consciences by heaping violent invectives upon those of others nati while, in the eye of sane philoso phy, [equally] their own are no the less deserving of censure. — If it be enquired [what] how an individual ought to act in the the reply is ?say— Make the best of a bad matter—//
As to the distinction which modern/ legislators have set up between/ debauchery of
[a] different kinds,/ it/*
Thus [much] "far"
the translator of/ [the] [ensuing piece] has thought/ it his duty to
overstep the/ jealous limits between what/ the learned & the unlearned know/ of the Greeks,
& to indicate a system/ of [judgement] "reasoning" which may enable the/ reader to form
a liberal, consis/tent [&] just judgement of the/ [degree of answer due to the]/ peculiarities
of their domestic/ manners. This slight sketch was/

The ideas suggested by Catullus,/ Martial, Juvenal & Suetonius/ never occur among the
Greeks. "or even among those Romans who like Lucretius/ Virgil Horace imitated them?50/
The [Greeks ?were] Romans were/ brutally obscene51; the Greeks seemed//
(p. 58) undertaken to [prevent the precon]/ [cieved notions of] [a] [shew] [prevent]/ to
induce the reader to cast off/ the cloak of his self-flattering/ prejudices & [receive such p]
forbid/ the distinction of manners which/ [I have altered to] he has endeavoured to preserve/
in the translation of the ensuing/ piece interfere with his/ delight or his instruction./

hardly capable of obscenity in [a] [true] "strict"52/ sense. "How innocent is [the] even the
Lysistrata of?53 The earlier dramatic/ English writers [are] often frightfully "Aristophanes
compared with the infamous perversions of?54/ obscene "Catullus.55 —exceeding even the
Romans./ I should consider obscenity to/ [arise] [from] "consist in" a capability [from]/
[< ? > influence of luxury] of associ/ating disgusting images with "(which by a law of the
human mind becomes / the act of the sexual instinct. "< ? > to < ? > < ? > in
< > no day<> of < ? > / Luxury [& power] produced for/ the Romans what the
venereal/ disease did for [the elder w] "writers of James7/"
(p. 59)[The violence] It may blunt the/ harshness of censure "also" to reflect that/ in the
golden age of our own literature,/ a certain [passionate] "sentimental" attachment/ towards
persons of the same sex was/ not uncommon. Shakespeare [who]/ has devoted the impassioned & profound/ poetry of his sonnets to commemorate/ an attachment of this kind:
which/ we cannot question was wholly/ divested of [sensual] "any unworthy" alloy. [In]
[the]/ [age of Charles the 2d bears the same]/ [relation] Towards the age of Charles the/
2d it "it is said this romantic friendship" degenerated into licentiousness,/ & [this latter age
as compared]/ "this latter age bears the same relation"/ to the former, as the "first"7 Roman
of the/ Empire, to/

the effects & both were united, under Charles 2 "to infect literature"/
1 & after the redeeming interval over which Milton/ [presided, or Charles the 2] presided //
(p. 60) [the Republic; perha] //

Notes on the Transcript

[Throughout the transcript, (' — — ') immediately after ([ ])) indicates that the insertion is written above the cancellation, unless otherwise stated.]

(1) The title is written in different ink from that used for the rest of the page, probably representing a later addition.
(2) ''subtle & ...[?for?]' which': written below [mighty philosophers & poets]
(3) other: written in different ink.
(4) [any thing]: cancel line in different ink.
(5) 'forms?': written in different ink.
(6) [produce]: cancel line in different ink.
(7) 'awaken?': written in different ink.
(8) [And] [if]: cancel lines in different ink.
(9) We: ''W'' in different ink.
(10) [probably]: cancel line in different ink.
(11) [only]: cancel line in different ink.
(12) 'probably?': written in different ink.
(13) 'antient?': written in different ink.
(14) [of the]: cancel line in different ink.
(15) have: different ink is used from here onwards.
(16) 'audience?': written below [hearer]
(17) [if I make two exceptions]: this and the rest of the page is cancelled with a big cross.
(18) 'seems to maintain [the < >]': written below [if I make two exceptions]
(19) disproportion:ate: ''portionate'' is written below ''dispro''
(20) (p. 21): the whole page is cancelled with a big cross.
(21) But: a square bracket is cancelled before this.
(22) period: a square bracket is cancelled after this.
(23) [it]: alternative reading is [of].
(24) 'comparative?': written in pencil.
(25) existing: different ink is used from here onwards.
(26) [at first]: < > ?said superimposed on this.
(27) 'certain?': written in different ink.
(28) become: different ink is used from — come — onwards.
(29) '?character?': written below [?features]
(30) And though... & particularly: cancelled with a zigzag line.
(31) Among: superimposed on [In]
(32) ?dec <line>, <the> : tear in the page affects these words.
(33) mind cannot: written below [much they leave]
(34) [< ? >]: illegible owing to a tear in the page.
(35) 「yet」: written in pencil.
(36) 「persuading &」: "persuading" in pencil; "g &" in ink.
(37) Richardson...intercourse; cancelled with a zigzag line.
(38) in like manner...temperance: written on page 44.
(39) 「they may participate」: written below principle [of greater] permanency
(40) elf to a point...follow it]: cancelled with a wavy line.
(41) The mere act...except as its: cancelled with oblique lines.
(42) [The mode in which]...「must」 vary: cancelled with two vertical lines.
(43) according to...a high offence.: cancelled with one vertical line in the middle.
(44) 「Phaedrus」: possibly underlined.
(45) 「that」: written below [perhaps]
(46) 「with」: written below the vulgar
(47) [those]: possibly [thier].
(48) irreconcilable: thus repeated in the MS.
(49) As to the distinction...different kinds, it: cancelled with oblique lines.
(50) 「or even among...imitated them」: written below never occur among the Greeks
(51) obscene: long tail of the second "e" makes the word look like "obsener".
(52) 「strict」: written below [true]
(53) 「How innocent...Lysistrata of」: written below capable of obscenity in [a] [true] 「strict」
(54) 「Aristophanes compared...perversions of」: written below sense. The earlier dramatic
(55) 「Catullus」: written below English

Received August 14, 1987.