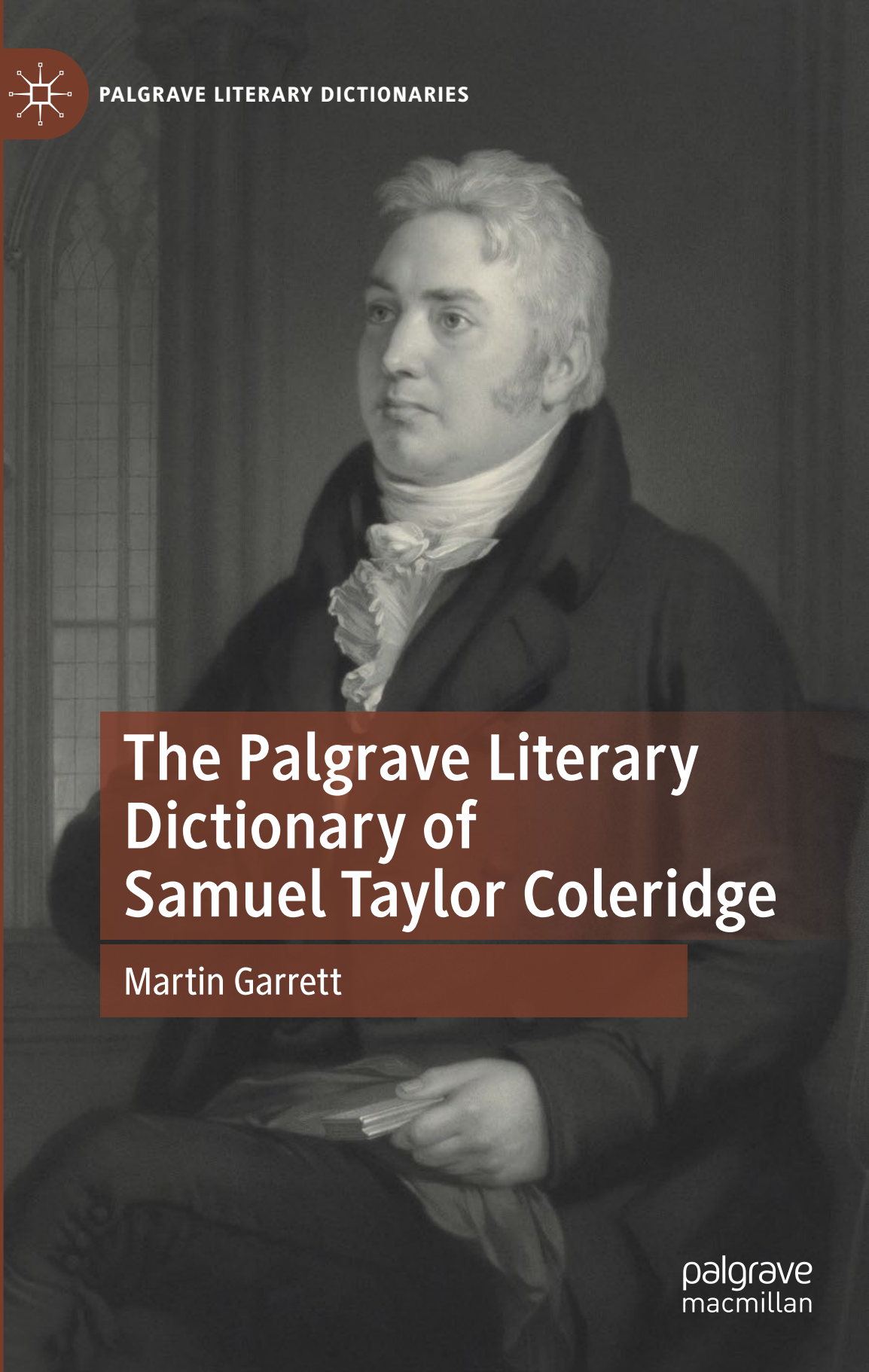

PALGRAVE LITERARY DICTIONARIES

The Palgrave Literary Dictionary of Samuel Taylor Coleridge

Martin Garrett

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To Helen

Series Editors' Foreword

The purpose of the *Palgrave Literary Dictionaries* is to provide the reader with immediate access to reliable information on some of the major authors of literature written in the English language. These books are intended for a readership including students, graduate students, teachers, scholars and advanced general readers. Each volume will be dedicated either to an individual author or to a group of authors. It will offer a concise reference guide, consisting mainly of entries presented under headwords arranged in alphabetical order. These entries will vary in length from about 10 to about 3000 words, depending on the significance of the particular topic. The topics will include the literary works, individuals, genres, traditions, events, places, institutions, editors and scholars most relevant to a full and sophisticated understanding and appreciation of the author (or authors) in question. The more substantial entries will include suggestions for further reading, full particulars of which will be supplied in a selective bibliography. Access to information will be facilitated by extensive cross-referencing.

We trust the volumes in this series will be judged by their effectiveness in providing quick, clear and convenient access to reliable and scholarly information.

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Sidney: the Critical Heritage (editor)
George Gordon, Lord Byron
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Preface and Acknowledgements

Virginia Woolf, in 'The Man at the Gate' (1940), refers to 'the labyrinth of what we call Coleridge', whose 'written words fill hundreds of pages and overflow innumerable margins; whose spoken words still reverberate'. J.C.C. Mays says of his poems and plays—and the same is true of his work more broadly—that 'He wrote to denounce, celebrate, explore, earn money, move, test technicalities, entertain, discover' (*CW* 16.1.cxx). This Dictionary attempts to provide a guide to at least some of Coleridge's diverse achievements and activities: publication details, sources, contexts, interpretations, reception history, suggestions for further reading.

Anyone working on Coleridge is immensely indebted to the Bollingen edition, to the Notebooks as edited by Kathleen Coburn and others, to Earl Leslie Griggs's edition of the Letters, and to the biographies by Richard Holmes and Rosemary Ashton. Among the other scholars whose work I have found most consistently useful are Tim Fulford, Peter J. Kitson, Lucy Newlyn and Seamus Perry.

Coleridge Chronology

1772	Birth of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (21 October).
1781	Death of his father.
1782–90	Christ's Hospital, London. Charles Lamb is his younger schoolfellow.
1791–4	Jesus College, Cambridge.
1791	STC's first reference to use of opium.
1794	Meets Robert Southey; 'Pantisocracy' scheme. Meets Thomas Poole.
1795	Lectures in Bristol. Marries Sara Fricker (4 October).
1796	*Poems on Various Subjects*, including *Religious Musings. The Watchman.*
1797	Writes *Osorio* (later revised as *Remorse*). Close friendship with William and Dorothy Wordsworth begins. Revised *Poems.*
1797–8	Writes Conversation Poems, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, 'Kubla Khan', *Christabel* Part One.
1797–8, 1799–1803	Journalism for the *Morning Post.*
1798	*Lyrical Ballads.*
1798–9	STC visits Germany. During his absence his infant son, Berkeley Coleridge, dies (1799).
1799	Friendships with William Godwin and Humphry Davy develop. Meets Sara Hutchinson. Original version of 'Love'.
1800	*Wallenstein.* Essay on William Pitt in the *Morning Post.*
c. 1800	Effects of opium addiction worsen.
1800–1	Writes *Christabel* Part Two.
1802	'Dejection. An Ode'. 'Once a Jacobin Always a Jacobin'.
1803	Walking tour of Scotland.
1804	Begins writing for the *Courier.* (Continues off and on until 1818.)
1804–6	In Malta and Italy.
1806	STC and SFC separate.
1807	'To William Wordsworth'.
1808	First series of lectures on literature.
1809–10	*The Friend* (revised 1812, 1818).

1810	Estranged from WW. (Partially reconciled 1812.)
1811–12	Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton.
1813	Performances of *Remorse* at Drury Lane.
1813–14	STC close to physical and mental collapse.
1816	Meets George Gordon, Lord Byron. Moves to Highgate to live with the Gillmans. *Christabel* and 'Kubla Khan' published.
1816–17	*Lay Sermons.*
1817	*Biographia Literaria*; *Sibylline Leaves.* Meets Joseph Henry Green.
1818	*Zapolya* performed at the Surrey Theatre (published version 1817).
1818–19	Lectures on Shakespeare.
1819	Final lectures on literature and on the history of philosophy.
1819–23?	STC dictates *Opus Maximum* material to Green.
1822	Sees son, Hartley Coleridge, for the last time.
1823	First meeting with daughter, Sara Coleridge, as an adult.
1825	Drafts 'Work Without Hope' (revised 1827). *Aids to Reflection.*
1828–9	Writes 'The Garden of Boccaccio' and 'Alice du Clós'.
1828, 1829, 1834	*Poetical Works.*
1829	*On the Constitution of the Church and State.*
1834	Death of STC (25 July).
1835	*Table Talk*, edited by Henry Nelson Coleridge.
1840	*Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit.*

Contents

Abbreviations

CL	Charles Lamb
DW	Dorothy Wordsworth
RS	Robert Southey
SFC	Sara (Fricker) Coleridge
SH	Sara Hutchinson
STC	Samuel Taylor Coleridge
WW	William Wordsworth

Works by Coleridge[1]

CL	*Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956-71).
CN	*The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn, Merton Christensen and Anthony John Harding, 5 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Routledge, 1957-2002).
CW	*The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Bollingen edition), 16 vols, multiple editors (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969-2002).
Aids	*Aids to Reflection in the Formation of a Manly Character on the Several Grounds of Prudence, Morality, and Religion.*
AM	*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner.*
BL	*Biographia Literaria or Biographical Sketches of My Literary Life and Opinions.*

[1] References to STC's work are, unless stated otherwise, to *CW*.

Church and State	*On the Constitution of the Church and State.*
Friend	*The Friend.*
FS	*Fears in Solitude … to which are added, France, an Ode; and Frost at Midnight* [1798].
LB	*Lyrical Ballads* (with William Wordsworth), 1st edition (1798).
LB2	*Lyrical Ballads* (with William Wordsworth), 2nd edition (1800).
Watchman	*The Watchman.*
1796, 1797, 1803, 1812	*Poems.*
1816	*Christabel; Kubla Khan, a Vision; The Pains of Sleep.*
1817	*Sibylline Leaves: a Collection of Poems.*
1828, 1829, 1834	*Poetical Works.*
1852	*The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Derwent and Sara Coleridge (London: Moxon).
1870	*The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Derwent and Sara Coleridge, 'new and enlarged edition' (London: Moxon).

Other

Ashton	Rosemary Ashton, *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: a Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).
CH	*Coleridge: the Critical Heritage* [volume one] ed. J.R. de J. Jackson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970).
Holmes 1	Richard Holmes, *Coleridge: Early Visions* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989).
Holmes 2	Richard Holmes, *Coleridge: Darker Reflections* (London: HarperCollins, 1998).
Lowes	John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu: a Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (London: Constable, 1927).
MP	*The Morning Post.*
Norton	*Coleridge's Poetry and Prose: Authoritative Texts, Criticism*, ed. Nicholas Halmi, Paul Magnuson and Raimonda Modiano (London and New York: W.W. Norton, 2004).
Roberts	Adam Roberts, *Samuel Taylor Bloggeridge*, *samueltaylorbloggeridge.blogspot.com*
SWH	*Selected Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. Duncan Wu, 9 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1998).
WL	*The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt, 2nd edition, 8 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967-93).

The Palgrave Literary Dictionary of Samuel Taylor Coleridge

A

Aids to Reflection in the Formation of a Manly Character on the Several Grounds of Prudence, Morality, and Religion

Prose work in STC's 'late style of benign sermonizing' (Holmes 2.540). It was proposed to *Murray, in 1822, as a life and anthology of the work of Archbishop Robert Leighton (1611–84), which STC first encountered in 1814. In 1823 Murray decided not to proceed (*CL* 5.282) and in late May 1825 it was published by Taylor and Hessey; the work now contained, as CL hoped it would, 'more of Bishop Coleridge than Leighton' (Lamb [1935], 2.416)—'an original work almost' (*CL* 5.336). Sources for the completed *Aids* include the work not only of Leighton but of Richard Baxter (1615–91), Jeremy Taylor (1613–67), and William Law (1686–1771). A second edition, revised partly by STC and partly by Henry Nelson *Coleridge, was published by Hurst, Chance in 1831. The first American edition, edited with a 'Preliminary Essay' by James Marsh, appeared in 1829 and was 'the decisive event in establishing [American] respect for him as a thinker' (*CW* 9.cxvii).

Aids is addressed, according to the Preface, to 'the studious Young at the close of their education' and particularly to 'Students intended for the Ministry', whether in the established church or 'all alike … who have dedicated their lives to the future of their Race, as Pastors, Preachers, Missionaries, or Instructors of Youth' (*CW* 9.6). It will 'direct the Reader's attention to the value of the Science of Words, their use and abuse' (*CW* 9.6–7)—'to expose a sophism' is most often the same as 'to detect the equivocal or double meaning of a word' (*CW* 9.7); it will 'establish the *distinct* characters of Prudence, Morality, and Religion'; and it will 'substantiate … the momentous distinction between REASON and Understanding' (*CW* 9.8), a subject already considered in *Friend*. A principal focus is 'the operation of the Idea in History' (Edwards

M. Garrett, *The Palgrave Literary Dictionary of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Palgrave Literary Dictionaries,
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[2009], p. 243). The argument implicit in the aphorisms is that 'The idea of reason is both speculative and practical. The will is an expression of practical reason, although its constitution is an extension of the principles of speculative reason, or pure reason, as *Kant would have it. … It is the expression of spirit in action and therefore the primary driver in history' (Edwards [2009], p. 247).

Aphorism XXV—'He, who begins by loving Christianity better than Truth, will proceed by loving his own Sect or Church better than Christianity, and end in loving himself better than all' (*CW* 9.107)—gained currency especially following its approving quotation by *Mill in the *Westminster Review* in 1840 (Mill [1963–91], 10.128). *Aids* more generally, as an argument against materialism, had an influence on a younger generation of Broad Church clergy, notably *Sterling and *Maurice. The work was little reviewed at the time of publication. The *British Critic* in October 1826 disliked 'the mystical notions of the critical philosophy' (p. 240). Not until J.A. Heraud's response to the second edition in *Fraser's Magazine* for June 1832 did a detailed and more favourable assessment appear, emphasising, however, that no-one can hope to 'master the subject of the work at once'; to understand many things here the reader 'must discipline his mind to a submissive ductility, and wait for their gradual development in his own consciousness, being and conduct' (p. 597).

Further reading: Hipolito (2004).

'Alice du Clós Or, the Forked Tongue. A Ballad'

Poem combining, for Holmes in Coleridge (1996), 'the formal intricacy of a medieval tapestry, with the lethal rapidity of a modern film sequence' (p. 314). It was written in its present form in 1828–9, incorporating some earlier lines (see *CW* 16.1.1098, 2.1311), and published in *1834*. Alice is reading Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at dawn. Sir Hugh, vassal of her intended husband Lord Julian, says (in 'taunting vein' and gazing wantonly at her) that she should join Julian at once in his hunting since he is 'a hasty Man,/Long waiting brook'd he never' (39, 45, 7–8). She refuses; Hugh should tell his lord that 'slow is sure' and 'I follow here a stronger Lure,/And chace a gentler prey' (50–1)—meaning her reading. She then changes her mind and sets off to join Julian with her young squire, Florian, but Hugh gets there first, insinuates that she has been unfaithful to him with Florian, and thus deceives him into jealous misunderstanding of her message about the 'stronger Lure'. (Hugh puns also on 'Page' meaning Florian rather than the book she gazed at [169].) When she reaches the glade, full of 'Hope and Joy', her 'Cheeks aglow' (182–3), with Florian laughing, Julian at once strikes her dead.

STC said that he could not complete the poem because of a disagreement with Frederic Reynolds, editor of *The Keepsake*, for which it was originally intended (see *CL* 6.800 and *CW* 16.1.1099). He had, he said, planned to finish 'in the legendary, supernatural, imaginative style of popular superstition' (*CL* 6.800), with 'what struck me as a highly lyrical & impressive

conclusion—intimating the fate and punishment of Julian & the Traitor—and tho' every thought & image is present to my mind' he cannot bring 'them forth in the requisite force & fire of diction & metre' (*CL* 6.808). As it is, the stark ending serves to emphasise the horror of Alice's death. There is no supernatural punishment for the perpetrator, no Ovidian transformation for the victim.

A *clos* is an enclosed garden; the garden here is 'an ambiguous symbol: like the lime-tree bower, or … the pleasure dome … it is an enclosure that may threaten or promote personal safety' (Barbarese [1997], p. 688). Murder of an innocent, pure bride, or intended bride, by a powerful man deceived by his malicious aide, recalls *Othello*. Sir Hugh uses Iago's technique of disclosing enough alleged information to force Lord Julian to ask for more, while stating enough doubt to make him sound honourable—'if I saw aright' (165—compare, for example, *Othello* 3.3.35–41). Mays (2015) points out, however, that Hugh's 'malignity is not, like Iago's, motiveless. Alice … is the target of Hugh's malign intentions; not the vehicle'; in his sudden jealousy Julian seems more like Leontes in *The Winter's Tale* than Othello (pp. 5, 6). Holmes finds the 'heraldic settings, the stylized violence, and the worldly mixture of chivalry and jealousy' reminiscent of *Spenser (Coleridge [1996], p. 314). 'Dan Ovid' (37), hunting, the vassal, and the young romantic squire (even younger and even more naïve than Aurelius in Chaucer's *The Franklin's Tale*) suggest a medieval setting, which recalls *Christabel*. (Christabel herself is, for Mays [2015], p. 11, 'directly recalled by the innocent but ambivalently culpable Alice'.) 'A Snow-drop in a tuft of Snow!' (24) is a variation on the last line of STC's 'The Apotheosis; or, The Snow-drop', which responds to Mary *Robinson, and thereby links Alice to 'a figure with whom Coleridge strongly identified as an abandoned victim of cruel love affairs' (Mays [2015], p. 10).

The ballad has a striking clarity of action and image. As Mays (2015) says, 'we are plunged into a situation that develops in real time with little opportunity to think outside it. The action advances through the uncertain period while dawn turns into day, as if within the mesmerised time we take to read' (p. 3). Alice is clearly associated with light: the 'moon-shiny Doe' (18), 'wrapt in Maiden White,/ … A Snow-drop' (22–4); on the way to Julian she stopped for a moment to see 'The whole great Globe of Light/Give the last parting kiss-like Touch/To the Eastern Ridge' (93–5). About to kill her, Julian is 'Dark as a dream' (187). It is an ironically 'green and lightsome Glade' (120). Alice with her buskins, bow and quiver is repeatedly associated with Diana—explicitly at 185, when Julian has been persuaded of her *un*chastity. But for all the apparent simplicity of the narrative, Mays (2015) registers the 'impression that the vulnerable Alice is …, in some way, responsible for the situation she finds herself in; that her fear and Julian's rage are somehow interrelated' (pp. 10–11).

Further reading: Crawford (1996).

'Allegoric Vision' see **'Lectures on Revealed Religion, its Corruptions, and its Political Views'.**

Allston, Washington
(1779–1843)

American painter. STC came to know him well in Rome in 1806 and during his time in Britain between 1811 and 1818. In 1806 he took enthusiastic and very detailed notes on his *Diana and her Nymphs in the Chase* (*CN* 2.2831). Later he did much to promote Allston's work; *see* ***Essays on the Principles of Genial Criticism***. He 'engaged himself so closely' with Allston's *The Dead Man Restored to Life* (1811–14) 'that he seemed to regard it as almost a collaborative work' (Paley [2008], p. 99).

Allston worked on an unfinished portrait of STC in 1806, showing him 'relaxed and meditative', 'His face … puffy and pale, yet handsome and almost raffish' feels Holmes 2.55. His second portrait, of an august, thoughtful STC (1814) was especially esteemed by Sara *Coleridge, Henry Nelson *Coleridge, WW and *Green (see Paley [1999b], p. 55). The artist notes, however, that 'it is Coleridge in repose', not 'in his *highest* mood, the poetic state' in which his face 'seemed almost *spirit made visible*' (quoted in Paley [1999b], p. 55).

The Ancient Mariner
STC's best known and most discussed, illustrated and performed poem, written mainly between November 1797 and late March 1798 and first published in *LB*. (See below, *Revisions*, for later texts.) STC takes 'the popular narrative of exploration' and makes it 'an articulation of mental as well as physical voyaging' (Fulford [2002b], p. 49).

An ancient mariner stops a wedding-guest, fixes him with his 'glittering eye' (3), and tells him the tale of his voyage. The ship reaches the equator and then is driven by a storm into the icy southern ocean. The sailors feed an albatross, the ice splits and a strong south wind springs up. The bird follows until the Mariner shoots it with his cross-bow. The crew first blame him for killing the bird that brought the wind and then, when the fog and mist clear, say he did right. (According to the marginal gloss first added in *1817* this makes them 'accomplices in the crime' [*CW* 16.1.381].) The ship enters the Pacific and is becalmed. There is no water to drink and slimy things crawl on the slimy sea. The Mariner has the albatross hung round his neck 'Instead of the Cross' (141). A ghostly ship arrives, carrying a woman and a skeletal figure who are named, in *1817*, as Life-in-Death and Death. They dice and the woman says that she has won (won the Mariner, explains the gloss [*CW* 16.1.387]). The 200 crewmen curse the Mariner with their eyes before, one by one, silently dropping dead. Left alone, he cannot pray and is tormented by the sight of the bodies, still looking their curse. After seven days and nights he watches water-snakes moving happy and beautiful in the moonlight; 'A spring of love gusht

from my heart,/And I bless'd them unaware' (284–5). At once he can pray and the albatross falls from his neck and sinks into the sea. The dead men rise and man the ship. (In lines first added in *LB2* the Mariner tells the guest that it is not their souls but 'a troop of Spirits blest' that have come to them [*CW* 16.2.523, 16.1.397].) The spirit from the south propels the ship back as far as the equator. The Mariner hears a voice saying that the spirit 'lov'd the bird that lov'd the man/Who shot him with his bow' and a softer voice replying that 'the man hath penance done,/And penance more will do' (404–9). They come within sight of his native land. The corpses lie flat with a shining seraph above each. A boat approaches with pilot, pilot's boy and the hermit who will 'shrieve my soul' and 'wash away/The Albatross's blood' (512–13). The ship suddenly sinks; the Mariner finds himself in the pilot's boat. On land his frame is 'wrench'd/With a woeful agony' (578–9) until he has told his tale. Periodically he is forced to repeat it. He tells the Wedding Guest that 'He prayeth best who loveth best,/All things both great and small' (614–15). The guest turns away from the wedding. He will rise 'A sadder and a wiser man' (622–5).

Origins

AM was first conceived as a collaboration with WW, who later remembered suggesting that 'some crime' should bring 'the spectral persecution' on the Mariner (Wordsworth [1993], p. 2). He had just read George Shelvocke's *Voyage Round the World by the Way of the Great South Sea* (1726), which reports a melancholy officer's shooting of a black albatross, imagining that it 'might be some ill omen', perhaps responsible for a 'continued series of contrary tempestuous winds' (p. 73). WW proposed to STC that the Mariner should kill the bird 'on entering the South Sea, and that the tutelary spirits of these regions take upon them to avenge the crime'. He also 'suggested the navigation of the ship by the dead men' (Wordsworth [1993], p. 2) and contributed lines 15–16 and 226–7. STC made rapid initial progress (*CL* 1.357); WW did not, and withdrew from the project since 'I soon found that the style of Coleridge and myself would not assimilate' (*1852*, pp. 323–4). They decided, according to *BL*, that STC's poems for *LB* would focus on supernatural 'incidents and agents', aiming at 'the interesting of the affections by the dramatic truth of such emotions, as would naturally accompany such situations, supposing them real' (*CW* 7.2.6).

Another early influence, also noted by WW, was the dream of John Cruikshank, a friend of STC, of 'a skeleton ship with figures in it' (Dyce [1972], p. 185; see *CW* 16.1.366). It is probably also significant that, as Hill (1983) points out, earlier work by both poets is much concerned with guilt: WW's 'Adventures on Salisbury Plain' (where a sailor wanders after a killing) and *The Borderers*, STC's *Osorio* and the jointly written 'The Three Graves' and 'The Wanderings of Cain' (p. 125).

Revision

WW told *Cottle on 24 June 1799 that 'the old words and the strangeness of [*AM*] have deterred readers from going on' (*WL* 1.1.264). Francis Wrangham in the *British Critic* (October 1799) felt that the 'antiquated

words … might with advantage be entirely removed' (p. 365) and in *LB2* much of the archaism does go—'Eftsoones' (500) becomes 'But soon', 'yeven' 'given', the 'Marinere' usually the 'Mariner', 'Lavrock' (359) 'sky-lark'. The title changes from *The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere, in Seven Parts*, to *The Ancient Mariner, A Poet's Reverie*. The sub-title survives in the half-title before the poem in the 1802 and 1805 editions of *LB* but is removed in the heading, which becomes simply *The Ancient Mariner*, probably in response to CL's complaint that 'A Reverie' 'is as bad as Bottom the Weaver's declaration that *he is* not a Lion but only the scenical representation of a Lion' (Lamb [1975–8], 1.266).

The prose 'Argument' of 1798, which notes the course of the voyage and mentions 'the strange things that befell', is altered in *LB2* to include a less morally neutral summary of how the Mariner 'cruelly, and in contempt of the laws of hospitality, killed a Sea-bird; and how he was followed by many and strange Judgements' (*CW* 16.1.370, 16.2.509). (The Argument is dropped in later editions of *LB*.) Other substantial changes included the omission of five stanzas mainly concerned with the torch-like burning of the corpses' right arms (see *CW* 16.1.408)—perhaps considered by STC in revision 'unnecessarily macabre, excessive, and out of date' (Mays [2016], pp. 122–3).

In the anonymous *LB* there is no suggestion that two poets are represented. *LB2*, however, appears under WW's name, with a statement in the preface that 'a Friend' has contributed *AM* and several other poems 'for the sake of variety'. Repositioned from the opening of *LB* to become the penultimate piece in the first volume of *LB2*, it is accompanied by WW's note (omitted in later editions) claiming that the author had wanted it suppressed because 'many persons had been much displeased with it'. Its 'great defects' are 'that the principal person has no distinct character', 'he does not act, but is continually acted upon', 'the events [have] no necessary connection … and … the imagery is somewhat too laboriously accumulated'. It does contain 'many delicate touches of passion', 'beautiful images' and harmonious versification (Wordsworth and Coleridge [2013], p. 346). Clearly STC's poem is being judged by a Wordsworthian agenda; STC allows his poem to be moved from its prominent position, and denigrated, as part of his campaign to promote WW's poems and his status as the most notable and philosophical of modern poets.

The next significant revision of *AM* is for *1817*, where it appears for the first time under STC's name and as *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner. In Seven Parts.* Alterations here work further to tone down *Gothic elements, for instance by removing the description of the death-figure's bones, black or patched with purple and green 'rust/Of mouldy damps and charnel crust' (189). The new text opens with a Latin epigraph from Thomas Burnet's *Archaeologiae Philosophicae* (1692) on the mysterious 'invisible Natures' of the universe; omitting a passage which discourages speculation (see Norton 59 n.1), the epigraph 'stresses, like the poem itself, the vital interaction between the realms of the natural and the supernatural' (Hill [1983], p. 120). *1817* also gives the marginal gloss—solemn, eloquent and archaic—which adds one more

layer of interpretation: the voice of a perhaps seventeenth-century antiquarian responds to, or edits, that of a perhaps early sixteenth-century poet (see Brown [1945]). Often the gloss is seen as parodying the too-easy answers expected by some readers and reviewers, perhaps including WW (see Stillinger [1994], pp. 72–3). It 'familiarizes every supernatural event … Again and again it interprets the narrative … as a parable' (Lipking [1977], p. 615).

Changes after *1817* are minor. Mays (2016) highlights the difficulty of choosing which version of *AM* to read and of how, with the gloss in place, to '"read" the later [usually 1817 or 1834] version at all' (p. 130). Some editions have printed the later text with the gloss, some without, some the 1798 text with the gloss. Omitting it, as Mays (2016), p. 133, notes, means losing the celebrated sentence beginning 'In his loneliness and fixedness, he yearneth towards the journeying Moon, and the stars that still sojourn, yet still move onward …' (*CW* 16.2.520, 16.1.393).

Sources

No source for *AM* has been accepted as overridingly significant. The sense that the tale is archetypal—that the Mariner must tell it again and again—is increased by the use of 'Mariner', 'wedding-guest', 'pilot' rather than personal names, and the traditional ballad-form popularised by collections like Percy's *Reliques* (1765). The ballads there, with *Chaucer and *Spenser, supply most of the archaic vocabulary in *LB* (see Lowes 303–10). But, as Fulford (2002b) points out, 'old-fashioned diction is blended with common speech', reinforcing the poem's 'combination of strangeness and familiarity' (p. 53). Some of the supernatural elements owe more to such recent ballads as Gottfried August Bürger's 'Lenore' (several English versions were published in 1796) and *Lewis's *Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogine* (1796)—the Gothic horror of the leprous-white woman and her black-boned, 'fleshless' companion (189–94), the Wedding Guest's fear that he is talking to a ghost (223–31). Mays (2016) believes that *AM* began partly 'as a send-up of the current revival' of 'early balladry' (p. 79). It developed into a work whose genre is difficult to pin down: as well as ballad, there are elements of lyric and epic (see O'Neill [2009], pp. 383–4).

Homer's *Odyssey* sets a precedent for a voyage full of storms and supernatural intervention. Lowes established the importance of STC's reading in such later voyage literature as Samuel Purchas' *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613), Leemius' *De Lapponibus Finnarchiae* (1767), William Bartram's *Travels Through North and South Carolina* (1791), and the narratives of the expeditions of James Cook. (Smith [1956] suggests the influence of William Wales [1734–98], astronomer on Cook's second voyage in 1772–5 who subsequently taught mathematics at *Christ's Hospital.) There are possible sources or analogues in these works for details like the shiny water-snakes, the 'slimy things' (238), the cracking of the ice to release the ship, and the 'river steep and wide' (326) of lightning (Lowes 35–55, 81–2, 135, 171–2). Ower (2001) suggests David Crantz's *The History of Greenland* (1767) as the likely main source of the 'slimy things'. Piper (1987) sees them in the context of the rotting ocean of the

end of days in Burnet's *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1681–9) and the larger 'pattern of the apocalypse story' in the poem (pp. 50–52).

The Mariner, compelled to repeat his tale, is in the tradition of 'the everlasting Wandering Jew' (*CW* 14.1.273–4). STC draws probably on Lewis's *The Monk*, the ballad 'The Wandering Jew' in Percy's *Reliques*, and the Sicilian's story in *Schiller's *Der Geisterseher* (Lowes 229–30). 'Instead of the cross, the Albatross/About my neck was hung' is often linked to the burning cross on the Jew's brow in *The Monk* (chapter 4); Lowes 236 connects the lines also to the mark borne by Cain which is, according to some sources, a cross. There may also be a link with the Dutch legend of Falkenberg, who is condemned to wander the seas with a black spectral form and a white (compare Death and Life-in-Death) who dice for his soul (Lowes 253–4).

Brown (1998) looks at the influence of *Dante's *Inferno* as translated by Henry Boyd (1785), which STC borrowed from *Bristol Library in summer 1796. Like Ulysses—an 'ancient mariner'—and others in Dante, the Mariner is 'compelled by those he meets to tell his story and show by example the nature of his crime'; the souls are, like him, both prisoners and guides (pp. 651, 652). Beer (1959) discusses Neoplatonist influences and notes other possible sources in *Berkeley (pp. 142–5) and *Böhme, finding a 'Close link between [his] angels and Coleridge's seraph-men' (pp. 150–1, 142–5, 164).

Interpretations

The themes of *AM* include 'the evil of isolation and the restorative goodness of communion' (Stillinger [1994], p. 68); the operation of guilt; the mystery (or the theology) of sin and suffering; the relationship between humans and the natural world; 'the supernatural dimension of what [STC] came to call Imagination' (Mays [2016], p. 132); 'states of madness, dream and hallucination which encroach upon the normal, waking world' (Holmes 1.173). O'Neill (2009) suggests that the poem 'tells Coleridge's contemporaries that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in their philosophy' (p. 384).

Mid-twentieth century discussion often revolved around moral meaning, or its absence, in *AM*: the poem as 'a spiritual allegory depicting human life as a sort of Pilgrim's Progress on the sea' (Hill [1983], p. 155). For Abrams (1971), for example, the Mariner's spiritual journey 'is an instance of the Christian plot of moral error, the discipline of suffering, and a consequent change of heart' (p. 272). In such readings there is a clear progression from sin, in the killing of the albatross, through retribution and suffering to redemption in the blessing of the water-snakes and the telling of the warning tale to others. The blessing of the snakes 'unaware' (285) indicates an instinctive response to the One Life, the operation of Divine Grace, or the redeeming power of the imagination.

According to *Table Talk*, however, STC said that *AM* 'had too much moral, and that too openly intruded on the reader', that it was a fault to bring in 'the moral sentiment … too much as a principle or cause in a work of such pure Imagination' (*CW* 14.1.272–3, 149). For many readers the suffering of Mariner and crew seems out of proportion to his crime, and his parting words