The Palgrave Literary Dictionary of Byron

Martin Garrett

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Martin Garrett

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In loving memory of Frank Garrett (1931–2006)

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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. The entries will vary in length from about 10 to about 3,000 words, depending on the significance of the particular topic. The topics will include the literary works, individuals, fictional characters, 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 bibliography. Access to information will be facilitated by extensive cross-referencing.

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

BRIAN G. CARAHER AND ESTELLE SHEEHAN
Series Editors
Queen's University Belfast

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Preface and Acknowledgements

To work on a Byron dictionary is to be reminded forcibly of the extraordinary amount of reading, writing and living Byron accomplished during his 36 years. He read history, poetry, novels, travel books, lives; he wrote satire, lyric, drama, parody, tales, speeches, essays, journals, letters, squibs; he knew drinkers, actors, aristocrats, boxers, talkers, poets, politicians, prostitutes, clergymen, servants, Italians, Greeks, Albanians. In life and later he also generated much biography, criticism, editing and research. Complete coverage is impossible, but the dictionary includes entries or references for all but very minor poems and prose works and attempts to provide as much information as space permits on sources, publication, interpretation and reviews. It also focuses on the context of the work in Byron's reading, relationships and beliefs. His wider cultural impact is registered by entries, some extensive, on his portraits, illustrations of his work, his treatment in fiction, film and drama, and his reception in different countries.

There are cross-references for variant titles and for material – poems, people, topics – gathered elsewhere in the dictionary. Reference to most books and articles is by author name and date, with full details provided in the Bibliography. For other references see the list of abbreviations.

Anyone studying Byron owes much to Jerome J. McGann's edition of the *Complete Poetical Works*, Leslie A. Marchand's of the *Letters and Journals*, and Andrew Nicholson's of the *Complete Miscellaneous Prose*. I am particularly indebted to McGann's and Nicholson's information and suggestions about sources and dating. Marchand's two biographies of Byron remain invaluable. Useful more recent work includes: Fiona MacCarthy's *Byron: Life and Legend*; Caroline Franklin's *Byron: A Literary Life*; and the absorbing notes in Andrew Nicholson's edition of *The Letters of John Murray to Lord Byron*. Other helpful resources are the *Byron Journal* and the International Byron Society website (<www. Internationalbyronsociety.org>), with its editions and essays by the tireless Peter Cochran.

More personal thanks are due to Christine Corton, John Edmondson, Jennifer Fellows, Robert Inglesfield and, as always, to the supportive Helen, Philip, Lottie and Ed Garrett. My father, Frank Garrett, was also keenly interested in my work; this book is dedicated to his memory.

Martin Garrett
Cambridge 2009

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Abbreviations

1. Works by Byron

Age	*The Age of Bronze; or, Carmen Seculare et Annus Haud Mirabilis* (1823)
Beppo	*Beppo, A Venetian Story* (1818)
Blues	*The Blues, A Literary Eclogue* (1823)
Bride	*The Bride of Abydos. A Turkish Tale* (1813)
Cain	*Cain, A Mystery* (1821)
CHP	*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–18)
Corsair	*The Corsair; A Tale* (1814)
Curse	*The Curse of Minerva* (1812)
Deformed	*The Deformed Transformed; A Drama* (1824)
DJ	*Don Juan* (1819–24)
EBSR	*English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. A Satire* (1809)
FP	*Fugitive Pieces* (1806)
Giaour	*The Giaour, A Fragment of a Turkish Tale* (1813)
Heaven and Earth	*Heaven and Earth, A Mystery* (1823)
HI	*Hours of Idleness, A Series of Poems, Original and Translated* (1807)
Hints	*Hints from Horace* (1811)
HM	*Hebrew Melodies* (1815)
Island	*The Island, or Christian and his Comrades* (1823)
Lament	*The Lament of Tasso* (1817)
Lara	*Lara. A Tale* (1814)
Letter to John Murray	*Letter to John Murray, Esq. on the Rev. W.L. Bowles's Strictures on the Life and Writings of Pope* (1821)
Manfred	*Manfred, A Dramatic Poem* (1817)
Marino Faliero	*Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice. An Historical Tragedy* (1821)
Morgante	*Morgante Maggiore di Messer Luigi Pulci* (1823)
N1815	*A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, No. I*, ed. Isaac Nathan (1815)
N1816	*A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, Nos I–II*, ed. Isaac Nathan (1816)

N1827–9	*A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, Nos I–IV*, ed. Isaac Nathan (1827–29)
Observations upon Observations	*Observations upon Observations of the Revd W.L. B[owles]* (1821)
Ode to Napoleon	*Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* (1814)
PCOP	*The Prisoner of Chillon and Other Poems* (1816)
Poems1816	*Poems* (1816)
POT	*Poems Original and Translated* (1808)
POVO	*Poems on Various Occasions* (1807)
Prisoner	*The Prisoner of Chillon. A Fable* (1816)
Prophecy	*The Prophecy of Dante* (1821)
Sardanapalus	*Sardanapalus, A Tragedy* (1821)
Siege	*The Siege of Corinth* (1816)
Some Observations	*Some Observations upon an Article in 'Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine'* (1820)
Two Foscari	*The Two Foscari, An Historical Tragedy* (1821)
VJ	*The Vision of Judgement* (1822)
Werner	*Werner, A Tragedy* (1822)

2. Later collections, editions and biographies

Blessington, *Conversations*	*Lady Blessington's Conversations of Lord Byron*, ed. Ernest J. Lovell, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)
BLJ	*Byron's Letters and Journals*, ed. Leslie A. Marchand, 13 vols (London: John Murray, 1973–94)
C	*The Works of Lord Byron. Poetry*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, 7 vols (London: John Murray, 1898–1904)
CPW	*Lord Byron: The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann and Barry Weller, 7 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980–91)
DJV	*Byron's 'Don Juan'* (variorum edition), ed. T. G. Steffan and W. W. Pratt, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Austin: University of Texas, 1971)

HVSV	*His Very Self and Voice. Collected Conversations of Lord Byron*, ed. Ernest J. Lovell, Jr. (New York: Macmillan, 1954)
MacCarthy	Fiona MacCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend* (London: John Murray, 2002)
Marchand, *Biography*	Leslie A. Marchand, *Byron: A Biography*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1957)
Marchand, *Portrait*	Leslie A. Marchand, *Byron: A Portrait* (London: John Murray, 1971)
Medwin, *Conversations*	*Medwin's Conversations of Lord Byron*, ed. Ernest J. Lovell, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966)
Moore, *Life*	*Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: with Notices of his Life*, ed. Thomas Moore, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1830)
MSYRB	*The Manuscripts of the Younger Romantics. Byron*, ed. Alice Levine and others, 12 vols (New York and London: Garland, 1985–98)
Nathan	Isaac Nathan, *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron*... (London: Whittaker, Treacher, 1829)
P	*The Works of Lord Byron. Letters and Journals*, ed. Rowland E. Prothero, 6 vols (London: John Murray, 1898–1901)
Prose	*Lord Byron: The Complete Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. Andrew Nicholson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991)

3. Miscellaneous

Cochran	<www.internationalbyronsociety.org> Byron's works and other material, ed. Peter Cochran
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
IT	*Imitations and Translations from the Ancient and Modern Classics*, ed. John Cam Hobhouse (1809)
Murray, *Letters*	*The Letters of John Murray to Lord Byron*, ed. Andrew Nicholson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007)
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*

Romantic Circles	*Romantic Circles* (<http://:www.rc.umd.edu/>), ed. Neil Fraistat, Steven E. Jones and Carl Stahmer
RR	*The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers. Part B: Byron and Regency Society Poets*, ed. Donald H. Reiman, 5 vols (New York: Garland, 1972)
Sale Catalogue 1813	*Sale Catalogue* (1813) in Murray, *Letters* 506–16
Sale Catalogue 1816	*Sale Catalogue* (1816) in *Prose* 231–45
SC	*Shelley and His Circle*, ed. Kenneth Neill Cameron and others, 10 vols (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961–2002)

1815, 1832 and the like refer to the collected Byron editions of those years. Numbers in parentheses after titles indicate editions: *Corsair*(2) is the second edition of *The Corsair.*

Chronology

1788 22 January	Birth of George Gordon Byron in Holles Street, London.
1789	French Revolution begins.
1789–98	Byron lives with his mother, Catherine Gordon Byron, in Aberdeen
1791	Death of his father, John Byron.
1798	Byron succeeds as 6th Baron Byron of Rochdale on the death of his great-uncle. With his mother he takes up residence at Newstead Abbey in Nottinghamshire. (Newstead is let to tenants, 1801–08).
1801–05	Byron is a pupil at Harrow School.
1803	He falls in love with Mary Chaworth, the subject of some of his early poems.
1803–07	He lives at Southwell, mainly during vacations. Friendship with Elizabeth Pigot.
1805	Battle of Trafalgar (October).
1805–07	Byron is resident, sporadically, at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he meets John Edleston, John Cam Hobhouse and Charles Skinner Matthews.
1806	*FP* privately printed.
1807	*POVO* privately printed.
	HI published.
1808	Byron is awarded his Cambridge MA.
1808–09	He lives mainly in London and at Newstead.
1809	First edition of *EBSR* (March).
	Byron enters the House of Lords (March).
1809–11	He travels in Portugal, Spain, Malta, Greece, Albania and Turkey. Hobhouse is with him until July 1810. Byron works on *CHP* I–II, *Curse* and *Hints*.
1811	Death of Byron's mother (August). He also hears of the death of Edleston, which prompts the 'Thyrza' poems, and of Matthews.
	Byron meets Samuel Rogers and Thomas Moore.
1812	Byron is associated with the Holland House circle.

In his maiden speech at the House of Lords he opposes the 'Frame Work' Bill (February). In April he speaks in the debate on the Catholic Claims Bill.

CHP I–II published (March), beginning Byron's publishing relationship with John Murray.

Sexual relationship with Lady Caroline Lamb (April to late summer).

Byron starts writing *Giaour* (about September).

His first marriage proposal to Annabella Milbanke rejected (October).

His liaison with Lady Oxford begins (December, until June 1813).

1813 *Waltz* (April) and the first version of *Giaour* (June) are published.

Probable beginning of Byron's sexual relationship with his half-sister, Augusta Leigh (summer).

He pursues Lady Frances Webster and comments on the pursuit in letters to Lady Melbourne (autumn).

Bride is published (December).

1814 *Corsair* is published (February).

Napoleon's first abdication (April). Byron responds in *Ode to Napoleon*.

Lara is published (August).

Annabella Milbanke accepts Byron's second proposal of marriage (September).

1815 Marriage of Byron and Annabella Milbanke (January).

HM is published (April).

Byron becomes a member of the management sub-committee of Drury Lane Theatre (May).

Battle of Waterloo and Napoleon's second abdication (June).

Birth of the Byrons' daughter, Augusta Ada (December).

1816 Lady Byron leaves her husband (January). They separate formally in April.

Siege and *Parisina* are published (February).

Byron writes 'Fare Thee Well' and departs for Ostend (April). He visits the field of Waterloo before travelling, through Germany, to Switzerland. During the summer he lives at Villa Diodati, on Lake Geneva, and is often in the company of P. B. Shelley, M. W. Godwin (later Shelley) and Claire Clairmont.

Byron writes *CHP* III (May–June), *Prisoner* (June), 'Darkness' (July or August) and his *Alpine Journal* (September). He begins *Manfred* (September).

In the autumn he moves, via Milan, to Venice, where his main sexual relationships are with Marianna Segati and Margherita Cogni.
CHP III (November) and *Prisoner* (December) are published.
Newstead is sold (December).

1817 Allegra, Byron's daughter by Claire Clairmont, is born (January).
Publication of *Manfred* (June) and *Lament* (July).
Byron travels in central Italy, visiting Florence, Ferrara and Rome (April–May).
He starts work on *CHP* IV (June).
Byron writes to Murray about modern writers' 'wrong revolutionary poetical system' (September).
First draft of *Beppo* (October).

1818 In Venice he meets Countess Teresa Guiccioli (January).
Beppo is published (February); Byron begins *DJ*, also in *ottava rima*, in July.
Publication of *CHP* IV (April).

1819 Byron and Teresa Guiccioli become lovers (April).
Mazeppa and *Venice. An Ode* (June) and *DJ* I–II (July) are published.
Byron lives in Ravenna, near Teresa Guiccioli (June–August). He returns to Ravenna in December and lives mainly there until autumn 1821.
'Peterloo' massacre (August).
Byron starts work on *Morgante* (October). He writes *DJ* III–IV (September–November).
He entrusts his memoirs to Moore (October).

1820 Death of King George III and accession of George IV (January).
Byron writes *Some Observations* (March).
Francesca written (March; published 1830).
Teresa Guiccioli and her husband separate (July).
Byron becomes a member of the Ravenna Carbonari (summer).
He writes *DJ* V (October–November).

1821 Byron writes his *Ravenna Journal* (January–February).
Publication of *Letter to John Murray* (March). He sends the related *Observations upon Observations* to Murray in April.
Byron publishes *Marino Faliero* and *Prophecy* (April), *DJ* III–V (August) and *Cain*, *Sardanapalus* and *Two Foscari* (December). He writes most of *VJ* (September–October).
Beginning of the Greek War of Independence (March).
Death of Napoleon (May).

The Gambas, Teresa Guiccioli's father and brother, are banished from the Papal States (July).
Byron begins his journal *Detached Thoughts*.
In November he moves to Pisa, where he lives at Casa Lanfranchi, near Countess Guiccioli, the Gambas and the Shelleys.

1822 He adds 'Noel' to his name – George Gordon Noel Byron – following the death of his wife's mother, Judith, Lady Noel.
Byron writes *DJ* VI (January–April).
Death of Allegra Byron (April).
During the summer Byron and Teresa Guiccioli live at Montenero, near Livorno.
Shelley and Edward Williams are drowned (July).
Byron writes *DJ* VII–XVI between July 1822 and May 1823.
Byron and Countess Guiccioli move to Albaro, near Genoa (October).
VJ is published in *The Liberal* (October).
Werner published (November).

1823 *Heaven and Earth* and *Morgante* are published in *The Liberal* (January and July).
Age is published (April).
Byron is approached for help by the London Greek Committee. He is elected a member in May.
Byron begins *DJ* XVII (May).
Island is published (June).
DJ VI–VIII are published by John Hunt in July, IX–XI in August, and XII–XIV in December.
Byron sets off for Greece in July. He is based on Cephalonia until December and writes the main entries of his *Journal in Cephalonia* in September and December.
He visits Ithaca (August).
Byron's love for Loukas Chalandritsanos.

1824 In January Byron lands on the Greek mainland at Missolonghi. He writes 'January 22nd 1824. Messalonghi', 'Love and Death' and 'Last Words on Greece'.
Deformed (February) and *DJ* XV–XVI are published (March).
Byron suffers from convulsions in February and develops a fever in April. He dies in Missolonghi on 19 April and is buried at Hucknall Torkard on 16 July.
Byron's memoirs are burned at John Murray's (May).

A

Aberdeen

Scottish city where Byron spent much of his childhood. He was brought here by his mother in 1789 and left following his succession as Lord Byron in 1798. Some of his memories are recorded in the *Ravenna Journal* (*BLJ* viii.107–8).

'Address, Spoken at the Opening of Drury-lane Theatre'

Byron's couplets for the new theatre. They were delivered by the actor Robert Elliston each night between 10 and 20 October 1812 and published on 12 October in the **Morning Chronicle*. The old *Drury Lane theatre had burnt down in 1809. Having refused to enter an address in competiton with others – and following the committee's controversial rejection of all the other entries – Byron was asked to write one by Lord *Holland. He had some difficulty with the piece, destroying the first draft and submitting five subsequent versions to Holland between 23 September and 2 October. It is to be hoped that 'our stage' will 'unfold/Scenes not unworthy' the old Drury Lane glories of Sarah *Siddons, David Garrick, 'Roscius' (William Henry *Betty) and *Sheridan.

The *Morning Chronicle* itself called the address 'in parts unmusical, and in general tame' (*see BLJ* ii.225).

See also: '**Parenthetical Address by Dr. Plagiary**'; **Smith, James and Horatio (Horace)**.

'Address Intended to be Recited at the Caledonian Meeting'

Poem written probably in May 1814. All but the last six lines (*C*) were first published in Moore, *Life*. It was intended as a contribution to the campaign, by the Highland Society of London, for charitable aid for Scottish orphans in London. (The Caledonian Asylum was established by Act of Parliament in 1815 and opened in 1819.) *Scotland was once glorious for repelling invaders; now 'O'er Gael and Saxon mingling banners shine' (9). A great number of Scottish soldiers and sailors were involved in the Napoleonic wars which had seemingly ended with *Napoleon's first abdication on 11 April 1814.

'Adieu. Written under the impression that the author would soon die, The'

Poem written probably in late 1806 or early 1807. (Byron told the Earl of *Clare on 6 Februay 1807 (*BLJ* i.106), 'Though my health is not perfectly re-established, I am out of all danger'.) A melancholy leave is taken of *Harrow ('Ida'), *Cambridge ('Granta'), the 'regions of the North' he should never have left, *Newstead, Mary *Chaworth and John *Edleston. Now the poet must turn to God, who 'Will not reject a child of dust,/although his meanest care' (109–10). Part of 'The Adieu' was published in Moore, *Life*, and the whole in *1832*.

'Adieu to the Muse'

The poet's 'bosom' is 'responsive to rapture no more' (5). His themes are gone for ever: he cannot love alone; he has little hope of seeing his friends again; and he cannot do justice to the heroic exploits of his ancestors. This 'Ode expressive of my Intention to relinquish *Poesy* forever' was meant, Byron told *Long (*BLJ* i.118), to 'conclude my Volume' (*HI*). In the event it was first published in *1832*. He also claimed that he would give up writing in the preface to *HI* and, later, in the dedication to *Corsair*.

Aeschylus

(525–456 BC)
Greek dramatist. Byron translated some lines (526–35, 555–60) of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* at *Harrow in December 1804 and published them in *FP* and related volumes as 'Fragments of School Exercises, From the Prometheus Vinctus of Aeschylus'. As a boy he was 'passionately fond' of the play, and acknowledges, when discussing *Manfred* with John *Murray, that it 'has always been so much in my head – that I can easily conceive its influence over all or anything that I have written' (*BLJ* v.268). In the same letter he mentions favourably Aeschylus' *Seven before Thebes*.
See also: '**Prometheus**'.

'Again deceived! again betrayed!' *see* Vaughan, Susan

Age of Bronze; Or, Carmen Seculare et Annus Haud Mirabilis, The

Verse satire written mostly in December 1822. Originally intended for *The* **Liberal,* it was published separately and anonymously on 1 April 1823 by John *Hunt. Two further editions followed in the same year.

The occasion of the poem is the Congress of *Verona, where European leaders met in October–December 1822. Satire is aimed at ludicrous and reactionary royals including *Louis XVIII and Tsar *Alexander I, who has 'no objection to true liberty,/Except that it would make the nations free' (442–3) and the ministers, *Wellington among them, 'who sway the puppets, pull the strings' (710). Behind such figures are self-interested bankers and the landowners whose 'good, ill, health, wealth, joy, or discontent,/Being end, aim, religion – Rent, Rent, Rent!' (632–3). This is the 'Age of Bronze' by comparison with the age – silver at least – which preceded it. (The subtitle, 'secular song for a not at all wonderful year', is an ironic reference to *Horace's celebratory poem for the secular, or centennial, games of 17 BC.) That age was *Napoleon's, and although he is extensively condemned for abandoning his own principles – he 'burst the chains of millions to renew/The very fetters which his arm broke through' (256–7) – he is clearly worthy of more sympathy and respect than those who rule after him. He is granted much more space and more tolerance in the poem than any of them; the spirit of freedom he originally championed is alive in *Spain, the former Spanish colonies and *Greece (260–376). (Byron's main source for his account of Napoleon on St Helena is Barry O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile* [1822].)

Age is one of Byron's less-popular works. Readers have often endorsed his description of the poem as 'in my early English Bards style – but a little more stilted and somewhat too full of "epithets of war" and classical and historical allusions' (*BLJ* x.81). Some 'cryptic condensations of thought', as Beaty (1985), says, are necessitated by Byron's desire to 'achieve succinct comparisons and contrasts' (p. 176). (*Cochran*, *Age*, p. 1, suggests that Byron was in fact writing down to Hunt's readership, 'defying his ignorant audience to follow him'.) Inevitably the couplets and stern *Juvenalian manner of the poem have been contrasted with the more flexible and humorous **ottava rima* satire of the contemporary *DJ*. The return to the earlier style and tone was perhaps a conscious answer to criticism of *DJ*; for the *Edinburgh [Scots] Magazine* for April 1823 *Age* 'demonstrates that, notwithstanding the "devilry" in which the noble author has lately been engaged, and which we hope he has abandoned for ever, the wings of his genius are still unclipped' (*RR* v.2212).

Beaty ([1985], p. 176) feels that the importance of the poem lies in Byron's conception of history as 'a continuum guiding both present and future – a lesson that humanity must learn or be doomed to repeat the errors of the past'.

Albania

Name, in Byron's time, for much of northern *Greece as well as modern Albania. The area was part of the Turkish Empire but was under the quasi-independent rule of *Ali Pasha when Byron and *Hobhouse travelled in the area in autumn 1809. Few western travellers had preceded them. Albania is described in *CHP* II.334–692.

Alborghetti, Count Giuseppe

(1776–1852)
Secretary-General to the Papal Legate in *Ravenna. He gave Byron practical help, even disclosing sensitive political material to him, at a time when Alborghetti might have been expected to be hostile to an associate of the *Gambas and the *Carbonari.

Albrizzi, Countess Isabella Teotochi

(1761?–1836)
Aristocratic Venetian hostess, of Corfiote extraction. Byron attended her *conversazioni* from the autumn of 1816. Her description of the *Opere di scultura e di plastica di Antonio Canova* had been published in 1809 and *Canova had given her his *Helen*; Byron wrote 'On the Bust of Helen by Canova' on seeing it at her palazzo. In the fourth edition (1826) of her *Ritratti* the countess remembered Byron as physically striking, changeable and wont to follow his own will. He was also surprisingly shy – possessed of *una timidezza costante e quasi infantile* (p. 95).

Albuera, Battle of *see* Talavera, Battle of

Alexander I

(1777–1825)
Tsar of Russia 1801–25. In *Age* he is 'the coxcomb Czar,/The autocrat of waltzes and of war' (434–5). His theoretical commitment to liberty is belied by his actions in Poland and ambitions for *Greece, which he would gladly free 'if Greeks would be his slaves' (445).

Alfieri, Vittorio

(1749–1803)
Tragic playwright. His spare neoclassical manner had some influence on Byron's plays, especially *Two Foscari*. In *CHP* IV.478–88, he is, with

Michelangelo, Galileo and Machiavelli, one of 'four [Italian] minds, which, like the elements,/Might furnish forth creation' (487–8). *Hobhouse's note (*CPW* ii.236) points up his political significance to Italians – and Byron and Hobhouse – as 'the bard of freedom'. In August 1819 a production in *Bologna of Alfieri's tragedy *Mirra* had a more emotional effect on Byron when, he told *Murray, 'the two last acts ... threw me into convulsions ... the agony of reluctant tears – and the choaking shudder which I do not often undergo for fiction' (*BLJ* vi.206).

*Polidori's father had been Alfieri's secretary.

Ali Pasha

(1744?–1822)

Albanian ruler. He was provincial governor of *Yanina from 1788. Although nominally subject to the Turkish Sultan he became, by the early nineteenth century, quasi-independent ruler of much of *Albania, northern *Greece and the Peloponnese. He had a justified reputation for ruthlessness and violence. Eventually war broke out between the pasha and the Sultan; Ali was killed at Yanina in 1822 but the effort which it took for the Turks to defeat him was a material aid to the Greek rebellion.

Byron and *Hobhouse visited Ali in *Tebelene on 20–2 October 1809. He seems to have been personally taken with Byron, who told his mother that Ali 'said he was certain I was a man of birth because I had small ears, curling hair, & little white hands ... He told me to consider him as a father' (*BLJ* i.227). Some commentators assume that sexual encounters followed. (Lang [1985], pp. 158–61, points out similarities between his reception of Byron and Catherine's of Juan in *DJ* IX.337–664.) Whether or not this is so, Ali's 'courtesy ... was probably increased by his knowledge that the English forces had just taken the neighbouring Ionian islands of Ithaca, Cephalonia, and Zante [Zakynthos] from the French' (Marchand, *Portrait* 72). Cochran (1995) thinks that the British authorities on *Malta may have encouraged Byron and Hobhouse to go to Ali's court on an informal diplomatic mission. He was 'much courted by both' the English and the French (*BLJ* i.228).

Byron was interested by the contrast between the pasha's hospitable and dignified manner and his 'real character' as 'a remorseless tyrant, guilty of the most horrible cruelties' (*BLJ* i.228). He develops the point when he characterizes Ali in *CHP* II.554–67. Ali is one source for Lambro, the 'mildest manner'd man/That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat' (*DJ* III.321–2) and for Giaffir in *Bride*.

'All is Vanity, Saith the Preacher'

Song in *HM*, written in February 1815. 'Fame, wisdom, love, and power' have brought no content, no 'hour/Of pleasure unembittered'. The title and the general sentiment are from Ecclesiastes.

Alpine Journal

Journal for Augusta *Leigh. Byron kept it between 17 and 28 (misdated 29) September 1816; extracts were published in Moore, *Life*, and the whole work in *P*. It records his impressions on a tour with *Hobhouse in *Switzerland, starting from Villa *Diodati and visiting places including *Chillon, Clarens and the mountains, glaciers and lakes of the Bernese Oberland. There is much about the glory of nature; still in *CHP* III vein, Byron says, after watching and hearing some shepherds and their music, 'I have lately repeopled my mind with Nature' (*BLJ* v.99). But according to the last entry in the journal nothing he has described has 'for one moment – lightened the weight upon my heart – nor enabled me to lose my own wretched identity in the majesty & the power and the Glory – around – above – & beneath me' (*BLJ* v.105). The suffering results from the crisis of Byron's separation from Lady *Byron and its aftermath, and aims particularly to excite his sister's sympathy and continuing love.

Another way of coping with or forgetting such feelings, while entertaining Augusta, is comedy. The travellers' minor doings and misfortunes at times look forward to Jerome K. Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat*. 'H. went to fish – caught one' (*BLJ* v.99) and the next day, equally laconically, 'H. went to fish – caught none' (100). On 20 September Hobhouse 'knocked his head against the door – and exclaimed of course against doors' (100) so that when 'H. hurt his head against door' again on 24 (102) it is like a repeated visual gag. The mountain guide tumbles (99), the deaf guide at Chillon roars (98), Byron comes to the assistance of a goat but 'nearly overset both self & kid into the river' (100), he and his horse sink in the mud (102). He snowballs Hobhouse (102 – soon after the partly more serious 'Avalanches falling every five minutes nearly – as if God was pelting the Devil down from Heaven with snow balls').

America

Byron expressed consistently positive feelings towards the United States. In *Detached Thoughts* he says that he always agrees to meet Americans because he respects 'a people who acquired their freedom by firmness without excess' and because he feels as if talking to posterity: 'in a century or two' the two Americas will probably be 'masters of the old Countries' (*BLJ* ix.17). For examples of his relations with the Americans he met in Italy *see BLJ* ix.20–1, 162–3, and *MacCarthy* 330–1, 422–3. He regarded *Washington as one of the most unambiguously heroic of men. He also praised Benjamin Franklin (*Age* 245–8, 386–7) and Daniel *Boone (*DJ* VIII.481–536).

Because America did not (until 1891) acknowledge international copyright, reprints of Byron's works were widely disseminated in America soon after first publication. As in continental Europe, they were available much more cheaply than in Britain. St Clair (2004) notes 'records of about a hundred early American editions of Byron' (p. 387). The periodical press paid much attention, frequently censorious, to the author's life, but his ostracism at home seems to have worked in his favour as far as many American readers were concerned. His defenders included John Neal, in the Baltimore magazine *The Portico* of 1816–18, and Hugh Legaré in the *Southern Review* of 1828–32. Washington *Irving's account, in *Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey* (1835) of *Newstead and the poet's early life, generously illustrated with quotations, also promoted a favourable impression.

Byron exerted a strong influence on the early work of Poe, Melville and Thoreau, and on the conception of *Italy and the old world in Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* and Henry James.

'L'Amitié Est L'Amour Sans Ailes'

Poem of December 1806, first published in *1831*. Friendship and its memory console for the loss of youth. 'Friendship is Love without his wings', a French proverb, was Elizabeth Bridget *Pigot's motto. At fondly remembered *Harrow, where friends included Lycus (James Wynne de Bathe), Byron was 'In one, and one alone deceived' (61): George, Earl *Delawarr.

Anacreon

(6th century BC)
Greek lyric poet. He was wrongly credited with the collection of ancient love-poems published in 1554 and later known as *Anacreontea*. Thomas *Moore's version was published in 1800. Byron wrote four unpublished translations from this material, probably all in 1806 (*CPW* i.8–11) and included two more in *HI*. Anacreon is the archetypal poet of love in *DJ* III.695–6 and XVI.917–19.

'And wilt thou weep when I am low?'

Poem in *IT*. A lover can no longer feel but is consoled by the fact that his beloved will 'weep when I am low'. Byron's corrected fair copy is dated 12 August 1808. *CPW* i.390 conjectures that it is addressed to Caroline *Cameron. Elizabeth *Pigot copied it into *POVO*; it was possibly addressed to her, or perhaps to *Edleston or the Duke of *Dorset. 'There was a time, I need not name', originally for Dorset, is printed in *IT* as addressed 'to the Same' person as 'And wilt thou weep'.

Angelo, Henry

(1756–1835)
Byron's fencing instructor. He taught Byron first when he was at *Harrow, and visited *Cambridge regularly. In London he shared the boxer John 'Gentleman' *Jackson's Bond Street rooms.

Animals, Byron's

Byron kept many pets including *Boatswain and other dogs, parrots (*Nathan* 18–19), the bear he installed in *Cambridge, the three tortoises he brought back from *Greece (*BLJ* ii.94), and the creatures listed in *BLJ* vii.208–9: cats, 'a badger – a falcon, a tame Crow – and a Monkey. – The fox died.' P. B. *Shelley's letter to *Peacock (10[?] August 1821) on his visit to Byron in *Ravenna includes most of the same animals plus an eagle, 'five peacocks, two guinea hens, and an Egyptian crane'. Juan, who also has 'a kind of inclination, or/Weakness, for what most people deem mere vermin', travels with 'A bull-dog, and a bull-finch, and an ermine' (*DJ* X.393–7). Byron's bulldog, Moretto, and his Newfoundland, Lyon, went with him to Greece.

'Another Simple Ballat' *see* 'Ballad to the Tune of "Sally in Our Alley"'

'Answer to a Beautiful Poem, Written by Montgomery…Entitled "The Common Lot"'

Poem asserting the triumph of 'bright renown' over oblivion. James Montgomery's more pessimistic treatment of mortality concludes his *The Wanderer of Switzerland, and Other Poems* (1806). Byron's reply was written late in 1806 and printed in *POVO*.

‘Answer to Some Elegant Verses, Sent by a Friend to the Author’ *see* Becher, Rev. John Thomas

Ariosto, Ludovico

(1474–1533)
Poet, author of the **ottava rima* epic *Orlando Furioso*. He features as Bard of Chivalry in *CHP* IV.356–69 and more extensively in *Prophecy* III.110–18, 149–58: art will ‘seem into Nature wrought/By the transparency of his bright dream’ (117–18). *See also* the preface to *Morgante* (*CPW* iv.247).

‘Aristomenes’

Opening of ‘Canto the First’ of an unfinished poem, dated 10 September 1823. It was written on *Cephalonia. (First publication was in *C*.) Traditionally Aristomenes was a hero of ancient Messenian resistance to the Spartans; Byron probably intended to develop parallels with the situation of modern Greeks fighting Turkish rule – and perhaps between himself and Aristomenes. The fragment alludes to Plutarch’s story (*Moralia* 419) of a cry announcing the death of Pan (later interpreted as signalling the arrival of Christianity). The gods have been silent since Pan expired and ‘How much died with him! false or true, the dream/Was beautiful which peopled every stream…’ Barton (1968), p. 24, sees this as, unusually in Byron’s work, honouring fiction rather than fact and almost adopting *Keats’s point of view in the opening of *Endymion*.

Armenian

Language studied by Byron in *Venice. Armenian monks, refugees from southern Greece, had been given the island of San Lazzaro (consequently known as San Lazzaro degli Armeni) by the Republic of Venice in 1717. At the monastery here Byron studied the language with Father Paschal Aucher (Harutiun Avgerian in Armenian) mainly between late November 1816 and February or early March 1817. He told *Moore, ‘my mind wanted something craggy to break upon’ (*BLJ* v.130). In the aftermath of separation and exile, Andrew Nicholson suggests (*Prose* 335), Byron sought a more challenging distraction ‘from himself than poetry could provide’.

Byron had some share (‘the major part’ according to *BLJ* ix.131) with Aucher in the compilation of his *Grammar English and Armenian* (1817) and *Grammar Armenian and English* (1819). He also wrote a preface to the 1819 work which, however, remained unpublished until 1830 (Moore, *Life* ii.69n.) because Aucher disliked its overtly political defence of Armenia, 'an oppressed and noble nation' (*Prose* 335, 67). Byron paid for the printing of *Grammar English and Armenian* but, Aucher's diary says (Bekaryan [2004], p. 395), he was 'disheartened' by the refusal to use his preface, stopped coming to the monastery, and failed to finance the appearance of *Grammar Armenian and English*. The money was provided instead by Edward Lombe, another of Aucher's pupils.

Byron also undertook one verse and several prose translations from Armenian (*CPW* iv.110–13; *Prose* 67–76). His involvement with the language resulted in widespread reading and translation of his own work among the communities of the Armenian diaspora (Bekaryan [2004], p. 397).

Arnold, Matthew

(1822–88)
Poet, critic and social commentator. Arnold's essay on Byron (1881) finds him sometimes too affected and rhetorical but commends him for his energy, sense of 'what is beautiful in human action and suffering' (p. 234) and assault on *'cant' (pp. 232–3). He also salutes Byron's 'fire' in 'Memorial Verses' (1850), 'Courage' (*c*.1850) and 'Haworth Churchyard' (1855); and *see* his 'Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse' (1855).

'Art of Praise, The'

Poem probably written in 1814. It was first published, with this title supplied, in *CPW*. Satirical couplets on the art of praising people for their defects turn, in lines 29–34, to ridicule of the Prince Regent (*George IV), whom one should not praise but 'Thank and adore, and hear him praise himself' for his alleged achievements. These have been sung in 'hymns of special praise' by *Southey (*Carmen Triumphale for the Commencement of the Year 1814*).

Artistic taste, Byron's *see* Painting and sculpture

Athens

Greek city. Byron wrote to his mother on 20 July 1810 that it was 'a place which I think I prefer upon the whole to any I have seen' (*BLJ* ii.3). With *Hobhouse he arrived in Athens on 25 December 1809 and lodged with the *Macri family until 5 March 1810 and again briefly in July. For much of the period between mid-August 1810 and late April 1811 he lived at the

Capuchin monastery built around the ancient Monument of Lysicrates, then known as the Lantern of Demosthenes. Here he had (*BLJ* ii.37) 'Hymettus before me, the Acropolis behind, the temple of Jove [or Olympieion] to my right ... the town to the left.' Among the pupils at the small monastery school was Nicolo *Giraud.

In *CHP* II.1–135 ancient Athens represents the glory that has been lost by modern *Greece. Here as in *Curse* the plunder of the Parthenon frieze adds to the desolation.

Auden, [W]ystan [H]ugh

(1907–73)
Poet. His prose discussions of Byron value him especially, before the preference became generally accepted, for *Beppo*, *VJ* and *DJ*. His 'distinctive contribution to English poetry was to be, not the defiant thunder of the rebel angel, but the speaking voice of the tolerant man-about-town' ([1938], p. 296). Auden's essay on *DJ* ([1963], p. 403) argues that the poem is comic rather than satirical and that there is a humanly important place for poetry expressive not of passion or rage but of states in which a man is 'amused and amusing, detached and irreverent'. In the verse of *Letter to Lord Byron* (in *Letters from Iceland* (1937); revised 1966) Auden addresses him in suitably conversational and self-referential style, although not in **ottava rima*: it would be 'proper' but he would 'come a cropper'.

Augustanism

Term often applied to the work of eighteenth-century neoclassical writers. The original Augustan age was the reign of the Emperor Augustus, when *Horace and *Virgil wrote. In spite of the elements of *Romanticism in his poems, Byron felt a strong allegiance to the Augustans, above all to *Pope.

'Augustus Darvell'

Fragment of a novel or story by Byron. It was the foundation of *Polidori's *The *Vampyre*. At Villa *Diodati in June 1816 it was Byron who, according to Mary *Shelley's 1831 introduction to *Frankenstein*, suggested to her, P. B. *Shelley and Polidori, that 'We will each write a ghost story.' The untitled fragment represents Byron's contribution. Darvell who, in the tradition of the *Byronic hero, suffers from 'some cureless disquiet' (*Prose* 59), travels to Turkey with the younger, unnamed narrator. Darvell dies at a remote cemetery having made the younger man swear that he will not reveal his death and that he will 'fling' Darvell's seal-ring 'into the Salt Springs which run into the bay of Eleusis' (62). *Southey's *Thalaba* (1801) is the source of some of the oriental details and probably of the ring, but their mystery is increased by transposition into the 'more realistic context of a journal-narrative' (Seed [1988], p. 139).

According to *Polidori (note in the introduction to *Ernestus Berchtold*, 1819) the story would have gone on with 'the remaining traveller returning to his native country' where he is 'startled at perceiving his former companion moving about in society, and ... horrified at finding that he made love to his former friend's sister'. It was only because this scenario was developed into *The Vampyre*, which was published as Byron's, that Byron published the fragment with **Mazeppa* in 1819. The differences between 'Augustus Darvell: a Fragment of a Ghost Story' (as Nicholson calls it in *Prose*) and Polidori's tale would show clearly that Byron could not have written the latter. 'Augustus' is unfinished probably because he soon tired, as Mary Shelley says, of 'the platitude of prose'; Seed (1988, p. 146) suggests that he stopped because 'the journal method had locked him into a narrative with a single perspective and thereby debarred him from the rapid shifts of pace and technique which characterize his verse narratives'. But what we have, brief though it is, is Byron's most accomplished piece of prose fiction: 'a compelling story, building up a picture of Augustus Darvell that is never openly sinister. Byron's prose is complex and sensitive, capable of hints, qualifications, second thoughts and dissimulations, that suggest an almost Jamesian depth of character' (Wordsworth [1991], p. 180).

Austen, Jane

(1775–1817)
Novelist. In *Persuasion* (1817), Chapter 11, Anne Elliot and the melancholy, grieving Captain Benwick discuss the work of Walter *Scott and Byron. They consider 'how ranked the *Giaour* and *The Bride of Abydo*s; and moreover, how the *Giaour* was to be pronounced'. Benwick is 'intimately acquainted' with 'all the impassioned descriptions of hopeless agony' in Byron. But in fact it is Anne whose situation, masked by her composure, arguably 'corresponds ... to that of the heart-broken heroes of [Byron's] tales' (Knox-Shaw [1993], pp. 51–2). In Chapter 12 there is a reference to 'Lord Byron's "dark blue seas" ' (the 'dark blue sea' of the first line of *Corsair*; Austen mentions having read the poem in a letter of 5 March 1814).

Byron owned copies (*Sale Catalogue* 1813, no. 154) of *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) and *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), probably sent by John *Murray, who published both authors. Murray asked Byron whether he and Augusta *Leigh admired *Emma* (1816), but received no reply, and briefly mentioned Austen's death (Murray, *Letters* 149, 246). *CPW* v.680 suggests that he may have sent Byron *Persuasion* and that Anne's contrast between female and male lovers in Chapter 23 may have influenced Donna Julia's 'Man's love is of his life a thing apart,/'Tis woman's whole existence…' (*DJ* I.1545–6).

B

Baillie, Joanna

(1762–1851)
Playwright. Byron valued her tragedies highly, especially *De Monfort* (1798) and *Ethwald* (1802): *see* e.g. *BLJ* iii.109 and the preface to *Marino Faliero* (CPW iv.305). He attempted unsuccessfully to have *De Monfort* revived at *Drury Lane in 1815 (*BLJ* iv.336–7). Brewer (1995, p. 177) argues that Baillie both 'challenged Byron's belief that women could not write tragedies' (cp. *BLJ* v.203) and inspired him (especially in *Sardanapalus*) 'to depict women who act in surprising and sometimes "masculine" ways'.

'Ballad to the Tune of "Sally in Our Alley"'

Satirical abuse of Henry Gally Knight (1786–1846) and his poems. The author of *Alashtar, an Arabian Tale* (1817) 'rode upon a Camel's hump/Through Araby the sandy -/Which surely must have hurt the rump/Of this poetic dandy' (33–6). The piece is a parody of the song by Henry Carey (1687?–1743), where 'Of all the girls that are so smart/There's none like pretty Sally'. Sally is poor but perfect; Gally is rich and a fool. Part of Byron's poem, with 'Another Simple Ballat', which provides further jibes at Gally Knight, was sent to John *Murray in a letter of 11 April 1818 (*BLJ* vi.27–9). Byron's longer versions of both ballads were first published in *C*.

Bankes, William

(1786–1855)
*Cambridge friend of Byron. He was at Trinity College between 1803 and 1808 and came into a considerable fortune on the death of his brother in 1806. Reminiscing to *Murray in November 1820 (*BLJ* vii.230–1), Byron calls Bankes his 'collegiate pastor, and master, and patron', 'good-naturedly tolerant of my ferocities' and 'father of all mischiefs'. *MacCarthy* 58 suggests that Byron was 'indoctrinated' by Bankes into 'an already thriving subculture of sodomy, with its own rituals and codes'. (He knew *Matthews well.) Allegations of homosexual activity led him to live permanently abroad after 1841.

In 1812, soon after unsuccessfully proposing marriage to Annabella Milbanke (later Lady *Byron), Bankes began his travels. He became a noted explorer and Egyptologist. In 1819–20, on the way back from one of his expeditions, he was with Byron in *Venice and *Ravenna. Byron told *Murray in August 1820 that 'Bankes *has* done *miracles* of research and enterprize' (*BLJ* vii.150).

Barff, Samuel *see* Hancock, Charles

Barry, Charles F.

(fl. 1822–26)
Byron's banker and friend in *Genoa. He was responsible for the detailed organization of Byron's journey to *Greece on the brig *Hercules* in 1823.

Bartolini, Lorenzo *see* Byron, portraits of

Bayle, Pierre

(1647–1706)
French scholar. His *Dictionnaire historique et critique* aims to expose irrationality in theology and philosophy. Byron owned a copy of the 1734–41 translation of the *Dictionary*; it was included in *Sale Catalogue 1816* (no. 190) but he sent for another from *Murray in 1821 (*BLJ* viii.238). In *Cain* Byron's knowledge of dualism probably comes either from Bayle or from his disciples *Voltaire and *Gibbon (Thorslev [1991], p. 60). Thorslev argues for possible influence also on *DJ* through what Wolf Z. Hirst (1991b) sums up as Bayle's 'stance of disillusioned common sense' and 'open-ended, closure-resistant irony' (pp. 9–10).

Becher, Rev. John Thomas

(1770–1848)
*Southwell friend of Byron and critic of his verse. He was vicar of Rumpton and Midsomer Norton and later a prebendary of Southwell Minster. He was the uncle of Elizabeth and John *Pigot. Becher took an interest in Byron's early poems, but influenced his decision to suppress *FP* because 'one of his descriptions was rather too warmly drawn' (*CPW* i.179). This is part of the title of 'Answer to Some Elegant Verses, Sent by a Friend to the Author' (*POVO*, *HI*), where Byron begins by accepting 'Your strong, yet just, reproof'

but goes on to mount a vigorous defence of his honest Muse, who will taint no modest maid; the lustful 'nymph' would 'have fallen, tho' she ne'er had read'. It seems that Becher objected to the public presentation of poems like 'To Mary' but was less worried about the author's private morality. In a letter of February 1808 Byron clearly experiences no difficulty in telling him about his sexual exertions with the 'blue eyed Caroline' (*BLJ* i.157). It is often noted that Becher did not destroy his own copy of *FP* – one of the four which survive.

A fairly close relationship is also suggested by 'To the Rev. J. T. Becher' (*POVO*), according to which Becher advised Byron to 'mix with mankind'; he replies that he has high ambitions but will not 'mingle in fashion's full herd'.

See also: **'Egotism'.**

Beckford, William

(1759–1834)

Author of *Vathek, an Arabian Tale* (1786). This was one of Byron's favourite books. He acknowledged it as an influence on *Giaour* and regarded it as a convincingly eastern work; 'for correctness of costume, beauty of description, and power of imagination, it far surpasses all European imitations' (note added to the fourth edition, *CPW* iii.423).

Byron was keenly aware of Beckford's pariah status since the homosexual scandal of 1784 which had forced him to remain abroad for some years. In June 1809 Byron referred to him in a letter to *Hodgson as 'the great Apostle of Paederasty' and 'the Martyr of prejudice' (*BLJ* i.210). In a rejected stanza for *CHP* I (*CPW* ii.18) he censured, while lamenting, Beckford's 'deed accurst'. A more anodine version was printed as *CHP* I.275–87. Later Byron wanted (3 March 1818, *BLJ* vi.17), to see the unpublished 'remaining *tales*' of Vathek, which contained more explicitly homosexual material than the published work.

Further reading: Crompton (1985).

Benzon, Countess Marina Querini

(*c*.1758–1839)

Venetian hostess. Byron attended her *conversazioni* in 1818–19. There in April 1819 he saw Teresa *Guiccioli for the second time. He liked Countess Benzon enough to call her 'a Venetian Lady *Melbourne' (*BLJ* vi.96).

Beppo, a Venetian Story

Comic poem in **ottava rima*. The first draft was written probably on 9–10 October 1817 and most of the additions were made between then and January 1818. The first edition was published in mid-March 1818; there were six further editions by the end of the year. (The first four appeared anonymously – *see BLJ* vi.25.) Stanzas xxviii, xxxviii–xxxix and lxxx were incorporated only in the fourth edition. Steffan (1953) studies the revision process as a whole, demonstrating the precision with which the spontaneous-sounding *Beppo* was crafted.

The plot of *Beppo* derives from a story told Byron by Pietro Segati, husband of Marianna *Segati, on 29 August 1817, and recorded in *Hobhouse's diary. A seeming Turk who asks to see the mistress of a Venetian inn proves to be her husband, presumed long ago lost at sea, who has become a rich man in *Turkey. He offers her the choice of going with him, staying with her 'amoroso', or living alone on a pension he will provide. Laura in the poem is the equivalent of the mistress of the inn, Beppo of her husband, and the Count of the 'amoroso'. The story itself, McGann suggests in *CPW* iv.484–5 (cp. *SC* vii.246–7), is less important than the scene of – the Venetian manners implied by – Segati telling the tale to his wife's acknowledged lover. Their liaison, like Byron's marriage, 'is always a deliberately invoked half-presence which is the source and standard for the poem's genial comedy of manners'. More broadly, Beaty (1985) feels that the Venetian 'permissive society' enabled Byron 'to discard many feelings of guilt relating to his own delinquencies' and to develop 'a more sophisticated view of human nature and of the human imperfections on which satire thrives' (p. 83).

Carnival is an analogue for the sexual and narrative straying characteristic of the poem. The 'Turk' is actually Beppo masquerading as a Turk (like the other maskers of 18–20); he sheds his Turkish identity almost as rapidly as a mask in 777–80; and Laura emphasizes its external features only – long beard, 'queer dress', fingers for fork. In this carnivalized context even 'With any other women did you wive?' (730) becomes simply another item in Laura's list of unimportant questions. (The flippant account of Turkish sexual mores in 555–76 is like a carnival version of the attention to such matters in the *Oriental Tales.) Classical and Shakespearean references are also carnivalized: for example 'the deep damnation' not of Duncan's 'taking off' in *Macbeth* but of the Count's '"bah!"' (254). The name 'Beppo', a familiar form of 'Giuseppe' (200), also contributes to the atmosphere of informality; in English it has a rather comical ring, more like a nickname. ‘Laura’ alludes to Petrarch’s unobtainable beloved but is not even her real name (167) and she is much more obtainable – a carnival Laura.

The most important literary influence on *Beppo* was Byron’s reading of John Hookham *Frere’s *Whistlecraft* and its Italian forebears, particularly *Pulci and *Casti. Byron first read Frere’s poem in September 1817 and described *Beppo* as an imitation of it (*BLJ* v.267, 269). The style of *Beppo* was probably also affected by the imitation of Pulci by John Herman Merivale (1779–1844), which Byron had read in 1814. There are some parallels with Casti’s *Novelle*, which he read in 1816 (*CPW* iv.485–8). Another significant influence seems to have been his rereading of *Pope in September 1817 (*BLJ* v.265). A combination of these sources enabled the ‘adaptation of an Italian conversational form to an English conversational style’ (McGann [1976], pp. 55–6). Equally the poem can be seen (as mentioned already with reference to carnival) as turning the *Oriental Tales ‘inside out’ (Joseph [1964], p. 135). McGann in *SC* vii.252 builds on Joseph’s observation to say that ‘Heroes like the Count and heroines like Laura imply that anyone can fill a “poetic” role. A “Venetian Tale” in *Beppo* means a piece of gossip, not a grim or mysterious adventure. Just as anyone is or could be the subject of Venetian gossip, so *Beppo* makes potential heroes of everyone.’

Readers have inevitably identified the narrator as Byron himself, recently settled in Venice and involved in affairs as scandalous (to English eyes) as that of Laura and the Count. The identification is encouraged, or at least played with, in 295–6 (‘damage and divorces’ as integral to ‘Old England’), 410–16 (‘A broken Dandy lately on my travels’ who writes verse), 624–8 (Lady *Byron’s dreaded ‘mathematics’). But the narrator is only fitfully Byron or an anonymous English traveller. Beaty (1985) argues that ‘The hedonistic and moderately devious narrator, displaying only a relative scale of values, so discredits himself that the traditional norm of satire vanishes’ (p. 102). His ‘digressive manner and preoccupation with trivia defy all the accepted techniques of narration’ (pp. 102–3).

Beppo is usually regarded as a turning point in Byron’s work: turning away from the ‘monotony and mannerism’ (*BLJ* vi.25) of his earlier style and towards *DJ* in its use of **ottava rima*, lists and comic juxtapositions, self-reflexive digression, and satire of England. ‘Digression is a sin, that by degrees/Becomes exceeding tedious to my mind’ (394–5) stands at the mid-point and inevitably prompts two more stanzas of the sin in question – which makes up about half of the poem.

Reviews were generally positive. The *Monthly Review* (March 1818) found the satire sometimes a little vulgar but ‘usually good-humoured and often well pointed' (*RR* iv.1787). *Jeffrey in the **Edinburgh Review* (February 1818) delighted in this 'thing of nothing' and the 'matchless facility' with which it versifies 'the unmingled, unconstrained, and unselected language of the most light, familiar, and ordinary conversation' (*RR* ii.889). Frere, surprised at Byron's new manner, found in *Beppo* 'the protean talent of Shakespeare – thus to assume at will so different a character' (Murray, *Letters* 251). The near-absence of attacks on individuals in the poem (*Sotheby is an exception) made such praise easier; Frere and others who delighted in *Beppo* objected to the harder-hitting *DJ*.

Further reading: Drummond Bone in Bone (2004); McGann (1968); Vassallo (1984).

Berlioz, Hector

(1803–69)

French Romantic composer. His symphonic *Harold en Italie* (1834) takes *CHP* IV as its inspiration or point of departure.

Berni, Francesco

(1497/98–1535)

Tuscan poet. His reworking of Matteo Boiardo's **ottava rima* epic *Orlando innamorato* was published in 1542. Byron gives him honourable mention but seems to have had less detailed knowledge of his work than of *Pulci's. On 25 March 1818 he told John *Murray, with reference to *Beppo*, that '*Berni* is the Original of *all*' (*BLJ* vi.24), but by February 1820 was giving priority as 'parent…of all jocose Italian poetry' to *Pulci (*BLJ* vii.42; cp. Advertisement to *Morgante*). Ogle (1973) attributes the change to Byron's reading, probably in 1820, of *Ginguené's *Histoire littéraire d'Italie*, where the poets are discussed in more detail than in his earlier preferred guide, *Sismondi's *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*.

Betty, William Henry

(1791–1874)

Teenage actor known as 'the Young Roscius'. (Roscius was a well-known Roman actor.) He was much talked about in 1804–05. Byron thought him 'tolerable in some characters, but by no means equal to the ridiculous praises showered upon him by *John Bull*' (*BLJ* i.67). Elledge (2000), p. 93, suggests that Byron was, nevertheless, interested in him as 'a lad of about the age, size, and (im)maturity' of his younger *Harrow friends, and that Byron's later Speech Day performances were encouraged by his example.

Byron disliked Betty's adult appearance and acting. He told Lord *Holland that 'His figure is fat, his features flat, his voice unmanageable, his action ungraceful' and Lady *Melbourne that 'his figure is that of a hippopotamus ... his voice the gargling of an Alderman with the quinsey' (*BLJ* ii.192, 193).

Bible

Christian sacred book. Byron told John *Murray in October 1821 that he was 'a great reader and admirer' of the Bible and had read it 'through and through before I was eight years old – that is to say the *old* Testament – for the New struck me as a task – but the other as a pleasure' (*BLJ* viii.238). He remained interested in the Old Testament (*see* e.g. *BLJ* iv.60), psalms and stories from which provide the back-bone of *HM*, *Cain* and *Heaven and Earth*. In the last two works and frequently elsewhere, Byron wrestles with the Fall; Genesis is the biblical book most often referred to in his poems. St Matthew's Gospel is the second most popular, followed by Psalms and Isaiah. He told *Parry that he read a chapter of the Bible every day (*HVSV* 569).

In various contexts Byron quotes, casually alludes to, or parodies the Bible. (Looper [1978] provides useful lists of references but their value is sometimes decreased by the inclusion of phrases and expressions which, although of biblical origin, had become an established part of the language.) The best-known parody is of the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20.3–17; Deuteronomy 5.6–21) in *DJ* I.1633–45, which caused much anger among the orthodox. Both the serious and the flippant approach to biblical material came easily to him: one of his favourite pieces, Psalm 137, was given two serious treatments – 'In the Valley of Waters' and 'By the Rivers of Babylon We Sat Down and Wept' – and its first few lines were parodied as 'By the waters of Cheltenham I sate down & *drank ...*' (*BLJ* ii.192; cp. *DJ* II.xvi).
Further reading: Hirst (1991b).

Blackett, Joseph *see* 'Epitaph for Mr. Joseph Blackett, Late Poet and Shoemaker'

Blake, William

(1757–1827)
Poet and artist. His 'The Ghost of Abel' (1822) is a response to *Cain*, addressed 'To Lord Byron in the Wilderness'. To the curse on Him 'who invented

life that leads to death' in *Cain* II.ii.18–19 Blake opposes belief in a merciful Jehovah and the true life of Eternity. 'Can a poet doubt the visions of Jehovah?' For Blake, Byron 'was a potential poet-prophet destroyed by his allegiance to false gods of realism and rationality: a man clinging to a world of fact when he should look beyond it' (Barton [1968], p. 4).

Blaquiere, Edward

(1779–1832)
Founder member, with *Bowring, of the *London Greek Committee. He was a disciple of Jeremy Bentham and had witnessed and written about the revolutionary conflict in *Spain before becoming involved in the Greek cause. On 5 April 1823, with Andreas Louriotis, a representative of the provisional Greek government, he visited Byron in *Genoa. Byron told them that he was willing to go to Greece if the government 'think that I can be of any use' (*BLJ* x.142). Then and thereafter Blaquiere gave Byron a highly optimistic account of the situation in Greece.

In 1825 he published *Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece: including facts connected with the last days of Lord Byron*.

Blessington, Marguerite Gardiner, Countess of

(1789–1849)
Author of *Conversations of Lord Byron*. Following her marriage to Charles Gardiner, Earl of Blessington (1782–1829), in 1818, she presided over a circle of literary and political men, many of them known to Byron. Her beauty had been made famous by Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait, shown at the Royal Academy in 1821. She was, however, excluded from the society of respectable ladies because of her chequered past, in Ireland and England, as what she called 'that despised thing, a kept mistress' (Blessington, *Conversations*, introduction 12).

Byron met the Blessingtons and their companion Count Alfred D'Orsay in *Genoa on a number of occasions (*see Conversations* 35n.) between April and June 1823. Byron addressed her in 'To the Countess of Blessington' ('You have asked for a Verse…'). Her *Journal of Conversations of Lord Byron* was serialized in the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1832–33 and published in one volume in 1834. Some of her encounters with Byron feature also in her *Idler in Italy* (1839–40).

Conversations concentrates on Byron's appearance and dress, his opinions of friends, love of gossip, detestation of *cant, and particularly his shifting and paradoxical view and presentation of himself. 'He claimed admiration not only for his genius, but for his defects, as a sort of right that appertained solely to him', was aware of this weakness and was offended if anyone detected it (227–8). She exaggerates the degree of her intimacy with Byron and her record must always be received with some scepticism. For Moore (1961) Lady Blessington's was 'the first of the patronizing biographies' (p. 459). Yet in 1844 *Hobhouse said that it was 'very fair and faithful' (Broughton [1909–11], vi.104).

Blues, A Literary Eclogue, The

Satirical poem in two 'Eclogues'. It was written in August 1821 and sent to *Murray, but eventually published by John *Hunt in *The Liberal* in April 1823. The setting is outside, and then after, a lecture by 'Scamp' – evidently S. T. *Coleridge, two of whose lectures Byron attended in 1811–12. Satire is directed against the Lake poets 'Wordswords' and 'Mouthey' (*Southey) and at *Sotheby as Botherby. In the second eclogue the bluestockings themselves appear: the mathematical Miss Lilac is meant for Lady *Byron and Lady Bluemount for Lady Beaumont (Margaret [1756–1829], wife of Sir George Beaumont. The Beaumonts were art patrons and friends of *Wordsworth). The hosts, the Bluebottles, broadly correspond to Lord and Lady *Holland. Inkel has often been taken for Byron himself and Tracy for *Moore, but Vail (2001), p. 203 n. 1, shows clearly that Inkel is Moore and Tracy Byron.

Byron often expressed his antipathy for educated women (e.g. *BLJ* iii.221, 228; *DJ* I.73–112, XI.393–424) yet 'was always drawn to women who were well read' (*DJV* iv.26) including his wife, Lady *Oxford and Teresa *Guiccioli.

Boatswain

(1803–08)

Byron's Newfoundland dog, subject of a verse epitaph. Boatswain is first heard of in 1806. He went mad and died, tended by his master, in November 1808. Byron wrote 'Inscription on the Monument of a Newfoundland Dog' on 20 November; like the prose inscription which precedes it on the monument at *Newstead (*CPW* i.391–2), it contrasts canine loyalty with human untrustworthiness. In a draft will of 1811 Byron said that he wished to be buried with 'my faithful dog' in 'the vault of the garden of Newstead' (Marchand, *Biography* 286–7).

Boccaccio, Giovanni

(1313–75)
Author of *The Decameron*. *CHP* IV.498–9 and 514–22 protest at the absence from Santa Croce in *Florence of the tomb of this 'Bard of Prose, creative spirit! he/Of the Hundred Tales of love' (*The Decameron*). In *DJ* III.934–5 and 941–4 Byron refers to Boccaccio's story of Nastagio degli Onesti (*Decameron* V.viii), set in *Ravenna, and *Dryden's version *Theodore and Honoria*; cp. *BLJ* vi.166, 168, 181, viii.48.

Bolivar, The

Byron's schooner. It was built in *Genoa by Captain Daniel Roberts in 1822. (Roberts also built P. B. *Shelley's smaller boat, the *Don Juan*.) *Trelawny was the captain. According to Edward *Williams's journal for 13 June 1822, 'she costs Lord Byron 750£ clear off & ready for sea, with provisions and conveniences of every kind' (Jones [1951], p. 154). But in May 1823 Byron sold the *Bolivar* to Lord Blessington for 400 guineas. He had difficulty collecting the payment, which he was still seeking in what may be his last letter (9 April 1824, *BLJ* xi.153). Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), the South American 'Great Liberator', is mentioned in *Age* 252 and 383.

Bologna

Italian city. Traditionally it, and particularly its paintings, featured on the Grand Tour. Byron visited briefly in April 1817, June 1819, and on several other occasions, and lived here in August and September 1819. On his first visit he was epigrammatic about this city 'celebrated for the production of Popes – Cardinals – painters – & sausages' (*BLJ* v.231). In June 1819 he mentions the 'superlative' painters Domenichino and Guido Reni but is moved much more by the tombs and skulls of the cemetery of the Certosa, as again later in the year (*BLJ* vi.148–9, 217).

Bonaparte, Napoléon *see* Napoleon Bonaparte

Boone, Daniel

(1734–1820)
American pioneer, idealized in *DJ* VIII.481–536. The account of his peaceful way of life, killing only 'bear or buck' in 'wilds of deepest maze', interrupts the sack of *Ismail.

'Bouts-rimés from Seaham'

Record of a rhyming-game played by Byron and Lady *Byron in late January or February 1815. In 1816 she remembered the verses as made 'with that sort of mirth which seeks to jest away bitter truths' (Elwin [1962], p. 275). Most of the lines suggest, apparently humorously, differences and tensions between the two.

Borgia, Lucrezia *see* Milan

'Bosworth Field'

Lost early poem on the battle of 1485. Byron completed several hundred lines of it in summer 1807 (*BLJ* i.131, 132).

Bowles, Rev. William Lisle

(1762–1850)
Poet and editor of *Pope, attacked by Byron. His sonnets, of which there were nine editions between 1789 and 1805, were admired by S. T. *Coleridge. In *EBSR* 330–84 Byron attacks Bowles for the strictures on Pope in his 1806 edition of the poet, his work as 'The maudlin prince of mournful sonneteers' (330) and his longer poem *The Spirit of Discovery* (1805). (The lines on Bowles's Pope in the first edition are by *Hobhouse, replaced in the second edition by Byron's own 363–84.) Byron later wrote against Bowles, and in particular his belief in the inferiority of 'artifical' poets including Pope, in *Letter to John Murray* (1821). Bowles replied in *Two Letters to the Right Honourable Lord Byron …* (1821). Byron then wrote, but did not publish, 'Observations upon Observations'.

Bowring, John

(1792–1872)
Secretary of the *London Greek Committee. Bowring was a political radical and a disciple of Jeremy Bentham. 'He was energetic in managing the affairs' of the committee, 'though sometimes, like Colonel *Stanhope, a little too doctrinaire in his expectations of the Greeks' (Leslie A. Marchand in *BLJ* x.210). He was also an accomplished linguist; in *Greece in 1823–24 Byron read at least some of his translated *Specimens of the Russian Poets* (*BLJ* xi.85, 147).

Boyce, Susan

(fl. 1815–21)
Actress at *Drury Lane theatre. Byron had a brief affair with her in late 1815, at the height of his marital problems. When she wrote asking for money in 1821 he told *Kinnaird to advance her some money; and that when he knew her he was 'in such a state of mind & body – that all carnal connection was quite mechanical & almost as senseless to my senses as to my feelings of imagination' (*BLJ* viii.185).

Boxing *see* Jackson, John 'Gentleman'

Braham, John

(1777?–1856)
Well-known singer, associated with *Drury Lane. His name appears with *Nathan's on the title-page of *N1815* (and its successors up to 1824) because Braham had proposed 'singing the melodies in public, and to assist me in the arrangement of them, on condition of my giving him an equal share in the publication' (*Nathan* viii). Nathan's remark that Braham had been prevented 'from fulfilling his engagement to me' (*Nathan* viii) probably means that the public performance did not take place.

'Bramblebear and Lady Penelope'

Byron's opening letter for an unfinished epistolary novel. The title is Andrew Nicholson's (*Prose* 46, 315). It was written probably in November 1813 and was originally intended as the beginning of a joint novel by Byron and *Dallas. Dallas later incorporated it, with minor changes, in his novel *Sir Francis Darrell; or, The Vortex* (1820). The letter is from Darrell, a cynical observer who claims to find women inferior but to be 'always the slave of some *only* one'; he is interested by Lady Penelope who, he feels, detests her husband, despises another suitor, 'and loves – herself' (*Prose* 47–8). The piece clearly alludes to Byron's pursuit of Lady Frances *Webster. Lady Penelope corresponds to her, the ridiculous Bramblebear to her husband Sir James Wedderburn Webster, and Darrell to Byron.

Brandreth, Jeremiah

(1790?–1817)
Leader of the 'Pentrich uprising', a revolution attempted by Midlands workers. He was executed for high treason in Derby on 7 November 1817.

On 23 October Thomas Denman, unsuccessfully defending Brandreth's co-accused, Isaac Ludlam, read extracts from *Corsair* (I.61–186, 193–226, with some omissions and misquotations) because there he claimed to find Brandreth 'wonderfully depicted': 'the commanding qualities of his powerful but uncultivated mind, and the nature of his influence over those that he seduced to outrage' (*The Trials of Jeremiah Brandreth…and Others, for High Treason* [1817], ii.235–7). This use of *Corsair* suggests its popularity and also perhaps its potential for association with radical causes.

Further reading: Manning (1990).

Bride of Abydos. A Turkish Tale, The

The second of Byron's *Oriental Tales. It was written mainly in early November 1813 and published in late November or early December. There were ten editions in 1813–14 and one in 1815. The pasha Giaffir mocks his 'son' Selim for unmanliness and announces to his beloved daughter Zuleika her marriage to an older man, Osman Bey. But Zuleika's expression of undying devotion to Selim prompts him to declare that she is 'mine, for ever mine'. In the second canto he reveals to her that he is not her brother but her cousin and, secretly, the leader of a pirate band. He intends to marry her but Giaffir and his men arrive, Zuleika dies of grief because she cannot save Selim, and Selim, turning fatally to look for her, is killed.

Sources of *Bride* include Byron's experience of eastern moeurs and knowledge of eastern history, accuracy about which he is keen to stress in the notes. (The notes also complicate responses to the poem, counterpointing its romantic excesses with prose explanation and dry wit and exposing its constructed, literary nature.) He drew on his encounters with *Ali Pasha in his depiction of Giaffir. Literary sources include Ovid's *Heroides* xviii–xix, where another doomed love, that of Hero and Leander, is enacted by the shores of Sestos and Abydos; *Hamle*t – the relationship between Claudius and Hamlet reflected in Giaffir and Selim; and *Romeo and Julie*t – Selim loves his enemy's daughter and with her reads 'Mejnoun and Leila, the Romeo and Juliet of the East' (note to I.72) in the *Gulistan* of the Persian poet Sadi. The plot of John Brown's tragedy *Barbarossa* (1754) is another possible influence (Cochran [2006], pp. 58–9).

The incestuous nature of the love between Selim and Zuleika is often taken as a reflection of relations between Byron and Augusta *Leigh. As far as the first-time reader of Canto I is concerned, the characters are brother and sister. Byron said (*BLJ* iii.199) that only ‘the times and the *North*’ made him ‘confine them to cousinship’. Anxiety about incest (and the frustrating end of his relationship with Lady Frances *Webster) partly explains his statement that writing the poem ‘wrung my thoughts from reality to imagination – from selfish regrets to vivid recollections’ of the east (*BLJ* iii.230–1; cp. iii.157). But there are, as Byron told E. D. Clarke (*BLJ* iii.199), abundant literary sources for incest, and the situation is not particularly close to his own: hero and heroine have known each other well since childhood. This intimacy allows exploration of gender in the Canto I role-reversals between seemingly effeminate Selim, ‘Pale – mute – and mournfully sedate’ (I.256; cp. 81–100) and the more vigorous Zuleika.

The heroine has often been found more interesting than the hero. Byron ‘wished to try my hand on a female character in Zuleika’ – Leila in *Giaour* is undeveloped – and ‘endeavoured as far as ye. grossness of our masculine ideas will avail – to preserve her purity without impairing the ardour of her attachment’ (*BLJ* iii.199). Partly for this reason she seems unaware of the erotic potential of her manner towards Selim in Canto I – a manner which caused some offence among contemporary reviewers (*see* Franklin [1992], p. 56) – and has very little to say after he declares himself in Canto II. She has often been discussed as the passive victim of a society dominated by men: dweller in an Orient whose attitudes to women are frozen in time, and in a tower full of ‘ “feminine” material luxuries irrelevant to “masculine” warfare, yet amassed to testify to the Pacha’s status’ (Franklin [1992], p. 50). Giaffir and Selim fight to possess her, one claiming the right to dispose of her in a politically advantageous arranged marriage, the other with an equally clear plan for her future (II.395–425).

In *Bride* the characters inhabit a world where ‘all, save the spirit of man is divine’ (I.15; cp. Gleckner [1967], p. 122–3). They do not have the control over others and themselves which they think they have. The open-hearted, playful Zuleika of Canto I is almost paralysed with shock in Canto II. Giaffir, so authoritative in Canto I, misjudges Selim and is diminished for the reader by his revelation as a poisoner stained by ‘a brother’s murder’ (II.236–45, 254). He is unable to control his family without destroying his beloved daughter and so himself. He has lost, moreover, ‘a valuable means of exchange of power with other men in the feudal system’ (Franklin [1992], p. 51). The sensitive Selim becomes more one-dimensionally masculine and is easily defeated in spite of his plans for a life of victorious raiding. (Leask [1992] studies what he sees as both Selim’s and the poem’s political failure: 'the suppressed knowledge that effective resistance to tyranny is the prerogative of a more radical political ideology, like that of Lambro's [*see* II.379–87] patriot band' [p. 43].)

The Ovidian notion of transformation into an ever-blooming 'mourning flower' or bird (II. 670–716) provides some element of consolation. What remains in another sense – as Homer's 'immortal dreams' are the most important remains of Priam's reign (II.25–7) – is *Bride* itself: 'Sorrow's tale' (II.732) or the melancholy song whose listeners 'cannot leave/The spot, but linger there and grieve/As if they loved in vain!' (II.697–8). Contemporaries felt the song worth singing in a number of versions including the dramatic pieces *Selim and Zuleika* (1815), *The Bride of Abydos, a Tragick Play* (1818) by William Dimond with music by Michael Kelly (1818), and a play by W. O[xberry] 'founded upon' *Bride* and *Corsair* (1818).
Further reading: Watkins (1987).

'Bridegroom, A'

Humorous poem, first published in *CPW*. A bridegroom, for all his devotion to his young wife, cannot resist the charms of 'a certain black-eyed fair,/ Lovely Anne!' Presumably because the subject is adultery, Jerome J. McGann in *CPW* iii.476 says that 'the lines undoubtedly date from 1815' – from the time of Byron's marriage. Perhaps, therefore, this is 'a slightly transformed narrative of Byron's feelings for Susan *Boyce'.

'Bright Be the Place of Thy Soul'

Song incorporated in editions of *HM* from 1819. It was first published as 'Stanzas' in the *Examiner* on 11 June 1815 and then as a song-sheet by *Nathan. Its burden is that we should not mourn for 'the blest'. Burwick and Douglass (1988), p. 28, suggest that the piece remembers *Edleston, but the sentiment seems fairly generalized.

Brighton

Fahionable seaside town. Byron visited in July–August 1808. He brought Caroline *Cameron here, gambled with Scrope *Davies and others (*BLJ* iv.256–7), and met John *Cowell. Between 1815 and 1823 John Nash transformed the Brighton residence of the Prince Regent (*George IV from 1820) into the exotically oriental Pavilion. Byron alludes to it in *Sardanapalus*

I.ii.1 and, more directly, in *DJ* XIV.663–4: ‘Shut up – no, *not* the King, but the Pavilion,/Or else ’twill cost us all another million’.

Brontë, Charlotte

(1816–55)
Novelist. She was greatly influenced by Byron’s life and work, most clearly in her juvenilia and *Jane Eyre* (1847). The passionate, seductive Duke of Zamorna in the Glass Town and Angria saga which she wrote with her brother Branwell (1817–48) is essentially a *Byronic hero. Rochester in *Jane Eyre* inherited Zamorna’s ‘Byronic glamour’, volatility and secrets, and ‘more directly from the Byron of *Childe Harold* his despairing wanderlust’ as described in Chapter 24 (Alexander and Smith [2006], p. 272). Jane’s robust attitude to Rochester suggests, however, a more critical approach to Byronic figures than in some of Brontë’s earlier writing. Branwell, contrastingly, ‘never seems to have relinquished his obsession with Byron’ (Alexander and Smith [2006], p. 114).

Brontë, Emily

(1818–48)
Novelist and poet. Byronic characters feature in the Gondal saga which she wrote in association with her sister Anne (1820–49). Most attention, however, has centred on Heathcliff in *Wuthering Heights* (1847) as a form of *Byronic hero. Like Byron’s Conrad, as the *Examiner* noted in January 1848, he is ‘Link’d with one virtue, and a thousand crimes’ (*Corsair* III.696).
Further reading: Alexander and Smith (2006); Elfenbein (1995).

Brougham, Henry

(1778–1868)
Lawyer and politician, Byron’s enemy (later Lord Brougham). He was a founder of the **Edinburgh Review*, for which (January 1808) he wrote a mockingly hostile review of *HI*. Byron thought the reviewer was *Jeffrey, but ridiculed Brougham also in *EBSR* 524–5.

Byron’s dislike of Brougham came to a head when, in 1817, he heard that during and after the separation crisis Brougham had circulated malicious rumours about his finances and his sexuality. Byron pilloried him in seven unpublished stanzas originally meant for *DJ* I (*CPW* v.85–8) and intended to fight a duel with him (*BLJ* vii.95–6).

Broughton, John Cam Hobhouse, Lord *see* Hobhouse, John Cam (Lord Broughton)

Browne, James Hamilton

(*fl.* 1821–34)
Scottish philhellene. He was involved in the negotiation of the British government loan to *Greece. Browne joined Byron in Livorno in July 1823 and travelled with him to Cephalonia, leaving for the Greek mainland with *Trelawny in September 1823. He returned in November with the Greek deputies Ioannis Orlandos and Andreas Louriotis and helped arrange Byron's loan of £4,000 to them. His 'Voyage from Leghorn [Livorno] to Cephalonia with Lord Byron' was published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in January 1834.

Browning, Elizabeth Barrett

(1806–61)
Poet. She was already reading Byron during her precocious childhood: *Corsair* in 1817, for instance, and *CHP* IV in 1818. Byron was a strong influence on her 'Leila' (1822) and in 1824 she published 'stanzas on the Death of Lord Byron', mourning 'Britannia's Poet! Graecia's hero.' Her view in maturity was that because of his incompleteness, his 'one-sided passionateness', his poems 'discovered not a heart, but the wound of a heart; not humanity, but disease; not life, but a crisis'; *Wordsworth's approach is contrastingly thoughtful and feeling (*The Book of the Poets*, 1842).

On 30 December 1844 Elizabeth Barrett told Mary Russell *Mitford, 'I want to write a poem of a new class … a Don Juan, without the mockery and impurity.' The work which most closely fulfils this ambition is *Aurora Leigh* (1857).

Browning, Robert

(1812–89)
Poet. Browning read Byron in his childhood or early teens and could still quote from him extensively in old age. The mostly lost *Incondita* (*c.*1826) was written under his influence. Browning told Elizabeth Barrett (*Browning) on 22 August 1846 that in youth he would have travelled miles for a sight of 'a curl of his hair or one of his gloves' (Browning and Browning [1984–], xiii.280). This admiration was largely displaced by interest in P. B. *Shelley. But the fragmentary, gradual self-revelation of the speakers in *Giaour* perhaps

had some effect on the technique of Browning's dramatic monologues. In later work he shows some hostility to Byron, partly, it seems, in anger at Alfred Austin's unfavourable comparison of him and other modern poets with Byron in *The Poetry of the Period* (1870).

Bruno, Dr Francesco

(*c.*1800–?)
Byron's personal physician in *Greece from 1823 to 1824. He had recently qualified at the university of Genoa. Like Dr *Millingen he insisted on bleeding Byron during his final illness. Bruno accompanied the body to England.

Bulwer-Lytton, Edward (Lord Lytton)

(1803–73)
Novelist, politician and dandy. Elfenbein (1995), pp. 212–18, argues that Bulwer and *Disraeli established themselves in society by imitating what was considered Byron's 'effeminacy'; they exploited, without betraying, the 'open secret' of his homsosexuality. Such novels as Bulwer's *Pelham: or the Adventures of a Gentleman* (1828) are 'narratives of transition away from Byron' (Elfenbein [1995], p. 219), from characters associated with Byronic transgression and political failure to characters who achieve heterosexual marriage and political success.

In 1824 Bulwer acquired another connection with Byron when he and Lady Caroline *Lamb became lovers.

Burns, Robert

(1759–96)
Scottish poet, farmer and excise officer. Had he been a patrician 'We should have had more polish – less force – just as much verse, but no immortality' (*BLJ* iii.207). Having seen some unpublished letters by Burns, 'full of oaths and obscene songs', Byron noted on 13 December 1813, 'What an antithetical mind! – tenderness, roughness – delicacy, coarseness – sentiment, sensuality – soaring and grovelling, dirt and deity – all mixed up in that one compound of inspired clay!' (*BLJ* iii.239). It was a compound which Byron perhaps recognized in himself (Low [1992], p. 129). Burns is also briefly mentioned in *EBSR* 777 and 812. In *Letter to John Murray* (*Prose* 150) Byron credits Burns as 'the very first of his Art', but implies that his art itself – a tale, a descriptive sketch, songs – ranks lower than *Pope's.

Burton, Robert

(1577–1640)
Author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. According to Lady *Blessington, Byron said that *The Anatomy* was 'excellent for the quantity of desultory information it contained', and was an inexhaustible mine of knowledge (Blessington, *Conversations* 206). For his early reading of Burton *see also Prose* 6–7 and 197–8 and Murray, *Letters* 428. In October 1821 Byron requested a copy of Burton's book from *Murray, who sent him, in November, the copy of the 1806 edition which he had purchased in the 1816 sale of Byron's books (*BLJ* viii.238; Murray, *Letters* 426, 428).

Butler, Rev. Dr George

(1774–1853)
Headmaster of *Harrow School 1805–29. Byron, loyal to the memory of Joseph *Drury, caricatured Butler as 'Pomposus' in 'On a Change of Masters, at a Great Public School' and 'Childish Recollections'. The latter was included in *HI* and *POVO* but left out of *POT* following Byron's reconciliation with Butler.

Butler, Samuel

(1613–80)
Satirist, author of *Hudibras*. In *Hints* 397–400 *Swift's wit is 'Unmatched by all save matchless Hudibras' and Butler is acknowledged as pioneer of the octosyllabic couplet. Byron writes 'Hudibrastics' (*BLJ* ii.126) in 'Farewell to Malta'. Butler's digressiveness is one possible model for that of *DJ*.

'By the Rivers of Babylon We Sat Down and Wept'

Song in *HM*, written in January 1815. It is a version of Psalm 137, where the Israelites lament their exile in Babylon. 'In The Valley of Waters' was written as an alternative version (*Nathan* 69) and published later in *N1827–9*. *Nathan set both pieces.

Byromania

Obsession with Byron. The term was coined in 1812 by Annabella Milbanke (Lady *Byron) in her satirical poem on women's attention to Byron, newly famous for *CHP* I–II. Lady Caroline *Lamb, a target in Milbanke's poem, can be seen as a major sufferer. 'Byromania' may describe personal imitation (*see* e.g. **Cowell, John**), a life dominated by Byron or his work (*see* **Irving, Washington** for the obsessive 'White Lady' of *Newstead), following Byronic fashions, or the collective compulsive desire to produce plays, films, fiction and paintings connected with him. The most popular fashion associated with him was the open collar; and H. Blanc, *The Art of Tying the Cravat* (1828), illustrates the 'cravat à la Byron' (St Clair [2004], p. 333).

Byromaniacs and others in the nineteenth century could buy Byron as a Staffordshire figure; the only other writers so honoured were *Shakespeare, *Milton and *Burns (St Clair [2004], p. 422n. 41), *Scott, *Rousseau and *Pope. (Scenes from *Bride* and *Mazeppa* and 'Lord Byron and the Maid of Athens' were also available.) Porcelain 'Empire' style vases displayed 'the Battle of the Giaour and the Pasha' (Tsigakou [1987], p. 58).
Further reading: Wilson (1999).

Byron, Anne Isabella (Annabella), Lady

(1792–1860)
Byron's wife, formerly Annabella Milbanke. She first saw, but did not speak to him, in March 1812. After they had talked at her cousin Lady Cowper's on 14 April she told her mother that Byron lacked 'that calm benevolence which could only touch my heart' (Elwin [1962], p. 109). Nevertheless she was fascinated by him and the possibility of 'reforming' him. He was also interested by her, perhaps mainly because she was so different from the fashionable society around her: she took religion seriously, liked mathematics (whence his repeated description of her as 'princess of parallelograms'), and wrote poems which Byron considered fairly accomplished (*BLJ* ii.175). 'She certainly is a very extraordinary girl', he commented after seeing the poems; 'who would imagine so much strength & variety of thought under that placid countenance' (*BLJ* ii.175). She was also potentially rich as the niece of the childless Thomas Noel, Viscount Wentworth.

Byron first proposed marriage to Annabella Milbanke, in October 1812, through Lady *Melbourne, who was his confidante and her aunt. She refused politely and he told Lady Melbourne that his '*heart* never had an opportunity of being much interested in the business' (*BLJ* ii.227). Renewed correspondence led to a second, direct proposal, which was accepted, in September 1814. In November Byron visited her family home, Seaham, in County Durham. The wedding took place at Seaham on 2 January 1815. The Byrons' daughter, (Augusta) Ada *Byron, was born in December 1815 and mother and daughter left their home in London, never to return, in January

1816. In February Lady Byron's father, Sir Ralph Noel (formerly Milbanke – the change of name was required when his wife, Judith, inherited from her brother Lord Wentworth in 1815), wrote to Byron suggesting that the couple should separate. The deed of separation was eventually signed in April 1816.

Details of the Byrons' disastrous marriage are much contested; evidence is often second-hand, was recorded years after the events in question, or is coloured by continuing partisanship. It is clear, however, that Byron repeatedly sought to show his wife that he loved his sister Augusta *Leigh more than her and fuelled her belief (almost certainly correct) that there had been an incestuous relationship. His violent mood-swings and enigmatic references to himself as a fallen angel puzzled or frightened her, especially during and after her pregnancy. Some felt that she simply took what he said too seriously. According to *Hobhouse, *Hanson told her that Byron was 'liable to irritation, and, perhaps, sudden bouts of violence and passion; that he had long been in the habit of indulging in conversation which was not to be taken "to the letter"' (Broughton [1909–11], ii.233–4). In autumn 1815 he was drinking heavily and sleeping with an actress, Susan *Boyce. There is also a strong possibility that he forced, or tried to force, on his wife sexual practices which she found objectionable (*MacCarthy* 267–8). Such was the gulf between the inexperienced Lady Byron and her depressive, unpredictable partner that she came to the view, for a time, that he was insane (*see* Marchand, *Biography* 552, 559, 560, 565). The gap between them can also be interpreted in wider social terms: 'the clash between an older, relaxed, aristocratic sexual ethos and a newer, stricter bourgeois one, which he resolved only by leaving England' (Elfenbein [2004], p. 66).

In the aftermath of the separation Byron wrote 'Fare Thee Well!' and 'A Sketch from Private Life'. He protests at the one-sided public reaction against him, and his opponents' refusal to specify their charges against him, in the unpublished *Some Observations* (*Prose* 94–8). The need to recover from the marriage is a sub-text in *CHP* IV, whose dedication to *Hobhouse is dated 2 January 1818, the third 'anniversary of the most unfortunate day of my past existence' (*CPW* ii.121). Lady Byron is satirized as Donna Inez in *DJ* I (see especially 73–136, 209–40) and as Miss Lilac in *Blues*. Cecil Y. Lang (1985) points out the similarities between Aurora Raby, in *DJ* XV–XVI, and an Annabella Milbanke whom he characterizes as 'of good birth, an only child, bookish, cold, prim, priggish, pensive, pretty, reserved, rich, and silent' (p. 170). Byron's attitude towards her as expressed in letters and conversation continued variable, from dismissal to idealization. (For a fairly sober attempt to state to her his feelings about her and the marriage over six years after the separation, *see BLJ* ix.65–6. The letter was not sent but was published in Moore, *Life*.) Her attitude to him was increasingly implacable. She dedicated much of her life to attempts to vindicate her part in the marriage, and to policing and trying to extract a confession from Augusta Leigh. Lady Byron was also extensively involved in various philanthropic concerns.

See also: '**Bouts-rimés from Seaham**'; '**Lines on Hearing that Lady Byron Was Ill**'.

Further reading: Elwin (1962); Pierson (1992); Soderholm (1993).

Byron, (Augusta) Ada (Countess of Lovelace)

(1815–52)

Daughter of Byron and Lady *Byron. In 1835 she married William, Lord King, subsequently Earl of Lovelace. Byron, who saw her only when she was a baby, addresses her in *CHP* III.1–4 and 1067–1102. She features also in 'Fare Thee Well!' (34–44). He continued to take an interest in her health and upbringing in letters to his wife and sister, and spoke of her when he was dying (*HVSV* 595). Her mother kept her from knowing much about him during her childhood, and had her educated particularly in mathematics and music in the belief that these disciplines would combat her father's dangerous legacy. She went on, through her published notes on the possibilities for Charles Babbage's proposed 'analytical engine', to become an important pioneer of what would much later become computer programming.

Lady Byron wished her daughter to share her own resolute disapproval of Byron and everything connected with him. But towards the end of her life, especially following a visit to *Newstead Abbey in 1850, the countess developed a more sympathetic interest. At her own desire she was buried next to him in the Byron vault at *Hucknall Torkard. There has been much speculation about which qualities father and daughter may have shared. Moore (1977) feels that 'Like him, she combined high spirits with deep melancholy, and tremendous purposeful energy with a sense of fatality' (p. 153).

Byron, Catherine Gordon (of Gight)

(1765–1811)

Byron's mother. She was 'as haughty as Lucifer' (*BLJ* vii.204) about her royal and noble Scottish ancestry. She was herself Laird of Gight but lost Gight, and much of her money, as a result of the extravagance of Captain

John *Byron, whom she had married in 1785. From 1789 she and her son lived in *Aberdeen. They came to England when Byron succeeded as 6th Lord in 1798. She was devoted to him but had a passionate temper; as an adolescent he found her outbursts embarrassing. They quarrelled particularly over his debts and his refusal in 1804 to reconcile with Lord *Grey de Ruthyn (for whom, according to Byron [*BLJ* i.55], she may have had a 'penchant'). In a letter of 9 August 1806 to John *Pigot, whose family had apparently just helped Byron escape from *Southwell to London, she figures as 'Mrs Byron furiosa' (*BLJ* i.93–4). Biographers have rightly pointed out that Byron's epistolary portraits of his mother may be exaggerated. *MacCarthy* 52–3 cites examples of more amiable relations between mother and son and notes that the 'sympathetic ear' of Augusta *Leigh, in letters to whom the main denunciations occur, encouraged him 'to ever-greater feats of vitriol ... The depiction is as much fictional as realistic ... Perhaps we should regard "Mrs Byron furiosa" as one of Byron's greatest tragi-comic characters.'

During her son's absence abroad in 1809–11 she worked to look after his interests at home. In particular she took charge of *Newstead and its affairs. She died on 1 August 1811, two weeks after Byron arrived back in England and without having seen him: 'I heard *one* day of her illness, the *next* of her death' (*BLJ* ii.67). Writing to *Hanson on 4 August 1811 he said that 'with a very large portion of foibles & irritability, she was without a *Vice*' (*BLJ* ii.68). But in 1823, if we believe Blessington, *Conversations* 80–1, he still held her abusive rages responsible for cankering 'a heart that I believe was naturally affectionate'.

See also: '**Epitaph on Mrs. [Byron]**'

Byron, (Clara) Allegra

(1817–22)

Byron's daughter by Claire *Clairmont. She was born in Bath in January 1817 and taken to Byron in *Venice in April 1818. He did not want her brought up by her mother and the *Shelleys, with whom, he claimed to *Hoppner in April 1820, she would 'perish of Starvation, and green fruit – or be taught to believe that there is no Deity' (*BLJ* vii.80).

In Venice Byron sent her to live with Hoppner and his wife Isabella. For some weeks in the autumn of 1818 Byron allowed Allegra to live with Clairmont and the Shelleys at Villa i Cappuccini, Este. She was in *Ravenna with Byron until he sent her to a convent in Bagnacavallo in March 1821. There she died in April 1822. Byron had her buried in *Harrow church.

Byron, George Anson, 7th Lord

(1789–1868)
Byron's cousin and successor in the barony.

Byron, George Gordon, 6th Lord

Poet. He was born at 16 (later renumbered 24) Holles Street, *London, on 22 January 1788, the son of Captain John *Byron and Catherine Gordon *Byron, and baptized at Marylebone church on 29 February. He was born with a deformity of the right foot, possibly made more problematic by the corrective foot-gear into which it was forced at intervals during his childhood. His lameness was no doubt a factor in his continuing melancholy or alienation and his compensatory passion for long-distance *swimming, boxing and sex. Lameness can rather too easily be used as an explanation for any aspect of Byron, however. His difficult relationship with his mother, abuse by his nurse May *Gray, and his feeling of being an outsider – an aristocrat from 1798 but a poor one, a boy with a strong Scottish accent in England – are also important for his psychology. Another explanation for his contradictory qualities, including idleness and energy, would be that he was a bipolar depressive: *see* Jamison (1993).

In *Aberdeen, where Byron lived with his mother from 1789, he was educated at Mr Bowers's school (*c.*1793–94), privately by Rev. Ross and Mr Paterson, and then at the Grammar School (1794–98). Locals remembered him, or claimed to, as an inventively mischievous child (Marchand, *Biography*, pp. 39, 41). He developed an abiding enthusiasm for Scottish landscape and fell in love with Mary *Duff. On 21 May 1798 he succeeded as 6th Baron Byron of *Rochdale. In August he and his mother proceeded to the ancestral home in Nottinghamshire, *Newstead Abbey. Since Newstead was expensive to keep up, needed repairs and was let out, Byron lived mostly elsewhere over the following ten years. (Catherine Gordon Byron received a £300 pension as an impoverished noblewoman, reduced in 1801 to £200 in consideration of a £500 annual grant from the Court of Chancery for her son's schooling.) Before starting at *Harrow in 1801, he was educated (1799–1801) at Dr Glennie's school, Dulwich. His close friendships at Harrow are perhaps the first sign of homosexual or homosocial interest. In 1803–04, however, he was also in love with Mary *Chaworth. (In adult life Byron was evidently bisexual, experiencing periods of intense sexual involvement with both males and females.) Some of his earliest verse began as Harrow school exercises.

Byron went to Trinity College, *Cambridge, in October 1805. There and in *London he amassed debts, spending freely on drink, company, sex, and fencing and boxing lessons. Loans were arranged mainly by Elizabeth *Massingberd. He also lived periodically, and less expensively, at *Southwell. Here he often quarrelled with his mother. He preferred the company of his friend Elizabeth *Pigot, who assisted him in the preparation of the privately printed *FP* (1806) and *POVO* (1807). In Southwell he also engaged in amateur dramatics (*see* *Drama and theatre) and extreme dieting – between January 1807 and January 1808 he reduced his weight by nearly four stone (56lb). For much of his life he suffered from eating disorders: *see* Baron and Crisp (2003).

HI was published in June 1807. A review by *Brougham in the **Edinburgh Review* provoked the fierce satire of *EBSR* (1809). In July 1809 Byron set off, with his Cambridge friend *Hobhouse, to visit *Portugal, *Spain, *Gibraltar, *Malta, *Greece and *Turkey. Byron's reasons for the tour seem to have included escape from pressing debts, the possible homosexual opportunities available in Greece and Turkey, and a long-held desire to travel. In *Athens in 1810 he formed a relationship, probably sexual, with Nicolo *Giraud. While Byron was abroad he began work on *CHP* I–II. Soon after his return to England in July 1811 he heard of the death of his mother and of several friends. The death of *Edleston prompted the *'Thyrza' poems.

In the autumn of 1811 Byron began to move in London literary and *Whig circles. He met *Rogers and *Moore and on 27 February 1812 delivered his maiden **Frame Work Bill Speech* in the *House of Lords. The politically charged 'Lines to a Lady Weeping' appeared anonymously in March 1812, a few days after publication of *CHP* began Byron's association with John *Murray and made the poet famous and fashionable. At this time or soon afterwards he perfected his image as a mysterious, alluring, romantically troubled figure (*see* Kenyon-Jones [1999]). His known sexual relationships in 1812–16 were heterosexual. They include affairs with Lady *Caroline Lamb and, fairly certainly, his half-sister Augusta *Leigh. Commercially his most successful poems in this period were the *Oriental Tales, beginning with *Giaour* (1813) and continuing with *Bride* (1813) and *Corsair* (1814). He experimented, however, in various other modes from the satirical *Waltz* (1813) to the lyrical *HM* (1815). He was also closely involved in contemporary drama as a member of the sub-committee of management at *Drury Lane in 1815–16.

Byron married Annabella Milbanke on 2 January 1815. A daughter, (Augusta) Ada *Byron, was born on 10 December 1815. Lady *Byron, with the child, left her husband on 15 January 1816. For the marriage and its failure *see under* Lady Byron. The result was Byron's sudden fall from grace in the eyes of large parts of society. Ostracized, he went into what he and many since have seen as 'exile', leaving England on 25 April 1816. Landing at Ostend, he travelled to *Switzerland via *Waterloo and *Germany. Between June and October he lived at Villa *Diodati. During the summer he frequently saw P. B. *Shelley, Mary Godwin (later *Shelley) and Claire *Clairmont, who would give birth to Byron's illegitimate daughter Allegra *Byron in England in January 1817.

Between April and July 1816 Byron wrote *CHP* III (1816). In June–July he wrote *Prisoner* (1816) and in August began *Manfred* (1817). In October 1816 he travelled to *Italy with Hobhouse. They spent three weeks in *Milan before moving to *Venice in November. There Byron was involved in dissipation and carnival and wrote some notable verse and *letters. Further material for *CHP* IV (1818) was gathered during travels to *Florence, *Ferrara and *Rome in April–May 1817. *Beppo* (1818) signalled a change of style in response to the mainly Italian **ottava rima* tradition. This was developed in *DJ*, begun in Venice in July 1818. Cantos I–II were published anonymously, after much opposition from Byron's friends and associates, a year later. Cantos III–XVI followed between August 1821 and March 1824. The controversialism of *DJ* in politics, religion and sexuality led to the end of the publishing relationship with Murray: John *Hunt published VI–XVI.

In Italy Byron's financial situation improved considerably. Since agreeing to take £700 for the copyright of *Lara* in 1814 he had accepted payment for his poems. (Earlier moneys, refused out of an aristocratic sense of being above such transactions, went to *Dallas or stayed with Murray.) He now demanded and obtained high payment: 2,000 guineas for *CHP* III, 1,575 for *DJ* I–II and *Venice. An Ode*. In November 1816, Newstead was sold for £94,500. Further income of about £2,500 a year became available on the death of his wife's mother, Judith, Lady Noel, in January 1822, after which he added the surname 'Noel' to his own name – George Gordon Noel Byron. (His in-laws had become Noels when Judith, Lady Milbanke, inherited from her brother, Thomas Noel, Lord Wentworth, in 1815. Byron was delighted that he could now claim to share the initials of *Napoleon Bonaparte.) At his death his wealth was roughly £100,000. He left debts and could be mean with his money; for a list of his 'selfless gifts and charities', however, *see Prose* 368.

Another important change in Byron's life in Italy was the beginning of his stable relationship with Countess Teresa *Guiccioli, from *Ravenna, in April 1819, and the end of 'promiscuous concubinage' (*BLJ* vi.108). He lived in Ravenna during June–August 1819 and December 1819–October 1821. At this period he wrote dramas including *Marino Faliero* (1821), *Sardanapalus* and *Two Foscari*. The latter two were published in 1821 with *Cain*, which had a much greater impact in England. An abortive attempt to intervene more directly in a liberal cause was his involvement with the *Carbonari.

Following the expulsion of Teresa Guiccioli's family from the Romagna, and encouraged by P. B. Shelley, Byron moved to *Pisa in November 1821. Leigh *Hunt arrived in Italy to work on *The *Liberal* in June 1822 and its first number appeared in October. (Byron's work published in *The Liberal* includes *VJ* and *Heaven and Earth*.) Also in October 1822 Byron and the countess settled near *Genoa. Here he talked to Lady *Blessington, worked on poems including late cantos of *DJ* and *Island*, and became interested in the possibility of joining the Greek cause in the *Greek War of Independence. Eventually he sailed to *Cephalonia, arriving in August 1823, and to *Missolonghi, in mainland *Greece, which he reached in January 1824. He died of fever (probably exacerbated by medical bleeding) at Missolonghi on 19 April 1824. He was buried at *Hucknall Torkard on 16 July.
Further reading: Douglass (2004a); Eisler (1999); Franklin (2000); Grosskurth (1997); *MacCarthy*; Marchand, *Biography*; Marchand, *Portrait*.

Byron, Admiral John

(1723–86)
The poet's grandfather, 'Foulweather Jack'. Bad weather was said to appear whenever he went to sea. He is mentioned in 'Epistle to Augusta'. *A Narrative of the Honourable John Byron* (1768) – 'my grand-dad's Narrative' (*DJ* II.1096) – was one of the sources for the shipwreck in *DJ* II.

Byron, Captain John

(1756–91)
The poet's father, 'Mad Jack'. He married two wealthy women, first Amelia, Baroness Conyers, and then, in 1785, Catherine Gordon *Byron, and spent much of the money so acquired. His relationship with his second wife was stormy; Byron claimed, according to Medwin, *Conversations* 55, that his 'horror of matrimony' was a result of remembered 'domestic broils' between his parents.

Byron, portraits of

A major means by which Byron's image was disseminated. '[Y]our portrait is engraved & painted & sold in every town throughout the Kingdom,' *Murray told him on 19 March 1819 (Murray, *Letters* 267). The best-known paintings of him are by George Sanders (1774–1846), the more fashionable Thomas Phillips (1770–1845) and Richard Westall (1765–1836). Sanders's portrait of 1807–08 pre-dates Byron's foreign travels and years of fame but shows him apparently ready for adventure. It became familiar, in an engraving by the *Finden brothers, as the only illustration in Moore's *Life*. (The American edition used instead a version of the 1822 portrait by William Edward West [1788–1857]. Teresa *Guiccioli [Peach (2000), p. 109] thought West's Byron a 'frightful caricature'.)

Phillips produced two likenesses in 1813–14, the 'cloak' portrait and the now even better known portrait of Byron in Albanian dress. The 'cloak' version spawned an extraordinary number of other paintings, engravings, lithographs and marbles (Peach [2000], pp. 50–5); with Westall's portrait, it established the loose-necked collar as an essential identifier. Byron as Albanian was less widely known until after 1841, when William Finden's engraving appeared as the frontispiece to a new edition of *CHP*. Piper (1982) detects in the original portrait a 'whiff of fancy-dress ball, or of Hollywood spectacular, almost Errol Flynn playing Byron' (p. 130). Certainly the image is theatrical. But it is also more remote, more challengingly 'other' than most representations of Byron.

Westall's profile of Byron, another romantic and much-copied image, is 'a variation on the classical topos of poetic melancholy, head on hand' (Piper [1982], p. 43). Clubbe (2005), p. 45, thinks this 'epicene *Byron* limits and finally emasculates Byron's powerful being'. Clubbe's main focus is on the painting of 1826–28, derived from Westall's, by the American painter Thomas Sully (1783–1872). Westall's Byron is 'self-absorbed' but Sully's becomes 'confident, engaging, pregnant with creative thought' (Clubbe [2005], p. 189).

Other representations include William Kay's 1795 watercolour of Byron, aged seven, with bow and arrow (engraved by Edward Finden in 1832); James Holmes's miniature of 1815–16, which was Byron's own preferred likeness (*BLJ* x.175); the rather undistinguished miniatures of 1817 and 1819 by Girolamo Prepiani (fl. 1814–33); and the busts of 1817 by the Danish neoclassical sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768–1844) and of 1822 by Lorenzo Bartolini (1778–1850). According to the sitter, the Bartolini 'exactly resembles a superannuated Jesuit…though my mind misgives me that it is hideously like' (*BLJ* ix.213). Byron had fewer reservations about Thorvaldsen, who later (1830–34) produced the seated figure which was installed in the Wren Library at Trinity College, *Cambridge, in 1845.

An image more significant for public perceptions of Byron in 1816 was H. Meyer's stipple engraving of a drawing of 1815 by George

Harlow (1787–1819). Peach (2000), p. 70, points out that Meyer's alteration of the inclination of the head 'subtly changes the pose from one of contemplation ... to one of disdain'. This Byron, as Piper says ([1982], p. 135), shows 'calculated negligence; the profile clear, pale, and sharp, the bearing arrogant and aristocratic'. To Leigh *Hunt's wife Marianne, no admirer of aristocrats, he looked like a 'great schoolboy who had had a plain bun given him instead of a plum one' (Hunt [1828], i.46). Harlow's less-known drawing of Byron in *Venice in 1818 is more relaxed, more human and 'a touch wry perhaps' (Piper [1982], p. 136).

Count D'Orsay sketched Byron looking much older and gaunter in *Genoa in 1823, but after Byron's death as before the heroic, aristocratic or poetic images continued to dominate. The saviour of *Greece needed to look noble; the figure in the frontispieces needed to sell the works. Descriptions of his actual appearance are 'legion and contradictory' (Piper [1982], pp. 131–2; Peach [2000], pp. 11–17, provides a selection). How far Byron may have dictated the poses in the pictures is also a matter of debate.

Further reading: Beevers (2005); Christine Kenyon-Jones in Wilson (1999).

Byron, William, 5th Baron

(1722–98)

Byron's great-uncle, known as 'the Wicked Lord Byron'. In 1765 he killed William Chaworth, great-uncle of Mary *Chaworth Musters. (This is the subject of Byron's 'The Duel'.) The *House of Lords found him guilty of manslaughter rather than murder. In later years at *Newstead Abbey he developed or cultivated a local reputation for eccentricity. Byron succeeded to the barony because the 5th Baron's son and grandson had both predeceased him.

Byron in drama

Versions of Byron appear in a range of genres. Three stage works considered by Chew (1924), pp. 41–2, are inspired by the plot of *DJ*: the melodrama *The Sultana; or a Trip to Turkey* (1822), J. B. Buckstone's *Don Juan. A Romantic Drama, in Three Acts* (1828), and the burletta or musical entertainment *A New Don Juan!* (1828). More often plays dramatize some aspect of Byron's life or legend. (And audiences at the early *DJ* pieces may have liked to believe that they were watching Byron's amatory adventures as much as those of the character.) One of the first-known 'biographical' plays about Byron is *Lord Byron a Venezia* (1837), by Gian Battista Cipro. Such works in the twentieth century include K. K. Ardaschir's *The Pilgrim of Eternity* (1921) and Anthony Ireland's *Byron in Piccadilly, a Play in Three Acts* (1945). In Block Eight in Tennessee Williams's *Camino Real* (1950) Byron describes the horror of P. B. *Shelley's cremation and his disillusionment with his own work but has determined to return to himself – to go back to *Greece, or towards some kind of possible fulfilment. Liz Lochhead's *Blood and Ice* (1982 and later revisions) and Howard Brenton's *Bloody Poetry* (1984, revised 1989) pit a cynical or realistic Byron against a utopian P. B. Shelley, as noted by Werner Huber in Wilson (1999). In drama as in film and novels, the Byron/Shelley relationship is often focused on some version of life at Villa *Diodati in 1816, usually also involving Mary Godwin (*Shelley) and sometimes Claire *Clairmont.

In Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia* (1993) Byron does not appear on stage but plays a part, by his reported and misreported activities, in the conflict between Romantic and classical, chaos and order. He is a lover, a would-be duellist, a role-model for his friend Septimus Hodge, an object of desire for Thomasina Coverly and her mother; and, in the twentieth-century scenes, an object of accurate and inaccurate research, insight into and misunderstanding of the past.

Byron has also been a popular subject for one-man shows: Goode (1997) lists seven between 1973 and 1992. He has a role in at least two operas: Virgil Thomson's *Byron* (1975; libretto by Jack Larson), and Richard Meale, *Mer de Glace* (1991; libretto by David Malouf), which is again set in *Switzerland in 1816. In the nineteenth century Byron's poems were a source of operas by *Donizetti and *Verdi.

Further reading: Davis (n.d.).

Byron in fiction

Byron is heroized, satirized, explained or glimpsed in many novels and stories. (Relatively full lists are provided by Santucho [1977] and Goode [1997].) He appears in thin disguise in novels by *Peacock, Lady Caroline *Lamb, Mary *Shelley and *Disraeli. In *Six Weeks at Long's. By a Late Resident* (1817), by Eaton Barrett Stannard (1786–1820), Byron is satirized as the affected Lord Leander – the name refers to his favourite *swimming feat. (Long's was a London hotel.) He returns as Lord Stanza in the anonymous, parodic *Three Weeks at Fladong's* (1817) and as Lord Woeful in *Prodigious!!! Or Childe Paddie in London* (1818). More subtly, Catherine Gore's *Cecil, or the Adventures of a Coxcomb* (1841), which has a Byronic narrator as well as a role for Byron himself, 'rewrites the brilliance of *Don Juan*'s wit as the allure of triviality' (Elfenbein [1999], p. 91).

The next vogue for tales of Byron came in the twentieth century as part of a general reawakening of interest. There were such biographical romances as Frank F. Moore's *He Loved But One: The Story of Lord Byron and Mary *Chaworth* (1905), Lafayette McLaws's *Maid of Athens* (1906), and Julia Mannering's (Madeleine Bingham's) *The Passionate Poet* (1951). The eponymous lord in Maurice Hewlett's *Bendish: A Study in Prodigality* (1913) is the author of 'The Wanderer', a *CHP*-like poem, but usually Byron's work is subordinate to his life. One of the works most frequently mentioned, in fact, is the lost *Memoirs; novelists who recontruct them have the freedom to embroider or invent the contents. The manuscript in Christopher Nicole's *The Secret Memoirs of Lord Byron* (1978) is largely concerned with Byron's sexual exploits. Robert Nye's *The Memoirs of Lord Byron: A Novel* (1989) gives the memoirs a broader focus. Doris Langley *Moore, *My Caravaggio Style* (1959), concerns a forged version. A different approach to reconstructing Byron is tried in Amanda Prantera's *Conversations with Lord Byron on Perversion, 163 Years after His Lordship's Death* (1987), where computer programmers recreate his mind as an artificial intelligence. (Byron as artificial intelligence is also involved in a 1997 episode of *Star Trek: Voyager*.)

Paul West's *Lord Byron's Doctor* (1989) looks at Byron and others at Villa *Diodati through the eyes of *Polidori. There is also a flourishing tradition in fiction, partly because of Polidori's *The *Vampyre*, of Byron as *vampire. The best-known example is Tom Holland's *The Vampyre: Being the True Pilgrimage of George Gordon, Sixth Lord Byron* (1995).
Further reading: Chew (1924); Davis (n.d.).

Byron in film and television

On screen Byron features most often as a villain or manipulator. Peter Cochran (1999) suggests that most films 'in making him evil…make him dull' (p. 63). His probable first cinematic appearance, however, was in the more simply romantic-biographical context of *The Prince of Lovers* (1922), adapted by Alicia Ramsey from her play *Byron, a Play in Four Acts and an Epilogue* and directed by Charles Calvert. He figures more briefly in the prologue (often cut) to *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), where James Whale casts Byron (Gavin Gordon) in his own image as 'a directorial figure' and draws on his and the *Shelleys' 'popular reputation as social and intellectual rebels to allow him to transcend the usual constraints of horror film convention' (Ralston and Sondergard [1999], p. 138).

Three later films also concentrate on Byron's relationship with P. B. Shelley and Mary Godwin (*Shelley). In Ken Russell's *Gothic* (1986) Byron, played by Gabriel Byrne, is a 'Lucifer figure', drawing the rest of the *Diodati group into 'a hell of his own making' (Ralston and Sondergard [1999], p. 144), although he is finally brought out of this hell by Mary Godwin. Gonzalo Suárez's *Remando al viento* (*Rowing with the Wind*) and Ivan Passer's *Haunted Summer* (based on Anne Edwards' novel of 1972) followed in 1988. Philip Anglim as Byron in *Haunted Summer* is a 'heartless manipulator of lesser lives' (Cochran [1999], p. 70). Byron also appears briefly in Roger Corman's *Frankenstein Unbound* (1990). Here he is Mary Godwin's lover, a stereotypical 'wealthy playboy and bored aristocrat' (Ralston and Sondergard [1999], p. 149).

In *The Bad Lord Byron* (1948), directed by David Macdonald, Dennis Price's dying Byron imagines his trial by a celestial court. A put-upon husband, innocent of incest and full of good intentions, he is exonerated. Richard Chamberlain's violent, villainous Byron in *Lady Caroline Lamb* (1972), written and directed by Robert Bolt, is at the opposite extreme. As in other films, Byron's work counts for little: he is an aristocrat, a celebrity, a lover, a psychological problem, but rarely a poet except in name. ('So We'll Go No More A Roving' is spoken in *The Bad Lord Byron* and a version of some lines from 'Darkness' in *Remando al viento*.)

Television lives of Byron have also tended to be rather reticent about his work. More thought-provoking was *Dread Poets' Society* (BBC2, 1992), written by Benjamin Zephaniah and David Stafford and directed by Andy Wilson. In this 'fantasy-farce' (Cochran [1999], p. 73) Zephaniah, who had been appointed and then rejected as writer in residence at Trinity College, *Cambridge, encounters his fellow-writers Byron (Alex Jennings), the *Shelleys and *Keats. The riotous, radical conduct and beliefs of the group demonstrate that they were as inimical to the establishment as Zephaniah. At greater length and in more realist mode, *Byron* (BBC2, 2003), written by Nick Dear, directed by Julian Farino and with Jonny Lee Miller in the title-role, explores the life with unusual attention to detail and known fact, and includes some extracts from *CHP* and *DJ*.

Further reading: Davis (n.d.).

Byron Society, The

Organization of Byron scholars and enthusiasts. It was first founded in 1876, ended in 1939, and re-established in 1971. Its *Byron Journal* began publication in 1973.

Byronic hero

Term often applied to Byron's early heroes. It refers usually to the main male characters in the *Oriental Tales and sometimes to Harold in *CHP*, although his characterization is more fragmentary. They are alienated, brooding figures with mysterious pasts. *Macaulay in the **Edinburgh Review* for June 1831 diagnoses 'a man proud, moody, cynical, – with defiance on his brow, and misery in his heart ... yet capable of deep and strong affection' (Rutherford [1970], p. 311). 'The strength of early passion, and the glow of youthful feeling', Walter *Scott says, 'are uniformly painted as chilled or subdued by a train of early imprudences or of darker guilt, and the sense of enjoyment tarnished, by too intimate and experienced an acquaintance with the vanity of human wishes' (**Quarterly Review* 16 [October 1816], *RR* v.2034).

Thorslev (1962) traces the Byronic hero to a variety of sources including *Milton's Satan, Karl Moor in *Schiller's *Die Räuber* (1781), Falkland in *Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1794), and *Radcliffe's villains in *The Castle of Udolpho* (1794) and *The Italian* (1797). It was Byron's innovation to make such a figure 'a lover, not a threat to the heroine' (Franklin [1992], p. 32). The Byronic hero was popularized also by the common belief that the author shared his ambiguous traits.

Byronism

Term associated, mainly between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth century, with an image of Byron and his work as self-dramatizingly melancholy or romantically dangerous. *OED* cites *Fraser's Magazine* (1857) LVI.66: 'When Byronism was at its height, when ... you could not be interesting unless you were miserable and vicious.'

C

Cadiz

Spanish port. Byron visited between 29 July and 3 August 1809. He went to the bullfight dwelt on in *CHP* I.718–93. 'The Girl of Cadiz' is a song originally intended for *CHP* I. Juan sails from Cadiz, a 'pretty town' noted for its 'sweet girls' or 'graceful ladies', their costume and 'o'erpowering eye' (*DJ* II.33–56).

Cain, a Mystery

Blank verse drama. In January 1821 Byron was considering writing a tragedy on 'Cain, a metaphysical subject, something in the style of Manfred' (*BLJ* viii.36). He wrote the work in July–September 1821, termed it (*BLJ* viii.205) a 'Mystery' – (i.e. a tragedy on a sacred subject)', and continued to associate it with *Manfred*. 'It is in my very fiercest Metaphysical manner' (*BLJ* viii.205). *Cain* was published with *Sardanapalus* and *Two Foscari* on 19 December 1821.

Cain is perplexed at the consequences of the Fall, including, although as yet it is only vaguely apprehended, death. He aspires, in the tradition of *Goethe's Faust and perhaps Marlowe's Faustus, to know more. Lucifer appears, encourages his doubts about the divine dispensation, and takes him 'a voyage among the stars, and, afterwards, to "Hades", where he shows him the phantoms of a former world, and, its inhabitants' (*BLJ* viii.215). (As Byron explains [*CPW* vi.*229*], he took 'the notion ... that the world had been destroyed several times' from the controversial geological work of Baron Georges Léopold Cuvier [1769–1832].) Cain returns all the more unsettled. Byron told *Murray that 'the object of the demon is to *depress* him still further in his own estimation ... by showing him infinite things – & his own abasement – till he falls into the frame of mind – that leads to the Catastrophe – from mere *internal* irritation – *not* premeditation or envy – of *Abel* ... but from rage and fury against the inadequacy of his state to his Conceptions – & which discharges itself rather against Life – and the author of Life – than the mere living' (*BLJ* ix.53–4). Cain is seized with remorse as soon as he strikes Abel down, but can still restate to the Angel of the Lord (III.i.506–15) the unresolved issues of the play: his doomed heredity; why God cannot revive Abel and take Cain instead; 'That which I am, I am; I did not seek/For life, nor did I make myself'.

Cain and Adah go out into the wilderness (III.i.544). ‘Eastward from Eden will we take our way;/’Tis the most desolate, and suits my steps’ (552–3); there is none of the hope with which, mixed with sadness, *Milton’s Adam and Eve ‘with wandering steps and slow,/Through Eden took their solitary way’ (*Paradise Lost* XII.648–9). Milton’s epic is, with the briefer accounts of the Fall and of Cain and Abel in Genesis, one of the most important sources of *Cain*. Particularly significant is *Paradise Lost* X.720–844, where Adam imagines how his posterity will curse him, worries about the nature of death and asks (822–4), ‘Ah, why should all mankind/For one man’s fault thus guiltless be condemned,/If guiltless?’ Pierre *Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1695–97; English translation 1734) provided a source or analogue for much of the sceptical approach and for specific details such as the fact that Genesis mentions only the serpent, not the Devil, as Eve’s tempter. *Hamlet* is a less often noticed influence. Cain at the start of the play is separate from the worshipping family as Hamlet is from the fawning court. He is ‘sick at heart’ (I.i.58) like the sentry Francisco (*Hamlet* I.i.9). Like Hamlet he is an intelligent questioner, preoccupied with death, difficult for the woman who loves him to understand, a victim of the sins of the previous generation, deeply divided from and inextricably involved with his mother. (Claudius refers to ‘the primal eldest curse… /A brother’s murder’, in *Hamlet* III.iii.)

Many reviewers were, or professed to be, scandalized by the subject of *Cain* and the sceptical views expressed by Cain and Lucifer. It was a book, Henry Crabb Robinson said, ‘calculated to spread infidelity’ (Robinson [1938], p. 281). It was blasphemous and, in its Manicheism, heretical. Byron and his defenders replied along the lines that ‘If “Cain” be “blasphemous” – Paradise lost is blasphemous… Cain is nothing more than a drama – not a piece of argument’ (*BLJ* ix.103); orthodox views are represented by Adam and all the family but Cain, who are ‘as pious as the Catechism’ (*BLJ* ix.53). *Scott told Murray that Byron has ‘matched Milton on his own ground’; some may condemn it but ‘The fiend-like reasoning and bold blasphemy’ of Lucifer and Cain leads, as expected, to murder and ‘the ruin and despair of the perpetrator’ (*CPW* vi.648).

Scott, who was avowedly flattered to receive the dedication of this ‘very grand and tremendous drama’, wanted to believe that it was reconcileable with orthodox beliefs. He realized, however, that ‘it is scarce possible to make the Devil speak as the Devil without giving offence’ (Steffan [1968], p. 314). The offence came partly because the voices of the pious in *Cain* are less powerful and interesting than those of Cain and Lucifer. (Adah, who is to some extent willing to enter into debate with Lucifer and feels his attraction, is a partial exception.) The failure to provide an unequivocal defence of God's purposes for humankind was striking. Justifiably or not, *Cain* was rapidly established as a dangerous, satanic work, a reputation it kept in many quarters for the rest of the nineteenth century. Its sceptical questioning, however, must have appealed, as *DJ* did, to people with radical sympathies; while the 1821 volume of three plays sold poorly, *Cain* flourished in cheap pirate editions following the Lord Chancellor's refusal to protect the copyright of so impious a work.

Byron was clear that this, like his other dramas, was not meant for the stage. It is often felt to be undramatic with the notable exception of Act III, which includes the rival altars, the murder, and Eve's curse on Cain (III.i. 401–4, 421–43). It seems not to have been tested in performance until the twentieth century. There were experimental productions of *Cain* by Constantin Stanislavski at the Moscow Arts Theatre in 1920 and by Jerzy Grotowski in Opole, Poland, in 1960. Grotowski secularized the play, substituting Alpha or the blind force of nature for God, and Omega or reason for Lucifer. Cain and his family became members of the middle class. Less controversial productions, in English, include adaptations by Jerome J. McGann at the University of Chicago in 1968 (cutting II.i., Zillah and the children) and by John Barton for the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1995. Edward Hall directed the play at the Minerva Theatre, Chichester, again with a shortened second act, in 1992.

Further reading: Corbett (1988); Howe (2006); Steffan (1968).

Calvinism *see* Religion

Cambridge

Byron's university. He attended Trinity College, rather sporadically, in October–December 1805, April–July 1806 and October–December 1807, and was awarded the degree of MA in 1808. Particularly in his first term he led a dissipated life. To *Hanson he claimed that 'Study is the last pursuit of the Society; the Master eats, drinks, and Sleeps; the Fellows *drink*, *dispute* and *pun*, the *employments* of the under Graduates you will probably conjecture without my description' (*BLJ* i.81). Those who are obliged (unlike a nobleman) to study obtain only useless knowledge. (See 'Granta: a Medley' and 'Thoughts Suggested by a College Examination'.) He kept a bear at Trinity in order, he claimed, to have it sit for a fellowship; only 'the jealousy of his Trinity cotemporaries prevented [him] from success' (Postscript to *EBSR*; cp. *BLJ* i.135–6).

Still in *EBSR* 961–84 Cambridge is the 'dark asylum of a Vandal race' (981) of worthless poets and critics. Byron did, however, have some happy memories. One of the happiest was of diving for 'plates, eggs, and even shillings' in the Cam (at Byron's Pool near Grantchester, tradition has it) with his friend *Long in 1806 (*BLJ* viii.23). At Cambridge he also formed a close relationship with *Edleston and met *Hobhouse, *Davies, *Matthews, *Hodgson, *Kinnaird and *Bankes.

Cameron, Caroline

(b. 1791/92)
Prostitute who lived with Byron between about February and July 1808. He took her to Brighton disguised as his brother. She was pregnant, perhaps by him, that summer, but miscarried. (*See* Marchand, *Biography* 151, 156.) *Hobhouse seems to have been responsible for persuading Byron to end the relationship.

Campbell, Thomas

(1777–1844)
Scottish poet famous for *The Pleasures of Hope* (1799) and *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1809). Byron met him in November 1811. He is mentioned favourably in *EBSR* 801–2 and in the 'triangular "Gradus ad Parnassum"' of *BLJ* iii.220, where he is ranked equal with *Moore and beneath only *Scott and *Rogers.

Campbell envied Byron the scale of his popular success (*see BLJ* iii.233).

Canning, George

(1770–1827)
Foreign secretary from 1822. Although he was a *Tory, Byron admired him as a wit and an orator and approved of his liberal sympathies. *See Age* 548–55.

Canova, Antonio

(1757–1822)
Italian neoclassical sculptor. Byron regards him as the greatest of modern artists (*CHP* IV dedication and 495; 'On the Bust of Helen by Canova'.)

Cant

Hypocritical obfuscation of the truth. Byron often used the term with reference to English society. The 'grand "primum mobile" of England is *Cant* – Cant political – Cant poetical – Cant religious – Cant moral' (*Letter to John*

Murray in *Prose* 128); 'the best mode left for conquering it, is to expose it to *ridicule*, the only *weapon*... that the English climate cannot rust' (Blessington, *Conversations* 13). Cp. *DJ* I.3 and IV.783; the many occurrences of the word in Byron's letters include *BLJ* vi.91, 232, vii.121, xi.147.

Canziani, Lambros

(fl. 1789–90)
Greek pirate. Canziani (or Katsonis) is the Lambro of *Bride* II.380 and a probable inspiration for Lambro in *DJ* III–IV.

Carbonari

Secret societies dedicated to the overthrow of foreign rule in *Italy. Byron joined the local *Ravenna society, of which Counts Ruggero and Pietro *Gamba were members, in the summer of 1820. When revolution seemed imminent in February 1821 Byron stored for the carbonari 'proclamations – oaths – & resolutions – &... hidden weapons of most calibres' (*BLJ* viii.106). The would-be revolution soon collapsed or was 'bungled'. Byron's involvement in the cause was, however, a prelude to his activities in the *Greek War of Independence.

Carlisle, Frederick Howard, 5th Earl of

(1748–1825)
Byron's guardian from 1799, author of plays and poems. Byron praised his work in the preface to the first edition of *HI* and dedicated the second edition to him. But, offended by Carlisle's failure to introduce him personally to the *House of Lords, he pilloried him in *EBSR* as 'Lord, rhymester, petit-maître, pamphleteer!' (732). The second edition adds an allegation of 'paralytic puling' (726). In a manuscript note of 1816 Byron says that this attack was 'Too savage – whatever the foundation might be' (*CPW* i.416) and there is a partial retraction in *CHP* III.256.

Carlyle, Thomas

(1795–1881)
Social critic and historian. In youth he admired Byron's work, but later wrote about his unrealized potential, attitudinizing and self-indulgence. 'No genuine productive Thought was ever revealed by him to mankind' and his vision 'had a certain falsehood, a brawling theatrical insincere character'

(letter to Macvey Napier, 28 April 1832). To Carlyle '"Byron" represents all that the professional intellectual must overcome' (Elfenbein [1995], p. 90).

Caroline, Queen

(1768–1821)
Caroline of Brunswick, wife of *George IV. Byron knew her through Lady *Oxford in 1813. Long separated from George, she attempted to take her place as queen consort when he succeeded to the throne in 1820. A government attempt to force through a divorce failed. She was supported, as a useful focus of opposition, by many *Whigs.

The king's treatment of the queen in *Sardanapalus* was clearly meant to remind readers of the Queen Caroline affair. 'George IV on Queen Caroline', an unpublished satire of December 1820, is 'supposed to be spoken by the king during the impeachment proceedings' (*CPW* iv.520).

Casti, Giovanni Battista (Giambattista)

(1724–1803)
Italian poet. By June 1816 (*BLJ* v.80) Byron had read his *Novelle galanti* (1802) and *Animali parlanti* (1802). Vassallo (1984) makes the case for four of the *Novelle – Il cavalier servente*, *Il ritorno inaspettato*, *La scommessa* and *Il rosignuol*o – as a major influence on the 'new satiric technique' (p. 46) of *Beppo*. Vassallo also looks (pp. 67–75, 77–8) at the possible links between the story of Juan and Julia in *DJ* I, *Il ritorno inaspettato* and another *novella* by Casti, *Le brache di San Griffone*.

Animali parlanti, a satire on system, tyranny, war, glory and irrationality, may have exerted a broader influence on *DJ* VI–IX (Vassallo [1984], pp. 123–4). Byron seems also to have drawn on Casti's *Il poema tartaro* (1797), an **ottava rima* satire on *Catherine the Great and her *Russia, in *DJ* V–X (Vassallo [1984], pp. 91–4, 100–4; Cochran [2003]. In March 1818 Byron read in manuscript and judged 'excellent' (*BLJ* vi.24) William Stewart Rose's free translation from the *Animali*, *The Court and Parliament of Beasts* (1819), but seems to have remained more familiar with the longer, more politically outspoken original.

Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount

(1769–1822)
British foreign secretary 1812–22. He was the butt of some of Byron's most savage satire. Byron regarded him as a betrayer of *Ireland for his part in

suppressing the United Irish rebellion of 1798 and promoting the Union of the British and Irish parliaments in 1800, and as the opponent of liberal causes throughout Europe. In the dedication to *DJ*, 88–120, he subjects him to vitriolic attack as 'the intellectual eunuch Castlereagh' and in the preface to *DJ* VI–VIII (under his final title as Marquess of Londonderry) as the minister 'most despotic in intention and ... weakest in intellect that ever tyrannized over a country'. He also features unfavourably in Byron's 'The Irish Avatar' (1821), 84–100, and 'Epigrams on Lord Castlereagh' after his suicide (1822): he has cut his own throat having 'cut his country's long ago'.

Catherine the Great

(1729–96)
Catherine II, Empress of *Russia 1762–96. Juan becomes her well-rewarded lover and favourite in *DJ* IX–X.
Further reading: Cochran (2003).

Catholic emancipation *see* ***Roman Catholic Claims Speech***

Catholicism

Byron expressed sympathy for Roman Catholicism on a number of occasions. He argued for Catholic rights in his **Roman Catholic Claims Speech*, sent Allegra *Byron to be educated as a Roman Catholic and made Aurora Raby a 'Catholic ... sincere, austere' (*DJ* XV.361). He told *Hoppner that Catholicism was the best because the oldest form of Christianity (*BLJ* viii.98) and *Moore that he inclined towards its doctrines and admired 'tangible religion' with its 'elegant worship' and 'incense, pictures, statues, altars, shrines, relics, and the real presence, confession, absolution' and lack of doubt (*BLJ* ix.119, 123). In context, however, these remarks seem rather less definite. His main anxiety is to keep Allegra away from her mother Claire *Clairmont and the *Shelleys '& their principles' (viii.98) and he wants to reassure Moore that the religious views of his dramatic characters – especially in *Cain* – do not represent his own. To 'incline' to Catholic doctrines is to state the point emphatically – he stands at the opposite extreme to his characters or to Shelley. *MacCarthy* 391 suggests that in its dogmatism 'Catholicism was the equivalent of the Calvinism of his boyhood' – good for Allegra perhaps, and for the adult Byron a cultural practice to admire, selectively, from the outside; perhaps also something with which to tease his friends in his annoyance over the reaction to *Cain* and claims of his lack of religious belief.

McGann (1968), pp. 254–5, argues that Italian Catholicism influenced Byron towards a position in which 'spirit and matter…become more and more inseparably related in his mind'.
See also: **Religion**.

Catullus, Gaius Valerius

(*c*.84–*c*.54 BC)
Roman love-poet. Byron includes in *FP*, *POVO*, *HI* and *POT* his translations of Catullus' *Carmina* 3 and 51 and his 'imitation' combining 48 with elements of 5 and 7 (*CPW* i.370). All three poems date probably from 1806.

Cawthorn, James *see English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*

Cephalonia

Greek island. Byron arrived at Argostoli in Cephalonia on 3 August 1823, moved to Metaxata a month later, and left the island for Missolonghi on 29 December. His purpose in spending time on British-ruled Cephalonia before venturing onto the mainland was to assess the situation there before risking becoming too closely identified with a particular Greek faction.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de

(1547–1616)
Spanish author. *Don Quixote* and *Galatea* are included in Byron's reading list of 1807 (*Prose* 1). In *DJ* XIII *Don Quixote* of all tales is 'the saddest – and more sad,/Because it makes us smile' (65–6); virtue makes the hero mad and 'Cervantes smiled Spain's Chivalry away' (81).
Further reading: Saglia (1996).

Chalandritsanos, Loukas

(*c*.1808–mid or late 1820s)
Greek youth, loved by Byron at the end of his life. Byron had protected his mother and sisters, whom he met on *Ithaca and brought to *Cephalonia. Loukas accompanied him to *Missolonghi as his page. Byron spent considerable sums on clothes, pistols and other gifts for him. Unrequited love for Loukas is the main personal inspiration for 'Love and Death', 'Last Words on Greece', and the conflict between love and duty in 'January 22nd 1824'.

Charlotte, Princess

(1796–1817)
Daughter of the Prince Regent (the future *George IV) and Princess (later Queen) *Caroline. Like her mother, she became a focus for liberal *Whigs opposed to the Tory government supported by her father after he became Regent. (See 'Lines to a Lady Weeping'.) Her early death is lamented in *CHP* IV.1495–1548.

Chaucer, Geoffrey

(1343?–1400)
Poet. In his 1807 list of authors read Byron notes that 'Chaucer notwithstanding the praises bestowed on him, I think obscene, and contemptible, he owes his celebrity, merely to his antiquity' (*Prose* 3). Nevertheless he continued to show some familiarity with *The Canterbury Tales*; he owned a copy of Tyrwhitt's 1798 edition (*Sale Catalogue* 1813 no. 131; 1816 no. 152). He defends his own treatment of saints and angels in *VJ* by reference to 'the Wife of Bath times' (*BLJ* ix.62; cp. Preface to *VJ*, *CPW* vi.311). And he defends *DJ* against the 'prudery of the present day' by reference to *Ariosto, *Voltaire and Chaucer (*BLJ* vi.91). (There are other brief mentions in *Hints* 81, 426; and *CPW* ii.273, v.679.) It is possible, however, that Byron knew Chaucer mainly through the *Tales* which *Dryden rewrites in *Fables Ancient and Modern* (1700).

Chaworth (Musters), Mary

(1785–1832)
Subject of Byron's unrequited love in 1803–04. She was his distant cousin and the grand-daughter of William Chaworth, who had been killed in a quarrel with Byron's great-uncle, William, 5th Lord *Byron. She lived at Annesley Hall, a few miles west of *Newstead, where Byron was a frequent visitor especially during the autumn of 1803. Mary Chaworth was already engaged to be married to John Musters. Relevant poems include 'To My Dear Mary Anne', 'Fragment Written Shortly After the Marriage of Miss Chaworth', 'To Emma', 'Stanzas to [Mrs. Musters] on Leaving England', 'The Dream' and 'The Duel'. Byron told Medwin, *Conversations* 61, that 'She was the *beau idéal* of all that my youthful fancy could paint of beautiful; and I have taken all my fables about the celestial nature of women from the perfection my imagination created in her – I say created, for I found her, like the rest of the sex, any thing but angelic.'

Having separated from her husband, Mary Chaworth-Musters wrote to Byron in 1814 (*BLJ* iv.19–20). He considered seeing her, but the meeting did not take place (*BLJ* iv.48, 56).

Cheltenham

Spa town in Gloucestershire. Byron visited in summer 1801 and lived here between late August and late October 1812.

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage

Poem in four cantos of *Spenserian stanzas. Commentators on *CHP* as a whole traditionally see it as contemplating the transience of human glory and the decline of civilized values, reflecting the events both of Byron's personal life and of European politics between 1809 and 1818. There are, however, major differences in approach and emphasis between Cantos I and II, published in 1812, and Cantos III (1816) and IV (1818).

Cantos I and II

Harold, disillusioned with a life of sensual indulgence, travels, as Byron had on his Grand Tour of 1809–11, to *Portugal, *Spain, *Malta, *Greece, *Albania and *Turkey. Canto I was begun in *Yanina on 31 October 1809 and finished in *Athens on 30 December. Canto II was finished in Smyrna (Izmir) by 28 March 1810. Revisions, undertaken mostly in 1811, removed much comic and satirical material and put more emphasis on melancholy and serious reflection. (One reason for this was the series of deaths, including those of Byron's mother and John *Edleston, alluded to in I.927–44 and note, *CPW* ii.189.) The two cantos were published on 10 March 1812. (Later additions include 'To Ianthe', printed in the seventh edition in 1814.) The poem was such an immediate commercial (and social) success that, according to Moore, *Life* i.347, Byron wrote in his 'Memoranda, – "I awoke one morning and found myself famous".' The first, quarto edition of 500 sold out in three days and was followed by an octavo edition in April 1812.

Commentary has often focused on the difficulty of distinguishing Harold from the author or narrator. The preface claims that the character is purely 'fictitious' except in 'some very trivial particulars', but at first he was called 'Childe Burun'. More significantly, Harold is often absent from the poem named after him. Much of Cantos I and II consists of discursive or lyrical material with the occasional 'so deem'd the Childe' (I.315) and the like and even 'But where is Harold?' (II.136). (He becomes redundant partly, as

McGann [1968] notes, because by the end of II 'the poet has appropriated Harold's gloomy malaise to himself' [p. 71].) That only glimpses should be vouchsafed makes Harold – or Byron, contemporaries often believed – interestingly mysterious: is he simply 'With pleasure drugg'd' (I.53) or suffering from unrequited love (I.39–40) or has he possibly committed some terrible crime (I.66, 827)? In 'To Inez' (after I.836) he will not specify his 'secret woe' or reveal the 'Hell' within. His frequent absence also enables a variety of tone and subject – celebration of natural beauty, political commentary, moral reflection, travel information, song – which sustained attention to melancholy Harold would not. 'Every variety' is facilitated also by the Spenserian stanza, on whose scope for the poet's 'inclination' to 'be either droll or pathetic, descriptive or sentimental, tender or satirical' Byron quotes James Beattie (1735–1803) in his preface (*CPW* ii.4–5).

The Spenserian archaisms of the first stanzas of I – 'Whilome' (10), 'Eremite' (36), 'lemans' (77) and the like suggest a setting in the past. (They are derived mainly from James Thomson's *The Castle of Indolence* [1748].) But *CHP* is set in, and addresses, the present; originally this gap was to be turned to satirical effect. 'Childe' also suggests a more mediaeval or satirical poem than the one we get. 'Romaunt', which was included in the title of I and II and for the three cantos when they were printed together in 1816, suggested to contemporary readers the chivalric world of *Scott's verse romances, which was associated with a (*Tory) politics the opposite of those encountered in *CHP*. 'Pilgrimage' in the title ironically counterpoints the traditional religious or uplifting journey with a modern secular one, travelling more often in the direction of despair than of enlightenment.

CHP I and II (and III–IV) are in the tradition of such topographical meditative poems, known to Byron, as William Falconer's *The Shipwreck* (1762; 12 editions to 1800) and W. R. *Wright's *Horae Ionicae* (1809). Byron as narrator, however, is more emphatically personally involved in his material. For Scott a major element in the success of *CHP* was the novelty of a 'poet who, either in his own person, or covered by no very thick disguise' appears 'directly…before the public, an actual living man expressing his own sentiments, thoughts, hopes and fears' (*Quarterly Review* [April 1818], *RR* v.2049). There is a strong awareness, especially in II, of the past glories of the 'Land of lost gods and godlike men' (II.802). But there is also an insistence on the narrator's present, where there is an urgent need to condemn the Convention of *Cintra and Elgin's despoliation of the Parthenon (*see* ***The Curse of Minerva***), to make clear the futility of British efforts in the Peninsular War, and to consider the prospects for Greek liberation. At the same time, verse invective or rapture on such matters are supported and balanced by detailed prose notes, well informed, sometimes satirical, often witty. Moreover, contrary to the impression sometimes given, the present of the poem and notes is not all bad: there are, for instance, pure and courageous Spanish maidens (I.558–611) and unexpectedly hospitable Suliotes (II.604–12); the 'haunted, holy ground' (II.828) can still be visited and the people who now occupy it are victims more of circumstances than of natural perfidiousness (notes, *CPW* ii.200–4). Finally, the sense of immediacy is enhanced by that of sharing an adventure as the poem moves north to 'lands scarce notic'd in heroic tales' (II.409), complete with their exotically various inhabitants (II.496–549) and exotically evil or mysterious overlord (II.550–67).

Other explanations for the commercial success of the first cantos are that they arrived at the right time, their melancholy chiming with the weariness of a war-generation, and, more specifically, that they were well marketed by both Byron and Murray (*see* Mason [2002]). In particular the **Frame Work Bill Speech*, only two weeks before *CHP* I and II appeared, generated useful publicity for the author (Mason [2002], pp. 430–1). The poem, in turn, did much to establish the Byron 'brand'. Canto II also had considerable longer term influence on British and European Philhellenism (and on guides to Greece, which quoted it extensively from the Murray *Handbook to the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey* ... [1840] onwards).
Further reading: Martin (2004); Rawes (2000); Spencer (1954).

Canto III

The poem was begun on 25 April 1816, finished on 4 July, and published by Murray on 18 November. It again makes little attempt to distinguish Harold, 'The wandering outlaw of his own dark mind' (20) from the author. Again it follows the course of Byron's travels, this time principally to *Waterloo, the Rhine and Lake Léman (Geneva). In the aftermath of the collapse of his marriage and the final defeat of *Napoleon, personal and political interweave.

The canto can be seen as a search for meaning, resolution or consolation in the face of the imperfect example of Napoleon (316–405) or *Rousseau (719–69); the lives 'in one red burial blent' (252) at Waterloo and its restoration of the old despotic order (152–80); and the painful memory of Byron's ostracism, exile and separation from his daughter (1–4, 1067–1102). (Napoleon's – and Rousseau's – 'spirit antithetically mixt' [317] is also Byron's.) On the other side stand Napoleon's bravery in adversity (343–51) and his destructive but exciting 'fire/And motion of the soul' (371–2), Rousseau's love of ideal beauty (738–51), and the exemplary conduct of such figures as *Marceau (536–53). Critical discussion centres more often, however, on *Wordsworth- and *Shelley-influenced ideas of nature and love as counterbalance – persuasive or not – to despair. Wordsworthian elements are most apparent in 671–715, including general and particular echoes of 'Tintern Abbey'. Shelley is present especially in 923–76, written between 23 and 27 June 1816 when he and Byron were visiting the scenes described on Lake Léman; the idea of 'love in its most extended and sublime capacity' and as 'the great principle of the universe' is further stated in Byron's note at 927 (*CPW* ii.312). Commentators have often found such sentiments inconsistent with, rather than convincingly answering, the passages which 'expose and analyse disharmony and incompleteness' (*CPW* ii.300). Byron's **Alpine Journal* entry of September 1816 seems to support this view: the power and glory of the mountains have not 'for one moment' been able to make him forget personal bitterness and desolation or 'to lose my own wretched identity' (*BLJ* v.104–5). He described *CHP* III to *Moore as 'a fine indistinct piece of poetical desolation', during the composition of which he was 'half mad ... between metaphysics, mountains, lakes, love inextinguishable, thoughts unutterable, and the nightmare of my own delinquencies' (*BLJ* v.165). But it is also possible to see *CHP* III, like I–II, as accommodating contraries, exploring and moving between settings and ideas – as in Byron's remark to Moore – more often than it categorizes or analyses them. The canto ends not with triumphant personal resolution but with the possibility – 'Fain would I waft' – of blessing Ada *Byron, in spite of surrounding 'convulsion' and 'bitterness', in a way she can no longer bless him (1094–1102).

The variety or inconsistency of the canto has also sometimes been seen in the context of 46–8: ''Tis to create, and in creating live/A being more intense, that we endow/With form our fancy ...' The immediate act of creation – 'even as I do now' (49) – is more important than consistency. In January 1817 Byron told Augusta *Leigh that 'this Canto is the *best* which I have ever written; there is depth of thought in it throughout and a strength of repressed passion ... but it requires reading more than once, because it is in part *metaphysical*, and of a kind of metaphysics which every body will not understand' (*BLJ* v.159).

Further reading: Hodgson (1979); McGann (1968); Rawes (2004).

Canto IV

Canto IV was written between 26 June and 19 July 1817. It was much added to between August 1817 and January 1818, and published on 28 April 1818. Its reflections concern, or start from, the places in *Italy which Byron saw for the first time in 1816–17: principally *Venice, *Florence and *Rome, with briefer excursions to *Petrarch's Arquà and *Tasso's *Ferrara. Among the themes are transience, decay and the decline – but potential for renewal – of Italy. Public and personal again intertwine: the exiled Byron is 'A ruin amidst ruins' (219); in the Coliseum he meditates on his suffering and revenge – the curse of forgiveness (1207) – and on the nobly dying Gladiator who will be avenged by the Goths (1268–9). Amid the ruins there are 'Spirits which soar from ruin' (492) and he identifies, too, with these. *Dante, *Boccaccio, Tasso and other poets were victims – like Byron, as he sees it – of ingratitude or persecution or misunderstanding, but their work (or their mythic identity) is indestructible. Italy can rise and reunite again and Byron, who twines 'My hopes of being remembered … /With my land's language' (76–8), will also survive. Poetry is more highly valued than in most of Byron's earlier work. New too is the importance attached to visual art, especially sculpture (433–77, 1252–69, 1432–67), a result perhaps of Byron's reading of *Winckelmann. The statues further assert the greatness and sensitivity of the Italian spirit, anchor the poet's meditations and mediate traditional Grand Tour sights to less-travelled readers.

Stylistically Canto IV is not unlike Canto III, but it is much longer, more densely illustrated and, it is generally felt, more mature. Walter *Scott, in the *Quarterly Review* for April 1818, published in September, opposed the politics of the canto but found it on the whole original and beautiful, with 'less of passion' than the earlier sections and 'more of deep thought and sentiment, at once collected and general' (*RR* v.2054). The weightier feeling of the canto is increased by the inclusion of the authoritative prose dedication to *Hobhouse and of detailed, learned and polemical notes, some by Byron but many by Hobhouse, considerably more extensive than even those to Canto II. Another distinctive feature of IV is the tendency to have 'the stanzas running into each other' – Byron told Moore that 'the *terza rima of the Italians, which always *runs* on and in, may have led me into experiments' (*BLJ* vi.46).

In Canto IV 'there will be found less of the pilgrim than in any of the preceding, and that little slightly, if at all, separated from the author speaking in his own person' since 'I had become weary of drawing a line which every one seemed determined not to perceive' (dedication, *CPW* ii.122). 'The Pilgrim of my song' is not mentioned until line 1468; 'His shadow fades away into Destruction's mass' (1476), and, as in the final stanza (1666–74), his presence is valedictory, a last reminder of the now distant world of the beginning of *CHP*. (This is also one function of the closing address to the ocean, which may take the reader back to the sea-crossing of I.100–206.) With Harold even less important than in earlier cantos, 'Byron finally represents himself, nakedly, as his own Byronic hero' (McGann [1976], p. 43). Liberal political views, too, are often stated 'nakedly' in both poem and notes. In the dedication Byron commits himself to the Italian longing for 'the immortality of independence' and hits out at 'a permanent army and a suspended Habeas Corpus' in Britain (*CPW* ii.123, 124). In verse he closely adapts (370–87) the nationalist sonnet of Vincenzo da Filicaia (1642–1707), 'Italia, Italia …', with its references to foreign robbers and 'many-nation'd spoilers' – controversial especially in the Austrian-occupied Veneto. He also blames Britain for abandoning its fellow child of ocean and warns 'in the fall/Of Venice think of thine' (152–3). Trafalgar is treated less than patriotically (1629); *Waterloo is slighted in the dedication (*CPW* ii.124) and in the inflammatory note which was deleted, probably by the conservative *Murray or *Gifford, before publication (*CPW* ii.340–1).

No longer the new fashion which *CHP* I–II had been in 1812, and with the author's reputation dented by the separation scandal, III–IV sold far fewer copies. Twelve thousand copies of III were printed and 10,000 of IV, as against the 20,000 of I–II. In the somewhat longer term, however, Canto IV prospered: it was one of the most popular of Byron's works for the remainder of the nineteenth century, much extracted in guide books and travellers' accounts. 'I stood in Venice, on the Bridge of Sighs' (1), moonlight in the Coliseum (1288–96) and the Dying Gladiator, 'Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday' (1267), were widely quoted, imitated and parodied.
Further reading: Kelsall (1987); McGann (1968).

'Childish Recollections'

Poem of *Harrow recollections. It was written in 1806, printed in *POVO* and revised for *HI*. Byron contrasts Dr *Drury and Dr *Butler as Probus and Pomposus and remembers his friendships with fellow-pupils including John *Wingfield (Alonzo), Lord *Delawarr (Euryalus), Edward Noel *Long (Cleon), Lord *Clare (Clarus and Joannes in *POVO*) and James Wynne de Bathe (1792–1828; Lycus in *HI*).

Chillon

Castle on Lake Léman (Geneva), the setting of *Prisoner*. Byron came here in June and September 1816. The popularity of Chillon as a tourist destination was increased by the poem and the chance to see 'Byron' carved into a column in Bonivard's presumed dungeon. Ernest Giddey (2004), p. 76, suggests that the name may actually have been incised by an enterprising gaoler.

Churchill, Charles

(1731–64)
Satirical poet. Churchill's *The Rosciad* (1761) is a probable influence on *EBSR*. *See also*: '**Churchill's Grave, A Fact Literally Rendered'.**

'Churchill's Grave, A Fact Literally Rendered'

Wordsworthian poem of 1816. Byron, who admired the satirical poems of *Churchill, visited his grave in Dover on 25 April 1816, the night before leaving England. The poem was written by mid-August. Its Wordsworthian qualities – the simple recording of a conversation with the sexton or 'Gardener of that ground' about why so many people visit the poet's grave – are probably a response to Shelley's dosing Byron with *'Wordsworth physic' (Medwin, *Conversations* 194) that summer. Byron's note first published in *1832* says that 'Churchill's Grave' is 'founded on fact; and this detail is an attempt at a serious imitation of the style of a great poet – its beauties and its defects'. Not surprisingly the result is 'a curiously serio-comic tone' (*CPW* iv.447; McGann [2002], pp. 180–1, develops the point further). The poem is at once a parody of, and a tribute to, poems like Wordsworth's 'Resolution and Independence', with its 'homely phrase' (38) and manner. The general recollection of the graveyard scene in *Hamlet* contributes to the expectation both of humour and of reflection on death.
Further reading: Wordsworth (1991).

Cintra

Town in *Portugal (more correctly Sintra). *CHP* I.236–54 celebrates its beauty; 288–314 condemns the Convention of Cintra (30 August 1808) by which British commanders allowed and assisted the withdrawal of defeated French troops to *Spain. In reality the Convention was negotiated at Torres Vedras.

Clairmont, Claire (Clara Mary Jane)

(1798–1879)
Stepsister of Mary *Shelley and stepdaughter of William *Godwin. She wrote to Byron in March or early April 1816, obtained an interview, and had sex with him, at her desire, on 20 April, five days before he left England. ('I never loved nor pretended to love her,' Byron told *Kinnaird in January

1817 [*BLJ* v.162], 'but a man is a man – & if a girl of eighteen comes prancing to you at all hours – there is but one way'.) In *London she introduced him to her stepsister and in *Switzerland, in May, to Percy Bysshe *Shelley. In the summer of 1816 she produced the fair copy of *CHP* III which was used as printer's copy. For a time sexual relations between Clairmont and Byron resumed.

Claire Clairmont's daughter by Byron, (Clara) Allegra *Byron, was born in Bath in January 1817. After April 1818 she lived mainly apart from her mother, who was often desperately unhappy at her absence and concerned about Byron's arrangements for her. The situation also contributed to tensions between the *Shelleys and Byron. Clairmont never forgave him for Allegra's death in April 1822. Mary Shelley's fascination with Byron was a continuing subject of conflict; 'that vile spirit', Clairmont told her stepsister on 15 March 1836, haunts all her novels but *Frankenstein*. Shelley is passing off as beautiful 'what was the merest compound of Vanity, folly, and every miserable weakness' (Clairmont [1995], ii.341). After Allegra's death she worked for many years as a governess in Austria and Russia, carefully concealing her radical connections and opinions from her employers.

Clare, John

(1793–1864)
Poet and farm labourer. For him Byron was an exemplar of achievement and fame and sometimes the object of envy. He wrote his own 'Child Harold' and 'Don Juan: a Poem' in High Beech mental asylum in the 1840s and later suffered from the recurrent delusion that he was Byron.
Further reading: Barton (1996).

Clare, John Fitzgibbon, Earl of

(1792–1851)
Friend of Byron at *Harrow. In 'Childish Recollections' he is Clarus and Joannes and he is addressed in 'to the Earl of [Clare]'. In the autumn of 1821 Byron met Clare unexpectedly on the road between Imola and *Bologna. 'We were but five minutes together…but I hardly recollect an hour of my existence which could be weighed against them' (*BLJ* ix.49). They saw each other again in June 1822. Among Byron's last words was possibly a reference to Clare, mistakenly or tactfully interpreted by *Fletcher as Claire *Clairmont (Clairmont [1968], p. 409).

Clarke, Hewson

(1787–1832?)
Object of Byron's satire. Clarke reviewed *HI* and *POT* sarcastically in *The Satirist* for October 1807 and August 1808 and attacked Byron again in *The Scourge* in March 1811. Byron responded in *EBSR* 973–80, 984 and Postscript (*CPW* i.263) and in a note intended for *Hints* (*CPW* i.428–31). Clarke ridiculed lordly pretensions while Byron hit at the 'would-be satirist' and 'hired Buffoon,/A monthly scribbler of some low Lampoon' (*EBSR* 975–6).

Clermont, Mary Anne

(1771/72–1850)
Target of 'A Sketch from Private Life'. She had been employed by Annabella Milbanke's (the future Lady *Byron's) parents between 1789 and 1811, specifically as Annabella's maid from 1798, and remained on intimate terms with the family. Byron believed that she had helped turn his wife against him.
Further reading: Elwin (1962).

Clubs

Byron belonged to many clubs or societies during his *Cambridge and *London years. Among them, according to *Detached Thoughts* (*BLJ* ix.23), were the Alfred, the Cocoa Tree, Watier's (the 'superb Club' of the dandies, who let in few other literary men – *BLJ* ix.22), the Union, Racket's in Brighton, the Pugilistic, 'the Owls or "Fly by Night" ', the Cambridge *Whig Club, the Cambridge *Harrow Club and the Hampden Political Club.

Cobbett, William

(1763–1835)
Radical writer. Byron bracketed him with Henry 'Orator' *Hunt as a violent rabble-raiser: *see* e.g. *BLJ* vii.63, 80–1. In the first version of *DJ* IX.162 he made ironic reference to Cobbett's mildness.

Cogni, Margherita

(fl. 1817–19)
Byron's principal lover in *Venice, 1817–18. A poor *fornarina* or baker's wife, she was for a time his housekeeper at Palazzo Mocenigo. After the end of

their liaison he sent *Murray a bravura account of her passion, jealousy, violence and humour (*BLJ* vi.192–8).

Coleridge, Ernest Hartley

(1846–1920)

Editor of *The Works of Lord Byron: Poetry* (1898–1904). Coleridge sought to establish viable texts. These have been corrected, replaced or supplemented since, but the notes are still valuable for their contextual material. He also edited the poems of his grandfather, S. T. *Coleridge.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor

(1772–1834)

Poet, critic and philosopher. In *EBSR* 255–64 Byron ridicules his work ('To turgid ode, and tumid stanza dear'). Later, however, he shows a recurrent interest in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel* and is rarely as hostile to Coleridge as to *Southey and *Wordsworth, although he bracketed the three together as Lake Poets or 'Lakers'.

On 16 December 1811 and 20 January 1812 Byron went to Coleridge's lectures on *Shakespeare and *Milton. It is often stated that Byron was influential in having Coleridge's tragedy *Remorse* put on at *Drury Lane in January 1813 but there is no evidence for this, as first pointed out by Ash (1953). Direct contact began when Coleridge wrote to Byron on 29 March 1815 asking him to recommend his work to 'some respectable Publisher' in London (Coleridge [2000], iv.561). Byron replied encouragingly, praising *Remorse*, suggesting that Coleridge might write another tragedy, and distancing himself from the 'pert, and petulant, and shallow' *EBSR* attack (*BLJ* iv.286). On 18 October 1815 (*BLJ* iv.318–19) Byron encouraged him again to work on a tragedy – 'it is a field in which there are none living to contend against you' – and responded more personally to *Christabel*, which he had heard Walter *Scott recite that spring. It is 'the wildest and finest I ever heard in that kind of composition … the "toothless mastiff bitch" – & the "witch Lady" – the descriptions of the hall … & more particularly of the *Girl* herself as she went forth in the evening – all took a hold on my imagination which I never shall wish to shake off'. It was perhaps even more impressive than *The Ancient Mariner* or 'Love', '& to me there are few things in our tongue beyond these two productions'. In February 1816 Byron also helped Coleridge with a gift of £100 (*see BLJ* ix.206–7; and Coleridge [2000], iv.622–3).

In April 1816 Coleridge sent Byron his play *Zapolya* and, in explanation of his failure to produce more of the work he had promised, told him about his problems with laudanum (Coleridge [2000], iv.628–9). (The description of Coleridge as 'drunk' [*DJ* I.1636] elicited a sarcastic, if partly self-mocking letter on 4 September 1819 – Coleridge [2000], iv.948.) The poets met, possibly for the only time, at some point between 10 and 15 April 1816. Coleridge, buoyed up by the happy outcome of the interview, remembered Byron's 'beautiful…countenance…his teeth so many stationary smiles – his eyes the open portals of the sun' (Coleridge [2000], iv.641). Byron prevailed on Coleridge to publish the unfinished *Christabel*, had him recite 'Kubla Khan', and agreed to promote *Zapolya*. As a result of Byron's pressure on both the poet and *Murray, *Christabel* was published, with 'Kubla Khan' and 'The Pains of Sleep', in May 1816. *Christabel* was given further publicity by its mention in a note to *Siege* 477.

In autumn 1817 Byron read *Biographia Literaria*. He reacted against both its metaphysics (*DJ* dedication 13–16: 'I wish he would explain his explanation') and its denunciation, in Chapter 23, of *Maturin's 'jacobinical' *Bertram*. (This play, not *Zapolya*, had in the event been selected for performance at Drury Lane.) The critique of Maturin sparked off the attack on the Lake poets in *DJ* and gave Byron the 'impetus to respond to Coleridge's reactionary literary life – with its running denunciations of liberal and radical thought – via Byron's own very different *Biographia Literaria*' (*CPW* v.668). In the Ten Commandments parody at I.1634 'Thou shalt not set up Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey'. At III.837–40 Coleridge and Southey are attacked as political turncoats and for having married two alleged 'milliners of Bath'. In *Some Observations* Byron notes how drastically Coleridge's politics have changed since the days when he produced 'the two very best copies of verses he ever wrote', 'Fire, Famine and Slaughter' (1798) and 'Ode to the Departing Year' (1796) (*Prose* 105–6). In **Blues* he is Scamp.

After 1817 as before, nevertheless, Byron remained attuned to, and often echoed, Coleridge's poems, especially *The Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel* and 'Kubla Khan'. There are echoes of *The Ancient Mariner* 111–18 and 300–20 in the shipwreck scenes of *DJ* for instance (*CPW* v.689, 690), and the poem may have influenced the theme of death and rebirth in *Prisoner* and *Mazeppa*. 'Kubla' 16 supplies an epigraph for *Heaven and Earth*. *Christabel* 408–26 is echoed in *CHP* III 879–86; 408–13 and 419–26 are the epigraph to 'Fare Thee Well!' – 'Alas! they had been friends in Youth…'; the description of the deceptive Geraldine in 68, 'beautiful exceedingly', is quoted with reference to Juan the seeming 'damsel fair' in *DJ* VI.282–3. In general Byron could be said to be drawn to the more 'Gothic' elements in the poems.

Some of Coleridge's varying opinions of Byron and his work have been preserved in his marginalia, notebooks and 'table talk'. These date mainly from the 1820s and early 1830s, but there are a few possibly earlier remarks. One report has him saying, probably in 1813, that 'He thought Lord Byron's misanthropy was affected, or partly so, and that it would wear off as he grew older' (Coleridge [1990], i.61n.). And at an unknown date he condemned a Byron poem, possibly *EBSR*, for its 'strange un-english phrases & exotic barbarisms' (Coleridge [1980–2001], v.866). In early 1823 he said that 'There was a want of harmony in Lord Byron. It was unnatural to connect very great intellectual powers with utter depravity.' Some time in the 1820s he said that Byron was overrated, and in about 1831 that both his work and *Scott's would be forgotten (Coleridge [1990], i.29; Coleridge [1980–2001], vi.74, iv.76). But at the end of his life – discussing epigrams in July 1833 – he seems to have appreciated Byron's 'convulsive Drolleries and spasmodic Funninesses', and in June 1824 had praised *DJ* III, particularly the return of Lambro and (singling out 249–56), 'The festal abandonment [which] puts one in mind of Nicholas Poussin's pictures' (Coleridge [2002], v.6712; Coleridge [1990], ii.54).

'Condolatory Address to Sarah, Countess of Jersey, on the Prince Regent's Returning Her Picture to Mrs. Mee'

Poem written and sent to Lady *Jersey on 29 May 1814. It was published in the *Champion* on 31 July as 'Lines by Lord B' and in the *Morning Chronicle* on 1 August. (For Byron's displeasure at these unauthorized appearances *see BLJ* iv.152.) The painter Anne Mee (*c*.1770–1851) had been commissioned by the future *George IV to produce a 'Gallery of Beauties'. (The poem salutes the 'glossy darkness of that clustering hair' [37] often mentioned by Lady Jersey's contemporaries.) In rejecting the portrait the Regent was probably slighting his liberal *Whig opponents as much as Lady Jersey personally. It shows, the poem concludes, his 'hate of *Freedom's* loveliness, and *thine*' (50).
See also: '**Fragment of an Epistle to Thomas Moore**'.

Constantinople

Capital of the Ottoman empire, modern Istanbul. Byron and *Hobhouse were here between mid-May and 14 July 1810. Byron told his mother that Hagia Sophia interested him for its antiquity and its associations with the Byzantine and Turkish emperors. He admired the immense city walls, the 'Turkish burying grounds (the loveliest spots on earth) full of enormous cypresses', and the unequalled 'prospect on each side, from the Seven Towers to the End of the Golden Horn' (*BLJ* i.251).

CHP II.747–82 describes scenes of merriment, dancing and young love on the shores of the Bosphorus; the 'true-born son of Greece' (whose land is captive to the Turks) must loathe all this and long 'to change the robe of revel for the shroud!' (II.781–3). The Seraglio or imperial palace in Constantinople is the main setting of *DJ* V–VI.
Further reading: Donovan (1993).

'Cornelian, The'

Poem of 1805 or 1806, published in *FP* and *POVO,* concerning a gift from John *Edleston. The cornelian (or carnelian) is a 'pledge' of affection which 'blushes modest as the giver'. He lacks wealth and birth, 'But he who seeks the flowers of truth/Must quit the garden for the field'. 'The Cornelian' belongs to a tradition of sentimental friendship poems; there is no attempt, as there is in the *'Thyrza' poems, to conceal the real sex of the young person. 'On a Cornelian Heart Which Was Broken' was written after Edleston's death and published with the second edition of *CHP* I–II.

Corsair; A Tale, The

Third and most popular of Byron's *Oriental Tales. The first draft was begun on 18 December 1813; the slightly longer fair copy was written between 27 December 1813 and 1 January 1814. The first edition appeared on 1 February. Famously *Murray told Byron, 'I sold on the Day of Publication, a thing perfectly unprecedented, 10,000 copies' (Murray, *Letters* 72). Sales were helped by the inclusion in the same volume of the politically controversial 'Lines to a Lady Weeping'. There were five editions in February, two more by the end of 1814, an eighth and ninth in 1815 and a tenth in 1818.

Conrad the corsair, Medora's beloved, disguises himself in order to launch a pre-emptive attack on the pasha Seyd. He rescues Seyd's 'Haram Queen', Gulnare, before being captured. Gulnare brings him a dagger and, when Conrad's sense of honour makes him refuse to kill Seyd, does the deed herself. (She acts, Franklin [1992], pp. 81–2, points out, not just out of love for Conrad but because of her 'treatment as a chattel' by Seyd.) They escape together. Returning to his island, Conrad finds that Medora has died of grief for his captivity and apparentley inevitable death.

There is no obvious main source for the poem. It was 'written *con amore*, and much from *existence*' (*BLJ* iii.243), and *Hobhouse reported a rumour that Byron was 'the actual Conrad, the veritable Corsair' (*BLJ* iii.250). McGann cites the influence of the political plays of *Schiller (*Fiesco*), *Alfieri and *Monti (*Aristodemo* and *Manfredi*) and attributes the name 'Conrad' to *Sismondi (*CPW* iii.445–6). *Macbeth* is an evident inspiration for Gulnare's preparedness to kill Seyd and Conrad's scruples about it. Franklin (1992) thinks that the use of two heroines may be influenced by the contrast between Clare and Constance in *Scott's *Marmion* and that as 'warrior-maiden' Gulnare may be influenced by *Southey's *Joan of Arc* (pp. 77, 84).

Corsair is a swift-moving narrative, a fact emphasized in Byron's note at the beginning of Canto I and at II.388–91. The notes are on the whole sparser than in the earlier tales (the long final note is the main exception) and are mostly concerned to show authenticity through historical parallels and explanation of eastern terms and customs. Conrad is the distillation of the *Byronic hero, 'That man of loneliness and mystery' (I.173), taciturn, alienated – 'Warped by the world in Disappointment's school' (I.253) – aware of his own sins and society's ('he deemed/The rest no better than the thing he seemed', I.265–6) but loyal in love and chivalrous to women.

The two heroines, the passive, devoted Medora and the active, more troubling Gulnare, are a popular topic for discussion. (They are sometimes seen in biographical terms: Byron thought he preferred conventionally submissive partners but was drawn towards independent or unconventional women including Lady Caroline *Lamb and Lady *Oxford.) Medora is in the tradition of Zuleika in *Bride*. Gulnare embodies what is suppressed in such heroines: she is a woman who is strong, decisive, violent, not the 'trembling fair' (II.226) at first perceived by Conrad and the reader. Medora's unswerving devotion is reflected in her usual stillness (e.g. I.371–86), while Gulnare is shown often in movement (e.g. III.271, 410, 438). For a time she is a threatening, unsettling figure – perhaps a 'symbol of the [French Revolutionary] Terror', a Charlotte Corday (Franklin [1992], pp. 83–4). Conrad's horror at 'Gulnare, the homicide' (III.463) continues until she returns to docile womanhood, lowering her veil and 'meekly' folding her arms (III.517–18). She is thus rendered less threatening – 'The worst of crimes had left her woman still!' (III.522) – but the word 'crimes' is associated with both her and Conrad and reinforces their similarity. ('Crime' and 'crimes' occur 11 times in *Corsair*, more often than in any poem but *Marino Faliero* and *DJ*.) Gulnare 'takes Medora's place – as well as "mastering" Conrad – in order to defeat tyranny, albeit at the cost of destroying the heroic values for which Conrad had lived' (Leask [1992], p. 50).

Corsair uses 'the good old and now neglected heroic couplet' (*CPW* iii.149). This had neoclassical and conservative associations seemingly at odds with Byron's liberal emphases. Among sympathetic critics, *Jeffrey in the **Edinburgh Review* (April 1814, *RR* ii.852) praised, implicitly, the overcoming of this contradiction in Byron's management of 'the regular heroic couplet, with a spirit, freedom, and variety of tone, of which ... we scarcely believed that measure susceptible'. More recently Wolfson (1997) has discussed the relation between the couplets and the theme of captivity in the poem – in, for example, the resistance to rhyme at II.85–8, where 'the weak alliance of "captivity" and "sky", by eluding the full capture of rhyme, evokes the asymmetry of the two, and the enjambed "cheers/Must" claims freedom by breaking through the chain of the poetic line' (p. 140).

Captivity is clearly a major theme of *Corsair*. 'Captive', 'capture' and related forms are used 15 times. The poem begins with the pirates' song of freedom and continues with Medora's contrasting slavery to longing and anxiety, Gulnare's actual slavery (and, as part of this, her enforced sexual relationship with Seyd: 'love dwells with – with the free', she realizes at II.502) and Conrad's captivity. Is he, finally, the captive of his 'thousand crimes' or freed by his 'one virtue'? The opening sections of Canto III dwell on ancient Greek liberty before returning to the modern captivities of the poem.

The dedication to *Moore refers to Irish patriotism and 'The wrongs of your own country' (*CPW* iii.148). *Corsair* can be seen as 'partly a symbolic formulation of the political situation of the day, as Byron saw it, with its contest between equivocal forces of revolt and the established powers of an old and corrupt order' (*CPW* iii.445). Franklin says that 'The Byronic hero's leadership of a band of piratical "patriots" indicates the poet's fears that the rejected *Whigs [of 'Lines to a Lady Weeping'] will be driven to ally themselves with radical extremists' ([1992], p. 79). For Franklin as for Leask (1992) Gulnare figures such extremism. She 'reveals ... that honour is an exploded system in a world where women and slaves take arms against masters and men'; she disappears and the end of the poem returns to Medora, eschewing 'an unthinkable political conclusion for a consolatory aesthetic one' (Leask [1992], pp. 51, 54).
See also: **Brandreth, Jeremiah**; **Hone, William**.
Further reading: Watkins (1987).

Cowell, John

(1794/95–1867)
Boy befriended by Byron. He was the son of a tradesman. They met in *Brighton in 1808 and Byron helped Cowell obtain a place at Eton College. In 1814 he holidayed with Byron, Augusta *Leigh and others at Hastings. (*See* Marchand, *Biography* 157, 463.) In 1828 *Moore found his 'imitation of [Byron's] look & manner' 'very striking' (Moore [1983–91], iii.1150).

Cowper, William

(1731–1800)
Poet. In *Letter to John Murray* (*Prose* 147) Byron condemns Cowper's translation of Homer (1791) as unreadable; 'Cowper is not Homer…it is not even Cowper.' (The context of a defence of *Pope partly explains the strength of his reaction.) In the same passage Byron says that 'Cowper is no poet', as also in *BLJ* iii.179. He achieves more favourable mention in *EBSR* 809–10.

Crabbe, George

(1754–1832)
Poet. He is praised in *EBSR* 858 as 'Though Nature's sternest Painter, yet the best'. Only *Rogers and Crabbe, among modern poets, are free of the 'wrong revolutionary poetical system'; 'Crabbe's the man – but he has got a coarse and impracticable subject' (to *Murray, 15 September 1817, *BLJ* v.266).

Cricket

Byron played cricket at *Harrow and in *Southwell. Because of his lameness he employed a runner. On 2 August 1805 he was a member of the Harrow team which lost to Eton College, but he remained proud of his performance on that occasion (*BLJ* i.71; ix.12).

Cruikshank, George *see* Illustrations of Byron's Work; 'Fare Thee Well!'

Curran, John Philpot

(1750–1817)
Irish politician and judge. Byron knew him mainly in 1813. In *Detached Thoughts* he remembers him as 'a *Machine* of imagination' (*BLJ* ix.20). He is mentioned also in *DJ* XI.611, *Age* 114, *Prose* 221 and *BLJ* iii.128, 130–1.

Curse of Minerva, The

Poem on Lord Elgin's removal of the Parthenon frieze. *Curse* was begun in *Athens in March 1811 and mostly completed in *London by about 17 November (*CPW* i.445–6). *Murray printed and privately circulated eight copies, probably in May 1812, but Byron decided against publication; he had recently suppressed his other satirical works *EBSR* and *Hints*. The first pirate edition appeared in 1815. Eventually *Curse* was included in *1831*.

Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin (1766–1841), British ambassador in Constantinople since 1799, had begun collecting the famous 'marbles' in 1801. Byron's first published reference to both Elgin and the 'maimed antiques' in *EBSR* 1027–32 had been merely scornful. But having seen the effects of the despoliation in Athens he arraigned Elgin more seriously, in *CHP* II.91–135, as the plunderer of 'a bleeding land'. In *Curse* Elgin's conduct becomes a metaphor for the greater moral bankruptcy of Britain. One immediate source was John *Galt's *Atheniad* (written in 1810), another poem directed against Elgin both personally and as profaner of Minerva's shrine.

The account of the Athenian sunset (*Curse*, 1–54) was used as the introduction to *Corsair* III. In the original context sunset and darkness over the ruin of Greece symbolize at once Elgin's crime and 'the darkness descending upon England's glory' (Gleckner [1967], p. 33). In spite of such larger concerns the poem is usually seen as aggressively personal. Gleckner (1967), p. 32, finds the 'range of tones excessive and cacophonous'. Beaty (1985), p. 64, comments on its 'subjective fervour, expressed in turgid oratory' and 'unleavened by either cleverness or humour' but finds it 'better unified than [Byron's] previous satires'.

Cuvier, Baron Georges Léopold *see* ***Cain***

D

Dacre, Charlotte

(1782?–1825)
Poet and Gothic novelist. Her real name was Charlotte King (later Byrne) and she also wrote as 'Rosa Matilda'. She is satirized as an incomprehensible poet in *EBSR* 755–62. Her *Hours of Solitude* (1805) arguably influenced some of the more sentimental poems in *HI*.

Dallas, Rev. Robert Charles

(1754–1824)
Editor and literary agent for some of Byron's early work. His sister had married Byron's uncle. He placed *EBSR* with *Cawthorn and, according to his *Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron* (1824), *CHP* I and II with *Murray. (Andrew Nicholson in Murray, *Letters* 471–5, casts doubt, however, on Dallas's statement.) Byron, at this stage feeling it beneath his rank to accept payment for poetry, gave him – at his own request (Murray, *Letters* 472) – the copyrights of *CHP* I–II and *Corsair*. After Byron's death Dallas attempted to publish Byron's letters to his mother of 1809–11 but was stopped by an injunction on behalf of the executors. Rev. Alexander Dallas (1791–1869) published his father's *Correspondence of Lord Byron with a Friend, including his letters to his mother* in Paris in 1825. This repeated Robert Dallas's attempts 'to magnify his own consequence and the role he played in bringing *CHP* before the public' (Nicholson in Murray, *Letters* 471).
See also: '**Bramblebear and Lady Penelope'.**

'Damaetas'

Verse character of a man 'In mind a slave to every vicious joy' (2). It was written in early 1807 and published in *HI* and *POT*. Damaetas, originally from Theocritus' *Idylls*, is a name 'proverbial for folly' (*CPW* i.367). Byron's shameless Damaetas, finally 'pall'd' with vice (13), looks forward (as *CPW* i.367 notes), to the beginning of *CHP*. Whether he represents Byron's own feelings of self-disgust is a matter of debate. In Teresa *Guiccioli's fair copy the poem is called 'My Character', but it is not known when, or how seriously, Byron gave it this title.

Dante Alighieri

(1265–1321)
Florentine poet, living in exile after 1301. Byron knew the translations of *The Divine Comedy* by Henry Boyd (1802) and Henry Cary (1814), persuaded *Murray to publish *Taaffe's commentary in 1822, and had probably read the original by 1816 (*see Cochran*, 'Byron's Library' 5). *Francesca of Rimini* translates the famous episode in *Inferno* v; the other best-known episode, involving Ugolino (*Inferno* xxxii–xxxiii), is a source of *Prisoner*. In *CHP* IV.505–10, 527–9, 'Ungrateful Florence' contrasts with *Ravenna, where 'honoured sleeps/The immortal exile'. He is the speaker of *Prophecy*, where his desire for Italian unity is given a modern political inflection.

According to Medwin, *Conversations* 160, Byron said, 'I don't wonder at the enthusiasm of the Italians about Dante. He is the poet of liberty. Persecution, exile, the dread of a foreign grave, could not shake his principles.' He defended Dante, in his journal for 29 January 1821, against K. W. F. Schlegel's claim that there is a lack of 'gentle feelings' in his work: 'Of gentle feelings! and Francesca of Rimini – and the father's feelings in Ugolino – and Beatrice ... Why, there is gentleness in Dante beyond all gentleness, when he is tender ... [W]ho *but* Dante could have introduced any "gentleness" at all into *Hell*? ... and Dante's Heaven is all love, and glory, and majesty' (*BLJ* viii.39–40). But Byron also, if Medwin, *Conversations* 161–2, is to be believed, told P. B. *Shelley that 'either human nature is much changed or the poem is so obscure, tiresome, and insupportable that no one can read it for half an hour without yawning and going to sleep over it'. Possibly he read *The Divine Comedy* selectively. Possibly he was trying to provoke Shelley into defending it.
Further reading: Franklin (2000); Vassallo (1984).

'Darkness'

Apocalyptic poem in blank verse. It was written in late July or August 1816 at Villa *Diodati and published in *PCOP*. In 'a dream, which was not all a dream', the world is overwhelmed by darkness, despair, famine and death. Many sources have been suggested, including such apocalyptic biblical passages as Jeremiah 4.23–8 (the earth 'waste and void', the heavens black), Ezekiel 32, and Revelation 6.12; Cousin de Grainville's novel *Le Dernier homme* (1805; translated as *Omegarus and Syderia*, 1806); and (*CPW* iv.460) the devastating plague in Athens which concludes Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. Thomas *Campbell claimed that his own idea for a poem – later published as 'The

Last Man' in 1823 – was the inspiration of 'Darkness'. (Dingley [1981], p. 20, suggests that the absence of an actual last man in Byron's poem makes the atmosphere all the bleaker.) The eventual extinction of the sun was something of a scientific commonplace of the day. And conditions in 1816, the 'year without a summer', provided, as Bate (2000) argues, a more immediate source. Through much of Europe there was persistent rain, together with low temperatures, poor harvests and food riots, following the 1815 eruption of the Indonesian volcano Tambora.

According to Walter *Scott, Byron has 'contented himself with presenting a mass of powerful ideas unarranged, and the meaning of which we certainly confess ourselves not always able to attain' (*Quarterly Review* for October 1816, *RR* v.2045). But the poem purports to be in part a dream ('the dream of a feverish man', for Scott) and, relentlessly cataloguing disaster, resists consoling meanings or morals. (The relentlessness results partly from the repeated 'and' and the sparing use of full stops, the desolation partly from the 11 adjectives ending in 'less'.)

During the 1980s 'Darkness' was sometimes read as a prophecy of nuclear winter; later the 'Seasonless, herbless, treeless' world (71), its silent rivers and seas, seemed to Bate ([2000], p. 98) like a prophecy of 'ecocide'.

Dashes

Frequent method of punctuation in Byron's verse and especially his letters and other prose. 'Many of his dashes are … hieroglyphs of verbal signification, gestures of meaning, nuancing his expression in ways that elude ordinary punctuation … [D]ashes often enshrine or capture Byron's accretive mode of thinking and writing' (Nicholson [2004], p. 192).

Davies, Scrope Berdmore

(1782–1852)

Dandy, wit, gambler and friend of Byron. He was a fellow of King's College, *Cambridge, and met Byron through his Trinity College friends *Hobhouse and *Matthews. He made possible Byron's Grand Tour of 1809–11 by guaranteeing a loan of nearly £5,000 (paid off by Byron in 1814). Byron dedicated *Parisina* to him. Davies was 'One of the cleverest men I ever knew in Conversation' (*BLJ* ix.21). In January 1820 he fled abroad to escape his creditors, leaving in the care of *Kinnaird a trunk of papers rediscovered only in 1976. It contained such valuable material as letters from Byron, his fair copy of *CHP* III, and Mary *Shelley's transcript of *Prisoner* with Byron's corrections.

'Dead have been awakened – shall I sleep? The' *see Journal in Cephalonia*

'Death of Calmar and Orla, an Imitation of Macpherson's Ossian, The'

Prose narrative in *HI* and *POT*, written in April 1807. Two warriors die heroically. The piece is steeped in references to characters and places in *Ossian (many from *Fingal*) but, as Byron notes (*CPW* i.375), 'the story, though considerably varied in the Catastrophe, is taken from "Nisus and Euryalus"' in Virgil's *Aeneid* IX – the origin of Byron's 'The *Episode of Nisus and Euryalus'.

Both the tale and the solemn notes – one acknowledging Macpherson's 'Imposture' and criticizing the sometimes 'turgid and bombastic' Ossianic diction – are intended to give *HI* the weight and respectability lacking in the often more personal *FP* and *POVO*. The strong male friendship of Calmar and Orla perhaps has a particular personal appeal for Byron, however.

Deformed Transformed; a Drama, The

Unfinished verse drama begun in January 1822. Some material was probably added in early 1823 (*BLJ* x.90) and the work was published by John *Hunt in February 1824. The text is much more satisfactory for Part I, which Byron evidently revised, than for Parts II and III. The main dialogue of *Deformed* is blank verse but as in *Manfred* and *Heaven and Earth* other patterns are used for songs, choruses and spells. The genre is mixed; Corbett (1988), p. 215, describes the work as 'an experimental dramatic fantasia combining elements of tragedy, melodrama, comedy and pantomime'.

Arnold, a hunchback rejected even by his mother, considers suicide. The Stranger offers him instead a choice of more attractive physical forms. He chooses that of Achilles while the Stranger takes on Arnold's old form and the name Caesar. Together they are involved in the 1527 siege of Rome, where Arnold distinguishes himself as a general and rescues Olimpia (in spite of her desire to kill herself) and Caesar makes caustic comments about the human taste for 'Gore and Glory' (II.ii.12).

As indicated in Byron's brief prefatory note, the main sources are Joshua Pickersgill's *The Three Brothers* (1803) and *Goethe's *Faust* Part One (1808). Pickersgill's Arnaud exchanges deformity for beauty at the behest of Satan. (The devil taking the hunchback's form is Byron's addition. In so doing, Watkins [1983], p. 32, suggests, the Stranger keeps before Arnold the 'continuing influence' of his past.) Goethe's Mephistopheles influenced the Stranger's cynical disposition and witty 'sharp stinging' (I.ii.255). Benvenuto Cellini's *Autobiography* provided material on the siege.

The role of Byron's lameness in his attitude to 'deformity' is often discussed. Blessington, *Conversations* 80–1, claims that he told her that his 'rage and mortification' when his mother 'in her passion ... reproached me with my personal deformity' had cankered his heart and that 'my feelings at this period ... suggested the idea' of *Deformed*. Arnold's words at I.i.313–22 are the best known in the piece: 'Deformity is daring./...There is/A spur in its halt movements, to become/All that the others cannot ... '

Watkins (1983) examines *Deformed* as a 'radical critique of social order' (p. 27). Arnold is attracted, like a stereotypical Romantic hero, to noble qualities which, however, continually elude him because they are not part of his everyday experience. His ideals, and his and others' attitude to deformity, suggest an individualist, ahistorical and asocial construction of society. The 'truth-representing' Stranger, who knows better, offers a satirical commentary on Arnold and, more broadly, on 'the limited views that perpetuate strife and injustice' (Watkins [1983], p. 32).

Speculation continues as to exactly how the play would have continued. In the fragment of Part III unpublished until *C* (*CPW* vi.574–7) Arnold's love for Olimpia is unrequited, in spite of his beauty and valour and the fact that he saved her life and her father's. He cannot 'be her heart as she is mine' (III fragment, 101). A marginal note at 15–18 indicates that Arnold would have become jealous of Caesar, thus 'jealous of himself under his former figure, owing to the Power of Intellect &c.' Finally, perhaps, Arnold's attitude to deformity would have been transformed as radically as was his appearance.

Deformed, minus the fragment, was given a highly stylized production by Triple Action Theatre, directed by Steven Rumbelow, at the Roundhouse in London in 1972. It closed with the retransformed Arnold speaking Manfred's 'Tis not so difficult to die' (*Manfred* III.iv.151).

Further reading: Robinson (1970).

Delacroix, Eugène

(1798–1863)

Romantic painter. He shared Byron's interest in the orient and in liberal causes, including the Greek struggle for independence. His best-known Byron-inspired work is *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827). Delacroix also painted scenes from *Giaour*, *Bride*, *Lara*, *Two Foscari*, *Marino Faliero* and *DJ*.

Delawarr, George (Sackville-)West, Earl

(1791–1869)
Schoolfriend of Byron at *Harrow. In autumn 1804 Byron described him as amiable, clever and 'remarkably handsome, almost too much so for a boy' (*BLJ* i.54), but some kind of rift later developed. 'On Revisiting Harrow', 'To D[elawarr]' (*FP*, *POVO*) and 'To [George, Earl Delawarr]' (*HI*, *POT*) lament their 'dissention'. In 'Childish Recollections' he is Euryalus. By 6 February 1807 (*see BLJ* i.106) Byron had written to Delawarr to apologize for having believed 'those who misrepresented his conduct'.

'Destruction of Sennacherib, The'

Song in *HM*. Byron wrote 'The Destruction', on the devastation of the Assyrian forces by the Angel of the Lord (II Kings 19 and Isaiah 37), in February 1815. Some contemporaries will have seen a general reflection on *Napoleon's downfall in 1814. Until the mid-twentieth century the piece was popular in anthologies and (assisted by its emphatic anapaestic rhythm) for recitation in schools.

Detached Thoughts

Journal kept by Byron between 15 October and mid-December 1821. (An initial entry of 1 May 1821 was intended to be the beginning of 'My Dictionary'. It covers only the Emperor Augustus and *Aberdeen. A final entry was added to *Detached Thoughts* on 18 May 1822.) It was begun in *Ravenna and written mostly in *Pisa. It contains anecdotes, memories and observations, mainly about life in England, and some self-analysis. Among the subjects covered are *Sheridan, parliamentary oratory, 'Monk' *Lewis, dandies, gamblers, memory, Mary *Chaworth, Margaret *Parker, Scrope *Davies, the *Drury Lane Sub-Committee, Byron's melancholy, his *Harrow friends, the immortality of the soul, Alcibiades and *Wellington. The journal was first published in *P*, except a section on *Peel which had been separated from the manuscript and sent to Peel in 1829 (*BLJ* ix.43).

'Devil's Drive – a Sequel to Porson's "Devil's Walk", The'

Unfinished satire, written on 8–9 December 1813. The Devil finds much to rejoice him in the conduct of armies, aristocrats, parliamentarians, Methodists, waltzers (cp. 'Waltz') and others. His peregrination is intended as a sequel to the similar one in 'The Devil's Thoughts' by *Coleridge and *Southey (1799; revised as 'The Devil's Walk' and commonly misattributed to Richard Porson). Byron describes his poem as 'a wild, rambling, unfinished rhapsody' (*BLJ* iii.240). Moore, *Life* i.470–1 thinks it 'for the most part, rather clumsily executed, wanting the point and condensation' of 'The Devil's Walk'.

'Diavolo Inamorato, Il'

Unfinished tale in *Spenserian stanzas. It is dated in manuscript 31 August 1812. The narrator introduces two figures: 'Honóre,/Lord of himself', a rich young wanderer who comes, 'no foe to smiling Sin' (20–7), to *Venice in Carnival time; and an unnamed *Byronic hero who 'stalked…by' ignoring the revelry, his eye flashing 'as with long-desired – but still-deferred Revenge' (77–81). The wandering and the alienation are both reminiscent of Harold in *CHP*, and half the ten stanzas of 'Il Diavolo' are adapted there at II.xxvii and lxxviii–lxxxii (*CHP* [7]).

Dickens, Charles

(1812–70)
Novelist. He quotes and refers to a wide range of Byron's poems in a casual, familiar, sometimes mocking way. In November 1840 he advised an aspiring poet that 'It is not the province of a Poet to harp upon his own discontents, or to teach other people that they ought to be discontented. Leave Byron to his gloomy greatness' (Dickens [1965–2002], ii.155). Characters such as Steerforth in *David Copperfield* and Sydney Carton in *A Tale of Two Cities* have been seen as (objectionable) Byronic figures. Newey (2004) argues for the atrophying high society of the English cantos of *DJ* as a major source for the decaying upper class of *Bleak House* and the Veneerings' superficial circle in *Our Mutual Friend*. Where Byron depicts 'incipient decline', Dickens shows 'terminal decay' (p. 92).

Diodati, Villa

House at Cologny, near Geneva, where Byron lived in June–October 1816. *Milton visited his friend Charles Diodati here in 1639. In the summer of 1816 P. B. *Shelley, Mary Godwin (later *Shelley) and Claire *Clairmont were living nearby at Maison Chappuis, Montalègre. At Diodati in June Byron's 'Augustus Darvell' and the idea for *Frankenstein* emerged initially from a conversation (between the two poets, according to Mary Shelley [(1996), i.177–8]) on 'the nature of the principle of life' and a ghost story competition.

Disraeli, Benjamin

(1804–81)
Politician and novelist. Byron appealed to him as artist, man of fashion, and man of action. He hired Byron's boatman, Maurice, to row him on Lake Léman in 1826. Later he employed Tita *Falcieri, who went with him to *Greece and *Turkey (1831–32) and then worked as Isaac *D'Israeli's house steward at Bradenham House.

Byronic elements are often seen in the heroes of such early Disraeli novels as *Contarini Fleming* (1832). The most developed treatment is in *Venetia, or the Poet's Daughter* (1837) which, as Disraeli's dedication puts it, attempts to 'shadow forth, though as "in a glass darkly", two of the most renowned and refined spirits that have adorned these our latter days' – Byron and P. B. *Shelley. At times the circumstances of their lives are combined, but Cadurcis on the whole corresponds to Byron. Andrew Elfenbein (1999), pp. 82–6, sees the portrayal as not undividedly positive; radical Regency passions must give way to more settled *Tory and Victorian ways.
Further reading: Elfenbein (1995).

D'Israeli, Isaac

(1766–1848)
Author of works admired by Byron. They include *Curiosities of Literature* (first series, 1791–1817) and *An Essay on…the Literary Character* (1795). Byron told *Murray on 24 November 1818 that 'I don't know a living man's books I take up so often, or lay down more reluctantly, as *Israeli's*' (*BLJ* vi.84). Byron was pleased by his defence of Pope in the **Quarterly Review* in November 1820, and dedicated *Some Observations* (1820, published 1833) to him. Mainly because Murray published much of his work, D'Israeli moved in some of the same literary circles as Byron. He was the father of Benjamin *Disraeli.

Don Juan

'Epic Satire' (*DJ* XIV.790) in **ottava rima*. Byron completed sixteen cantos, and part of a seventeenth, between July 1818 and May 1823. 'Juan' is pronounced 'Jooan', rhyming with 'new one' and 'ruin'. The treatment of sexual mores, outspoken liberal politics and specific personal attacks on *Southey, *Wellington, Lady *Byron and others made *DJ* from the beginning a controversial work. Friends, including *Hobhouse, urged him not to publish. The first cantos appeared anonymously and without the name of the publisher, *Murray, and Byron agreed, in view of the anonymity, to omit the dedication with its violent attack on Southey. Over the next few years Murray and his advisers fought to persuade the author to omit or tone down further offensive material. When, with Cantos VI–VIII in July 1823, he began to publish instead with John *Hunt, it became possible to advance a more openly radical position: *see* e.g. the preface to VI–VIII, the prophecy of revolution at VIII.393–408, IX.1–80 on the cut-throat Wellington (most of it originally intended for III), or the searing indictment of the Britain which 'butchered half the earth, and bullied t'other' (X.529–44, 648). At the same time Hunt's publication of cheap one-shilling editions (alongside octavos at 9s. 6d. which could be bound with the Murray octavos of earlier cantos) enabled these later cantos to reach a larger new audience including 'shopkeepers, tradesmen, artisans and other highly-paid manual workers', likely to be more sympathetic to Byron's ideas than the earlier readership (William St Clair in Rutherford [1990], p. 17; see further, including details of the many pirate editions circulating, St Clair [2004], pp. 682–91). St Clair (2004), p. 333, calculates that 100,000 copies of different editions of *DJ* were printed during Byron's lifetime.

Byron claimed on different occasions that *DJ* is 'meant to be a little quietly facetious upon every thing' (*BLJ* vi.67), to 'giggle and make giggle' (*BLJ* vi.208), or to be 'a *satire* on *abuses* of the present *states* of Society – and not an eulogy of vice' (*BLJ* x.68); 'And if I laugh at any mortal thing,/'Tis that I may not weep' (IV.25–6). In keeping with such varying aims or claims, *DJ* contains elements of epic, mock-epic, satire, burlesque and lyric or song ('The Isles of Greece' in III and Adeline's song of the Black Friar in XVI). It plays with genres as much as conforming to them.

Epic expectations are aroused, for instance, in I.1593–1616 – there will be 'twelve books' full of appropriate events and lists and 'A panorama view of hell'. But at the same time they are undercut by the casual speed of the prescription, unexpected rhymes like 'Homer' and 'misnomer', and the jingling advertiser's formula 'I've got new mythological machinery,/And very handsome supernatural scenery' (I.1608). Other examples of the puncturing of epic expectations include the search for a hero (I.1–40), the presence of a 'third heroine' (VI.49), the truncated opening of III – 'Hail, Muse! *et cetera*' – and the interruption of the horror of Ismail because ''tis not/My cue for any time to be terrific' (VIII.705–6). More generally, self-reflexiveness and mingled tones and registers are not the usual stuff of epic. (See, however, Medwin, *Conversations* 247–8 for *DJ* as epic 'in the spirit of our day'.) Different registers include, to take examples from some later cantos alone, those of medical prescription (X.321–8), a highwayman's 'flash' language (XI.133–6, 148–52), *Pope (XI.593–600), the 'angry cousin' of 'Poor Frederick' (XII.269–80), the epigrammatist (XII.624 and XIII.96) and the newspapers (XIII.401–32). The variety of perspectives which accompanies the range of language, genre and subject was a main cause of critical disquiet among Byron's contemporaries. As he saw it he was telling the truth about the real complexity of human motives and interactions.

The incorporation of diverse material has often been seen as intimately related to the use of **ottava rima*. Each stanza demands an unusually high number of rhyme-words – more difficult in English than Italian – which prompts the ingenious, often comically polysyllabic, joining of disparate language, objects and ideas: 'voluminous/illumine us/consuming us' (IX.273–7). Juxtapositions like 'intellectual'/'hen-peck'd you all' (I.175–6) jolt 'the reader out of complacency by insisting that objects or activities conventionally regarded as distinct may, in fact, be related in ways that do not necessarily end with their phonetic similarity' (Barton [1992], p. 18). And the final couplet can reverse, qualify, start away from, or sum up the point that seems, through the first six lines, to have been brewing.

As much as a third of the poem consists of digression, personal reflection, satirical commentary on Byron's contemporaries, and discussion (sometimes serious, sometimes flippant) of the business of writing *DJ*. The narrator is therefore at least as important to the reader's experience as are Juan and the other characters. This narrator is initially conceived as the Spanish gentleman of the rejected preface (*CPW* v.82–3) – a parody of *Wordsworth's over-particularized note on the speaker of 'The Thorn'. But by the middle of Canto I he evidently, with his marital difficulties and liberal politics, overlaps with the author. The version of himself that Byron projects is characterized by irony, mobility and outrageous wit. (This is not, of course, purely a self-portrait. *See* Stabler [2002b] on the roots of digression and the overtly fictive in eighteenth-century satire.) He operates to inhibit simple, single reading: undercutting emotion, suddenly changing the subject, unexpectedly addressing or rendering complicit the reader (what happens after death 'I do not know, no more do you –/And so good night' [I.1065–6; cp. e.g. III.313–21, XIII.577–92]; laughing that he may not weep. The fact that narrator and protagonist are so clearly distinguished, unlike the narrator of *CHP* and Harold, facilitates this counterpointing.

The conventional wisdom has been that Juan owes little to the traditional Don Juan found most famously in plays by Tirso de Molina (1630) and Molière (1665) and in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787) – 'our ancient friend Don Juan' who, in the pantomime, is 'sent to the devil, somewhat ere his time' (*DJ* I.6–8). Byron's very different Juan is young, an *ingénu* at least in the first eight cantos, and more often seduced than seducing. Haslett (1997), however, argues for the relevance of the myth to *DJ*. One of her most important conclusions is that the huge popularity of pantomimes and burlesques of the traditional story in Regency London preconditioned contemporaries to associate Byron's poem with the familiar libertine: to think the worst of Juan's character, with some assistance from the popular image of Byron himself as libertine.

Byron chose to write about Don Juan partly as a result of reading Chapter 23 of S. T. *Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* (1817), in which the Don Juan of earlier drama is favourably contrasted with *Maturin's *Bertram*. Among the many sources for the style of *DJ* are the Italian tradition of *Pulci, *Berni, *Casti and *Frere. Byron also 'studied the conversational and anecdotal manner' (*CPW* v.667) of *Horace, *Chaucer, *Pope and Matthew Prior. A possibly even more significant source is to be found in the sceptical authorial presence in *Fielding's novels and the digressive narrative of *Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. (*See also* *Swift.) Byron's own earlier works are another important source for the style and matter of the poem – often an ironic source. For example, death by drowning in a sack – the terrible fate of Leila in *Giaour* – is treated mainly humorously at *DJ* V.732–6 and 1185–92 and VI.830–1 (the punning danger of Baba 'being found out, and *sacked*'). The 'castellated Rhine' is still 'glorious' (X.482–3) but treated with almost dismissive speed compared with the long account in *CHP* III. Byron's letters, often playful, digressive, full of anecdote and swiftly changing tones, can be seen as a prose equivalent to the poem. And material from, or complementing, the lost *memoirs, begun in July 1818, must surely also have been used.

Among the main themes of the poem are the prevalence of *'cant'; 'the salutariness of being undeceived' (Gardner [1975], p. 310); the abuse of power (sexual, political, social, military); 'How little … we know that which we are!' (XV.787); and the contingency of human affairs: the reigning power over the mind of money, hunger, indigestion – or 'five bits of lead,/Or three, or two, or one' (V.306–7). To an extent it is also a historical poem. Juan's adventures are datable to 1790–91 – he is still 16 at the sack of Ismail which happened, historically, in 1790. The date coincides with the early stages of the French Revolution but as seen, McGann points out (*CPW* v.xxiii–xxiv), primarily from the perspective of 1818–24, 'the period of political reaction, restored thrones, and displaced or isolated/nationalized revolutionary activity'. Frequently it is seen also from the perspective of 1808–16, from the Peninsular War to the post-Napoleonic settlement, which for Byron was 'epitomized in his own career of triumph and defeat'.

Only since the 1960s has *DJ* been generally regarded as Byron's masterpiece. For much of the nineteenth century, although the poem had a considerable popular readership, official culture continued to regard it as scandalously improper (St Clair [2004], pp. 334–6). In the mid-twentieth century it suffered, with Byron's work more generally, from the New Critical preference for brief, serious and gnomic utterance. Critics sought well-wrought ambiguity and, from the Romantics at least, a degree of priestly solemnity; *DJ* offered politics, sexual intrigue, jokes, digressions, images of and meditations on champagne, hock and soda-water (e.g. II.448, 1418–40, 1424, XIII.290–6, *CPW* v.88). To many the poem seemed wilfully careless and casual: 'what's uppermost' (XIV.53). Only more recently has careful study of the manuscripts demonstrated that the 'almost uncanny delusion ... that Byron's masterpiece is actually being written anew while the pages turn, was the product of consummate art' (Barton [1992], p. 18).

Further reading: see end of **Cantos IX–XVII**.

Cantos I–II.

The first drafts of the dedication and Canto I were written between July and September 1818 and of Canto II between December 1818 and January 1819. Composition was followed by extensive revision. The two cantos were published in July 1819. Murray and Hobhouse removed some material including I.115–20 (an attack on Lady Byron and her legal representative Sir Samuel *Romilly, 'Whose suicide was almost an anomaly') and I.1041–8 (referring to venereal disease).

In I the sixteen-year-old Juan has an affair with Donna Julia, a 23-year-old married woman. (Byron consistently uses Italian 'Donna' for Spanish Doña.) Following the discovery of the affair Juan is sent abroad, leaving Julia in a convent. In II, after shipwreck and scenes of cannibalism in a longboat, he is washed ashore on an Aegean island. The Greek girl Haidée finds and looks after him and they fall in love. Byron says (*BLJ* vi.96) that Juan's 'adventure' with Julia was 'one of an acquaintance of mine – (Parolini by name) which happened ... at Bassano with the Prefect's wife when he was a boy'. Vassallo (1984), p. 67–75, argues that its main source is a *novella* by *Casti, *Il ritorno inaspettato*; as important, probably, is 'the whole tradition of the fabliau from *Boccaccio to Casti' (Boyd [1945], p. 115). Many sources and influences for the shipwreck in II have been identified: Greek and picaresque romances and novels, *Coleridge's *The Ancient Mariner*, *Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, accounts of the wreck of the French ship the *Méduse* in 1816 and the cannibalism which allegedly ensued. Much of the factual information comes from *Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea*, ed. Sir J. G. Dalyell (1812). The mixed tone in which the shipwreck is narrated was found particularly offensive by some reviewers: *Blackwood's Magazine* (August 1819) talks of the author's 'demoniacal laugh' at the despair of the lost, the 'odious sarcasms' of II.487–8 and the more general 'wickedness... inextricably mingled with the beauty and the grace, and the strength' (*RR* i.149, 143).

Other matters which exercised early reviewers were the parody of the Ten Commandments (I.1633–45) and the evident references to Lady Byron in the portrayal of the 'perfect', priggish and hypocritical Donna Inez. The satire was sharpened after the first draft by the addition to I of lines 209–48 and, as late as May 1819, lines 113–36, where Inez becomes 'a walking calculation' and 'In virtues nothing earthly could surpass her,/Save thine "incomparable oil", Macassar!' Franklin (1992), pp. 121–4, provides evidence for the portrait of Inez as a parody of 'contemporary effusions on the ideal mother' as 'tool of institutional authority in policing others'.

Cantos III–V

Cantos III and IV were written as a single unit between September and November 1819 and separated in January 1820. Canto V was written in October and November 1820 and the three cantos were published in August 1821, selling unexpectedly well (*see DJV* iv.302–4).

Juan and Haidée's idyll on the island is shattered by the return of her father, the reportedly dead pirate-chief Lambro. (The division of III and IV and the addition to the fair copy of IV.1–56 'provides a tactical hiatus in the action of the episode' and prolongs the suspense [*MSYRB* VIII.xviii] of Lambro's approach.) Haidée dies broken-hearted while Juan is shipped off to *Constantinople to be sold as a slave. He is bought by the Sultana Gulbeyaz for her own pleasure, but (V) resists her advances.

Haidée's discovery of Juan alludes ironically to the Nausicaä episode in *Homer's *Odyssey*, Lambro's return to that of Odysseus, and the lovers and father on the island to Ferdinand, Miranda and Prospero in *The Tempest* (Barton [1992], pp. 41–2). *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli* (1816), by an author known only as Richard Tully's sister or sister-in-law, provides details for the feast, its setting and Haidée's appearance and dress (*see DJV* iv.88–9, *MSYRB* VIII.132–6; and Cochran [2006], pp. 102–6). Behind Gulbeyaz are many stories of 'the Muslim lady and the Christian slave', among them Wieland's *Oberon* (translated by *Sotheby), whose 'literary plot'

Byron 'retold ... in terms of real life' (Boyd [1945], p. 127). From III onwards Thomas Hope's novel *Anastasius* (1819), whose Greek hero travels and becomes a soldier and prisoner in Turkey, provides a more general influence on Juan's adventures.

Lambro has been seen as similar to a *Byronic hero or *Ali Pasha. Much more attention has been paid to Haidée. *Moore felt that she 'is the very concentrated essence of voluptuousness and will set all the women wild' (Moore [1983–91], i.187: 13 June 1819). Franklin (1992), pp. 134–5, argues convincingly that, if at first we encounter an 'outright celebration of the liberated female libido', it soon becomes clear that the paradise is illusory, an artificial creation of circumstances. Meanwhile (Barton [1992], p. 38) such digressions as III.9–88 set the more everyday experience of love and marriage against the mythic, seemingly immortal love of Juan and Haidée. (There are far more digressions than in I–II. This is perhaps why *Hobhouse observes, in a manuscript note on a proof of III–IV, 'This is Beppo instead of Don Juan' [*CPW* v.693].) *Jeffrey in the **Edinburgh Review* (February 1822), condemning the way seemingly virtuous characters in *DJ* go on to exhibit 'the most profligate heartlessness', objects that soon after Haidée's death 'we are hurried on ... to merry scenes of intrigue and masquerading in the seraglio' (*RR* ii.936, 937). But Barton (1992), pp. 42–6, demonstrates how this transition is smoothed by the interlude of the troupe of singers at *DJ* IV.633–760.

See also: **'Isles of Greece, The'.**

Cantos VI–VIII.

Canto VI was written, slowly, probably between January and late April 1822 (*see CPW* v.714–15). (Work on the poem had ceased since summer 1821 when Byron was persuaded by Teresa *Guiccioli to abandon it [*BLJ* viii.148]. She had changed her mind by the summer of 1822 [*BLJ* ix.182].) Canto VII was finished by the end of June and Canto VIII, more quickly, by the end of July. Byron's renewed interest in *DJ* was stimulated, *CPW* v.715 suggests, by the enthusiasm and political conversation of Leigh *Hunt. Publication, however, was delayed until July 1823 by *Murray's hesitation and the eventual move to John *Hunt.

In Canto VI Juan's adventures in the harem (disguised as Juanna) continue. In VII, however, the poem changes direction. Juan does not reappear until stanza lvi, after the narrator's reflections on war, general *Suwarrow and much else. Juan, the English mercenary soldier Johnson, the eunuch Baba and two of the harem women (soon dismissed from the poem) have somehow escaped from Constantinople. Juan and Johnson distinguish themselves at *Ismail, where Juan rescues Leila, an orphaned Turkish girl who will accompany him to Russia and England. For Andrew Nicholson (*MSYRB* V.xvii) the transition from the harem and Juan's feminine disguise to Ismail 'marks Juan's emergence from adolescence into manhood'.

Cantos VII and VIII, with their detailed, purposeful exposure of the horrors and injustice of war, have been generally admired. As a specific historical event of 1790, the siege anchors Byron's indignation and bitter humour at 'heroes and despots and the present false state of politics and society' (*BLJ* ix.196). His strong belief in the importance of facts is instanced by his inclusion as an appendix (*CPW* v.725–32) of his principal source, Marquis Gabriel de Castelnau's account in *Essai sur l'histoire ancienne et moderne de la Nouvelle Russie* (1820), Chapter 30. But in the war cantos Byron consistently ironizes Castelnau's glorification of his blood-stained facts.

Cantos IX–XVII.

The first draft of IX dates from August to September 1822. Cantos X and XI followed by mid-October and the three cantos were published together in August 1823. By May 1823 cantos XII–XVI had also been completed in rapid succession. Hunt published XII–XIV in December 1823 and XV–XVI in March 1824. The fragment of XVII (dated 8 May 1823) was first published, with some errors, in *C*.

Juan is sent to St Petersburg with news of the victory at Ismail. He soon becomes the latest 'man-mistress' (Medwin, *Conversations* 165) of *Catherine the Great. In X he is sent by her on a diplomatic mission to *London. His experiences there and, from mid-XIII to the end, at Norman Abbey, are the context for satire of English society. (The abbey corresponds in some respects to *Newstead.) When the poem breaks off Juan is involved in different stages of relationships with Lady Adeline Amundeville, Aurora Raby and the Duchess of Fitz-Fulke. Commentators have usually been less interested in the Russian than the English sections. Barton (1992), however, discusses the influence of *Hamlet* on the narrator's 'brooding reflections on death, sexuality, politics and (increasingly) his own past' in IX–X (pp. 61–3). Sources for the Russian cantos also include *Casti's *Poema Tartaro* and various histories of Catherine's reign. Other studies have explored 'Byron's carnivalesque inversion of normative sexual roles' in the Russian as well as the Turkish episodes (Franklin [2007], p. 71).

Byron's own experience of fashionable and political society is a major source for the English cantos. It is here too that he draws most on the eighteenth-century English novelists, including *Fielding, 'silver-fork' novels for fashionable social types and Gothic material for the Black Friar of XVI

(Boyd [1945], pp. 154–5). *Peacock's *Melincourt* is useful for its house party discussions, allegorical names (cp. *DJ* XIII.627–888, XV.315–29) and satire of the marriage market (Boyd [1945], pp. 155–7). *DJ* itself becomes more like a novel – for Barton ([1992], p. 5) 'mock-epic gives way to a detailed, almost novelistic social realism'. Accordingly characterization, especially at Norman Abbey, has been widely discussed. Given the many references to Byron's past, characters are often seen in a biographical light: Lord Henry as the husband of Lady Caroline *Lamb or of Lady Frances *Webster (Boyd [1945], p. 167), Aurora as a version of Lady *Byron as she seemed to Byron before they married (*MSYRB* X.xxi). The equivalences are loose, however, and rarely convincing for the subtly developed Adeline, 'the fair most fatal Juan ever met' (XIII.91). A perhaps more profitable approach has been to compare Adeline with Julia (Canto I) and Aurora with Haidée (Cantos II–IV). But the affair which Juan and Adeline would probably have had in a later canto would have more complicated ramifications in English society than among the straightforward hypocrisies of *Seville in Canto I. The contrast between Haidée and Aurora, too, is affected by the variation in society: the sexual freedom of the one and the 'coldness or ... self-possession' (XV.456) of the other make them 'each ... radiant in her proper sphere', their difference 'such as lies between a flower and gem' (XV.458–64).

For Beatty (1985), pp. 137–211, Aurora is a still, tranquil figure standing outside the secular, time-bound life of Norman Abbey, with whose original function her *Catholicism helps align her. Franklin (1992) sees her in more social terms: the comparison between her and Adeline shows 'the unresolved tension between modern woman's assertion of moral and intellectual equality, and the repression of her sexuality which this nineteenth-century feminism entails' (pp. 161–2). Others compare Adeline's depiction in terms of movement with the digressive structure of the poem; for Stabler (2002b), pp. 151–71, this is part of a feminized poetics.

In February 1821 Byron told Murray that Juan would be guillotined in the French Revolution after periods as 'a Cavalier Servente in Italy and a cause for a divorce in England – and a Sentimental "Werther-faced man" in Germany – so as to show the different ridicules of the society in each of those countries' while becoming 'gradually gaté and blasé as he grew older ... But I had not quite fixed whether to make him end in Hell – or in an unhappy marriage ... The Spanish tradition says Hell – but it is probably only an Allegory of the other state' (*BLJ* viii.78; cp. Medwin, *Conversations* 165). Probably Juan would have married Aurora and had an affair with Adeline, prompting barbed personal reflections on divorce. In Paris he might, says Franklin (1992), p. 145, have become 'a comic martyr for sexual liberty',

neatly combining 'his aristocracy with his potential for a subversion of society too radical even for the Revolution'. But as it is, the sudden ending of the poem – fortuitously true to its illusion of spontaneity – keeps the possibilities provisional, the characters in progress and the genre more comic than not.
Further reading: Almeida (1981); Graham (1990); McGann (1976); McGann (2002); *MSYRB* II, IX, XI, XIII.

Don Leon

Confessional poem in *heroic couplets, purportedly by Byron. It chronicles and defends homosexual encounters. It was published in 1866. Authorship and date of composition are uncertain. Crompton (1985) suggests that the author is William *Bankes and *Cochran* provides a more detailed argument for *Hobhouse, to whom he also attributes the anonymous poem *Leon to Annabella* (1865). Davis (n.d.) posits a date of *c.*1833 for *Don Leon*.

Donizetti, Gaetano

(1797–1848)
Italian composer. He wrote two operas with libretti derived from Byron: *Parisina* (1833) and *Marino Faliero* (1835).

'Donna Josepha'

Fragment of a novel by Byron, written in 1817. It is all that survives of the 'nearly a hundred pages' available to Moore (*Life* ii.252). It is, in a Spanish setting, a 'very thinly veiled skit on the proceedings leading to B's separation from his wife' (Andrew Nicholson in *Prose* 346). After two affectionate letters from his wife Donna Josepha, the narrator is surprised to receive one from her father, Don Jose, 'who requested me, in the politest manner, to dissolve my marriage' (*Prose* 77). Nicholson feels that the fragment 'may fairly be regarded as a prose sketch' for elements of *DJ*, most obviously I.9–36 (*Prose* 348).

Dorset, George Sackville, 4th Duke of

(1793–1815)
Byron's schoolfellow at *Harrow. He had been, according to Byron's headnote to 'To the Duke of D[orset]' (written 1805, published in *POT*), 'my frequent

companion in some rambles, through the neighbouring country'. The poem counsels young Dorset, five years Byron's junior, to follow the example of his virtuous and learned ancestors. (The 'haughty, wild' speaker, by contrast, is something of an early *Byronic hero: 'ev'ry Error stamps me for her own/ And dooms my fall'.) The Duke was killed in a hunting accident in February 1815. The poet mourned him in 'Stanzas' ('I heard thy fate without a tear') and 'Stanzas' ('In those young days, so fond and fair'). The first of these, published in 1824, talks of the inner tears of grief; the second (unpublished until *CPW*) of blighted hopes and the contrast between Dorset's quick death and his survivors' pain.
See also: **'Stanzas for Music' ('There's not a joy the world can give')**; **'There was a time, I need not name'.**

Dowton, William

(1764–1851)
Comic actor. His most famous role was Falstaff. *Nathan* says that Byron paid him 'the most marked attention' (99); comic anecdotes about their acquaintance follow (103–9, 111–16). Byron had 'great hopes' (*BLJ* iv.316) of Dowton's Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* at Drury Lane in October 1812, but it was generally regarded as a failure.

Drama and theatre

Byron enjoyed theatre but had strong reservations about its early ninteenth-century form. In *London he often went to plays. Among the notable actors he saw perform were John Philip Kemble, *Siddons, *Kean, George Frederick Cooke, *Dowton and *Betty. Byron also had some experience as an actor. At *Southwell in October 1806 he directed 'theatricals' at the house of Julia *Leacroft's family, taking the lead in Richard Cumberland's *The Wheel of Fortune* (Penruddock) and John Allingham's *The Weathercock* (Tristram Fickle). For the first of these plays he also contributed 'An Occasional Prologue, Delivered Prior to the Performance of "The Wheel of Fortune", at a Private Theatre'. In September 1808 he planned to put on an all-male production of Edward Young's *Revenge* with a group of friends at *Newstead (*BLJ* i.170), but apparently nothing came of the scheme. A later plan was for a production of *Shakespeare's *Othello* in which Byron would have played Iago, *Trelawny Othello, and Mary *Shelley Desdemona (*HVSV* 282). More simply, he had declaimed or performed scenes from Young, *Virgil and Shakespeare (*King Lear*) at *Harrow speech days. Still more simply, he participated, as a monk or friar, in a masquerade in *Wellington's honour, held by Watier's Club at Burlington House, on 1 July 1814, and repeated at *Drury Lane theatre the following year (*BLJ* iv.135n., ix.36–7).

As a member of the *Drury Lane Sub-Committee of Management in 1815–16 Byron read and assessed many plays. This left him with both a good understanding of dramatic practice and a belief, partly self-protective, that the contemporary stage could not do justice to his own serious, experimental drama (e.g. *BLJ* vii.182, viii.22–3, 218). For Byron's earlier, probably less heartfelt disparagement of the theatre of the day *see EBSR* 560–631. His verse plays or poems in dramatic form are *Manfred*, *Marino Faliero*, *Two Foscari*, *Sardanapalus*, *Cain*, *Heaven and Earth*, *Werner*, *Deformed*, and the slighter *Blues*. He opposed the staging of such works; in *Sardanapalus* and *Two Foscari* he claimed to be writing for 'the *mental* theatre of the reader' (*BLJ* viii.210; cp. viii.187). Nevertheless most of the dramatic pieces have been performed, sometimes successfully (*see under* individual headings).

Further reading: Cochran (2008); Corbett (1988); Howell (1982); Simpson (1998).

'Dream, The'

Poem in blank verse. There is evident reference to Byron's relationship with Mary *Chaworth Musters. It was written in July 1816, at a time when his poems and letters often reflect on his past, and published in *PCOP*. The dream-visions of the speaker's life are preceded by material, perhaps influenced by P. B. *Shelley, on the power of dreams and the imagination. 'The mind can make/Substance, and people planets of its own/With beings brighter than have been' (19–21).

Drury, Dr Joseph

(1751–1834)

Headmaster of *Harrow School 1785–1805. In 'Childish Recollections' Byron calls him 'the dear preceptor of my early days' (108). There and in 'On a Change of Masters, in a Great Public School', he is 'Probus'. Byron pays tribute to him also in the note to *CHP* IV.674 (*CPW* ii.249). Drury later told *Moore that he had realized that this apparent 'wild mountain colt' could 'be led by a silken string to a point, rather than by a cable' (Moore, *Life* i.38–9).

Drury Lane

The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. As one of the two *London patent theatres, with Covent Garden, it staged much of the more serious drama of Byron's period. The theatre burnt down in 1809 and Byron wrote 'Address, Spoken at the Opening of Drury-lane Theatre' for the new building in 1812. In May 1815 he was appointed to the five-man Sub-Committee of Management; among his colleagues were Douglas *Kinnaird and George Lamb (son of Lady *Melbourne and brother-in-law of Lady Caroline *Lamb.) Byron took his responsibilities seriously, in particular the need to read and respond to as many as possible of the hundreds of scripts which had been sent in by hopeful authors, 'conceiving that amongst these there must be *some* of merit'. Most of the plays he found intolerable – 'There never were such things as most of them.' He also, he claims, was plagued by the playwrights in person: 'the Milliners – the wild Irishmen – the people from Brighton – from Blackwell … from Dublin – from Dundee – who came in upon me! – to all of whom it was proper to give a civil answer – and a hearing – and a reading' (BLJ ix.35–6). In search of higher quality, he asked Walter *Scott and *Coleridge to write for the theatre. Byron's one notable discovery was *Maturin's *Bertram*, performed in May 1816, just after he had left the country and the sub-committee.

Byron's experience of theatre from the inside gave him a valuable understanding of the business of writing plays. At the same time, he told John *Murray in February 1817, when discussing *Manfred*, his 'intercourse with D[rury] Lane' had given him 'the greatest contempt for the stage' (*BLJ* v.170). His plays were not intended for performance. In 1821, however, a version of his *Marino Faliero* was given at Drury Lane.

Dryden, John

(1631–1700)
Poet and playwright. Byron often mentions him in association with *Pope, and valued him highly: 'Thou shalt believe in *Milton, Dryden, Pope' (*DJ* I.205). He 'poured the tide of song,/In stream less smooth indeed' than Pope's, 'yet doubly strong' (*EBSR* 113–14). *All for Love* (1678) is a source for *Sardanapalus*.

'Duel, The'

Draft poem dated 29 December 1818, addressed to Mary *Chaworth Musters. It reflects on the duel (or brawl) in which William, 5th Lord *Byron, killed her grandfather William Chaworth, on Byron's early unrequited love for Mary, his and her marital difficulties, and the various other obstacles which separated them.

Duff, Mary

(*c*.1786–?)
Byron's childhood love and distant cousin. He knew her in *Aberdeen when he was 7. According to his Journal entry for 26 November 1813 (*BLJ* iii.222) he nearly went into convulsions when, at 16, he heard of her marriage to Robert Cockburn. His misery and love were so violent, he maintains, that 'I sometimes doubt if I have ever been really attached since'. In 'Song' ('When I roved, a young Highlander') the memory of his feelings for her is closely associated with the Highland landscape.

Dumas, Alexandre *père*

(1802–70)
The *Byronic hero is a general influence on the Count in *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (1844–45). For much of the novel he is as sharply divided between loving and revengeful feelings as Conrad in *Corsair*. He shares such features as Conrad's past suffering and unjust treatment, association with pirates or bandits, 'distant mien' (*Corsair* I.541), and ability to command unhesitating obedience. His Haidée takes her name from the similarly loyal Greek in *DJ*.

E

‘E Nihilo Nihil; or an Epigram Bewitched’

Humorous couplets. Although ‘there have been few translations’ of the seven volumes of Byron’s works, there have been many of his short poem for John William Rizzo Hoppner, son of Richard Belgrave *Hoppner. This is the ‘epigram’ of the title supplied in *C* vii.55; the Latin ‘E nihilo nihil’ means ‘nothing comes of nothing’. The unwonted popularity with translators may be because the style of Byron’s earlier work ‘is the Romantic/Which some call fine – and some call frantic’, whereas ‘I’m classic now –/I saw & left my fault in time/And chose a topic all sublime’ – the young Rizzo. The poem was probably written in late 1818 or early 1819 (*CPW* iv.495), by which time a shift in Byron’s style – to *Beppo* and *DJ* – was indeed apparent.

Eastern Tales *see* Oriental Tales

Edgeworth, Maria

(1768–1849)

Irish novelist. Byron met her when she came to London in May 1813. He knew her work (*see* e.g. *BLJ* ii.294, iii.48) and in *Detached Thoughts* says he liked her (*BLJ* ix.33–4). But in 1820 he subjects her to abuse as a bluestocking and a virgin (to *Murray, *BLJ* vii.217–18). He disliked her novel *Patronage* (1814), which has ‘much of her heartlessness & little of her humour (wit she has none) and she must live more than 3 weeks in London to describe’ good society (*BLJ* iv.25). In *DJ* I.122 the seemingly prim Donna Inez is like ‘Miss Edgeworth’s novels stepping from their covers’.

‘Edinburgh Ladies’ Petition to Doctor Moyes, and his Reply, The’

Satirical verses of early 1807. They were first published in the *New Monthly Magazine* in August 1835. The petition for an explanation of ‘The Natural History of Love’ is followed by Byron’s mock-disquistion on the subject. Henry Moyes (1749/50–1807) was a popular lecturer on chemistry and related subjects. *CPW* i.386 attributes the petition either to John *Pigot, who was studying medicine in Edinburgh, or, more probably, to Byron himself.

Edinburgh Review

*Whig review founded in 1802. It established literary reviewing as a careful, thoroughly serious business. *Jeffrey was its editor (1803–29) and author of most of its reviews of Byron between 1812 and 1823. Byron believed that he also wrote *Brougham's hostile review of *HI* (*Edinburgh Review*, January 1808), which provoked *EBSR*.
See also: ***Quarterly Review***.
Further reading: Demata and Wu (2002).

'Edleston' *see* Thyrza poems

Edleston, John

(1789/90–1811)
Choirboy at Trinity College chapel, subject of Byron's 'Thyrza' poems. They met in October 1805 and spent much time together during Byron's periods in *Cambridge between then and July 1807, when Edleston left to work as an office clerk in London. Byron told Elizabeth *Pigot on 5 July (*BLJ* i.124), 'I certainly *love* him more than any human being.' He had addressed to Edleston 'The Cornelian' and 'To E – ' (*FP*, *POVO*). After his Grand Tour, in October 1811, Byron discovered that Edleston had died that May. He told *Hobhouse that he had been 'more affected' by the news 'than I should care to own elsewhere' (*BLJ* ii.114). In the next few months he wrote the 'Thyrza' poems and 'On a Cornelian Heart Which Was Broken'.

Byron says in his *Ravenna Journal* (*BLJ* viii.24) that he entertained a 'violent, though *pure*, love and passion' (evidently for Edleston). Most biographers have agreed that the relationship was probably not physically consummated.

Marchand, *Biography* 245, misreads Hobhouse's diary for 6 June 1810 as saying that 'the *Edleston*' has been 'accused of indecency'; the word is in fact not 'Edleston' but 'Collection', referring to *IT* (Cochran [2002], n. 206; *MacCarthy* 87).

'Egotism'

Poem addressed to *Becher. It was written in 1807 and first published in *C*. 'The poem is a loose set of reflections on Byron's friendships and amours at *Harrow, *Cambridge, and *Southwell, with asides on the bad reception in Southwell of *FP*' (*CPW* i.388).

'Elegy on Newstead Abbey'

Early poem. It was written in about 1804 and included in *POVO*, *HI* and *POT*. It imagines *Newstead at various points in its (freely embroidered) history. Finally 'The last and youngest of a noble line' (139) wanders with affectionate tears among 'mouldering' towers, vaults and cloisters which are to be preferred to the 'gilded domes ... of the vainly great' (149–50).

Elgin, Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of, *see* ***Curse of Minerva, The***

Eliot, T[homas] S[tearns]

(1888–1965)

Poet and critic. In 'Byron' (1937), he calls for reappraisal of Byron's verse, which has too often been ignored in favour of his biography. He judges him skilled in narrative, especially in the *Oriental Tales and *DJ*. But Byron is false 'whenever he *tries* to write poetry' (Eliot [1957], p. 199), particularly in *CHP*. He 'added nothing to the language' and might 'easily have been an accomplished foreigner writing English' (p. 201). Yet in *DJ* 'the continual banter and mockery ... serve as an admirable antacid to the high-falutin' aspects of his earlier work' (p. 202); here 'the subject matter gave him at last an adequate object for a genuine emotion. The emotion is hatred of hypocrisy' (p. 205). Eliot's negative comments on Byron have been discussed more often than the positive.

Levine (1978) sees similarities between *CHP* and Eliot's *The Waste Land*: each is a quest, 'a pilgrimage through a waste land, through the contemporary wilderness, in which the quester seeks meaning from an alien past in order to revitalize his own existence' (p. 526).

Elizabethan and Jacobean drama

Byron seems to have had some limited acquaintance with the 'old dramatists' other than *Shakespeare. He owned *Ancient British Drama* (1810), Weber's editions of Ford (1811) and *Gifford's of Massinger (1805 and 1813) (*Sale Catalogue* 1813, nos 28, 97, 188, 189) and Weber's Beaumont and Fletcher (1812) (*Sale Catalogue* 1816, no. 34). The influence of Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* in *Manfred* and *Deformed* has been suspected but firm evidence is lacking and Byron denied having read or seen it (*BLJ* v.268, 270). Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* Part Two may be drawn on in *Deformed* (*CPW* vi.732).

In 1821 or 1822 Byron was reading Charles *Lamb's *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets* (1808) (Medwin, *Conversations* 139, 140). He was surprised to find in Lamb's extracts from Renaissance drama 'so many ideas that I thought exclusively my own'. Also according to Medwin (97), he listed Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* among plays too harrowing for performance. Generally Byron's expressed opinion of such works was not high. He told P. B. *Shelley, with reference to his play *The Cenci*, that 'I am not an admirer of our old dramatists *as models*' (*BLJ* viii.103). Medwin (93) says he called them 'those old *ruffiani* ... with their jingling rhymes, and endless play upon words'. To *Murray (*BLJ* viii.57) he scorns 'your mad old dramatists' as 'turbid mountebanks – always excepting B. Jonson – who was a Scholar and a Classic'. (The praise for Jonson may simply be an example of Byron's deference to Gifford, who had edited Jonson in 1816.) Another exception seems to have been Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, from which he quotes in *BLJ* vi.192 and vii.194, *VJ* 840, and *DJ* IX.502–3. His enthusiasm for the play had been ignited by *Kean's famous portrayal of Sir Giles Overreach. Byron said in August 1819 that only Kean's performance of the role, and the last two acts of *Alfieri's *Mirra* in Bologna, 'threw me into convulsions ... the agony of reluctant tears – and the choaking shudder which I do not often undergo for fiction' (*BLJ* vi.206).

Ellinika Hronika *see* ***Hellenica Chronica***

Elphinstone, Margaret Mercer

(1788–1867)
Rich heiress who knew Byron in his *London years. In May 1814 he gave her (*BLJ* iv.112–13) the Albanian costume in which he had been painted by Thomas Phillips. (The costume is now at Bowood House.) He was aware that 'any apparent anxiety on my part to cultivate your acquaintance' would have been generally interpreted as a design on her money (*BLJ* iv.113). She remained loyal to Byron during the separation crisis. According to *Hazlitt's *Conversations of James Northcote* (1830), no. 15, she told him in 1816, when 'crowds' of 'countesses and ladies of fashion were leaving the room where he was': 'You should have married *me*, and then this would not have happened to you.' In 1817 she married Charles, Comte de Flahaut, and later succeeded as Baroness Keith and Nairne.

English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. A Satire

Satire in heroic couplets. It began as 'British Bards. A Satire' in 1807–08. In response to *Brougham's slashing review of *HI* in the **Edinburgh Review* for January 1808 (*RR* ii.833–5) Byron rewrote the piece to include satire of the newly powerful Scottish reviewers. The first, anonymous edition of *EBSR* was published by James Cawthorn in March 1809. A second issue of this edition included a first version of the preface; this was expanded, and over 350 new lines and the postscript added, in the second edition, published under Byron's name in May 1809. There were third and fourth editions in 1810 and several copies of a fifth were printed before Byron decided to suppress the work early in 1812.

*Pope's *The Dunciad* (referred to at *EBSR* 384, 751) provided a major precedent for heroic-couplet arraignment of the writers of the day. More recent examples known to Byron included Lady Anne Hamilton's *Epics of the Ton* (1807), the satires of Charles *Churchill, and *Gifford's *Baviad* (1791) and *Maeviad* (1795). (Byron renews Gifford's attack on the Della Cruscan poets in 755–64.) Many of Byron's targets, among them the over-productive *Southey and 'simple' *Wordsworth, were familiar in both contemporary satire and reviewing; *Jeffrey's reviews were probably a source, as well as one of the main objects, of Byron's satire. *Juvenal's first satire is another strong influence, particularly on the second edition with its introductory justification of satire. The opening lines, as Byron notes (*CPW* i.399), imitate Juvenal's. Byron was familiar with the translations of Juvenal by his friend *Hodgson (1807) and by Gifford (1802); Beaty (1985), p. 37, sees lines 1–96 as influenced by the notes on satire in Martin Madan's *New and Literal Translation of Juvenal and Persius* (2nd edition, 1807).

EBSR contrasts the puny efforts of most modern poets (exceptions include Gifford, *Campbell and *Rogers) with the pure classical standard set by *Milton, *Dryden and Pope. With 'the savage indignation of a commonsensical everyman' (Graham [2004], p. 30) the satirist attacks the romantic and venal Walter *Scott (153–88, 911–14); the Lake poets (201–64, 903–6); exaggerated Gothic supernaturalism (265–82); the sweet, immoral *Moore (283–94); *Bowles's 'mournful' sonnets, tedious longer work and ill-judged denigration of Pope (327–84); the arrogance of Jeffrey and his *Edinburgh* colleagues (61–92, 426–539) and other hirelings of Lord *Holland (540–53); the deficiencies of modern theatre (560–631); Erasmus Darwin 'That mighty master of unmeaning rhyme' (894); foolish and false Cambridge poets (961–84).

By 1812 Byron had changed his mind about some of these judgements, including those on Moore and Scott, and in 1816 he would call the poem,

in a manuscript note, a 'miserable record of misplaced anger and indiscriminate acrimony' (*CPW* i.399). He had offended a number of people with whom he now was, or wanted to be, on friendly terms. He suppressed *EBSR* in deference particularly to Lord *Holland, whose political patronage he now wanted. But *EBSR* had done much to establish its author's reputation as a serious (and at times incisively witty) poet rather than the aristocratic amateur of *HI*. Mason (2002), p. 429, sees the poem as a preparatory text useful in the marketing of *CHP* I–II: since contemporary poetry is so flawed, a new voice is clearly needed. And 'if suppressing the poem ingratiated Byron with Holland's Whigs, writing and publishing it had earned him the favour of *Tory readers' (Graham [2004], p. 30) like Gifford and *Murray. Some reviewers disliked such 'unmitigated and arrogant reprobation' (the *Eclectic Review*, May 1809, *RR* ii.704). Others, however, admired its 'mingled genius, good sense, and spirited animadversion' (the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1809, *RR* iii.1076). It sold well and Cawthorn, having failed to persuade Byron to think again, went on reprinting the third and fourth editions up to 1819, selling 20,000 extra copies without payment to the author (St Clair [2004], pp. 163–4). There were also pirate editions and a lively trade in manuscript copies.
Further reading: Christie (1997).

'Epilogue to *The Merchant of Venice* Intended for a Private Theatrical'

Poem dated 26 January 1815, unpublished until *CPW*. It was written when Byron was staying at Seaham in Lady *Byron's family home; there is no record of the play having been performed there. Shylock is a character Byron often mentions and it seems possible that he would have taken the part himself. (Later he envisaged playing Iago in *Othello*. *See* **Drama and theatre**.) Conventionally deprecatory lines ask the audience, whatever the actors' 'errors', to be pleased for friendship's sake.

'Episode of Nisus and Euryalus. A Paraphrase from the Aeneid lib. 9, The'

Version of *Virgil. Two brave friends, followers of Aeneas, perish after a heroic raid on the Latian camp. The poem originated in a much briefer version of lines 1–18 in *POVO*: probably, as *CPW* i.370 says, a *Harrow exercise. The longer poem was composed in April–May 1807 and published in *HI* and *POT*. Inclusion of such a substantial classical piece was part of the project to make *HI* a weightier, more serious collection than *FP* and *POVO*. But 'the male-for-male passion it celebrates remains intense' (*Cochran*, *Fugitive Pieces* 7).

'Epistle from Mr. Murray to Dr. Polidori'

Comic couplets by Byron. On 5 August 1817 John *Murray wrote to him that *'Polidori has sent me his Tragedy!!! do me the kindness to send me by return of Post a *delicate declention* [*si*c – i.e. refusal] of it' (Murray, *Letters* 234). Byron obliged in a letter of 21 August (*BLJ* v.258–60); the epistle was first published in Moore, *Life*. Polidori's work (which was eventually published as *Ximenes* by Longman in 1819) is a good play 'in its way' which 'Purges the eyes and moves the bowels/And drenches handkerchiefs like towels' (2–4). There are passing satirical references to other Murray authors including Byron himself, whose *Manfred* suggests 'he's lost his wits at Venice' or (in lines omitted until *BLJ*) has 'drained his brains away as Stallion/To some dark-eyed & warm Italian' (37–40).

There are such inventive rhymes – Byron embarked on *Beppo* some weeks 'later – as 'St Helena'/'tell in a' (51–2) and '"Orestes"'/'Bore's best is' (25–6). (The bore is *Sotheby.)

'Epistle to a friend, In Answer to Some Lines Exhorting the Author to be Cheerful, and to "Banish Care"'

Poem to Francis *Hodgson. Byron's corrected fair copy is dated 11 October 1811. First publication was in Moore, *Life*, and the title was supplied in *1831*. Care cannot easily be banished by one who has 'seen my bride another's bride' (25; a reference to Mary *Chaworth Musters) and 'When all I loved is changed or gone' (9) – recent deaths included those of Catherine Gordon *Byron, *Matthews and *Edleston. Lines 41–56 rather melodramatically warn that Hodgson may one day hear of Byron as 'one, whose deepening crimes/Suit with the sablest of the times' (47–8) – as what would soon become a *Byronic hero. Hodgson crossed out 47–56 in the manuscript and noted that 'the poor dear Lord *meant* nothing of this' (*CPW* i.456).

'Epistle to Augusta'

Poem to Augusta *Leigh, written probably in summer 1816. It was published in Moore, *Life*. The speaker is separated from his longed-for sister but finds some consolation in Nature. (Like many of Byron's poems of this period the epistle shows some Wordsworthian influence.) Looking back, he admits that 'I have been cunning in mine overthrow/The careful pilot of my proper woe' (23–4).

This is Byron's first substantial piece in **ottava rima*.
Further reading: Neill (2006).

'Epistle to Mr. Murray' ('My dear Mr. Murray,/You're in a damned hurry')

Discursive verse letter, sent on 8 January 1818. It includes an account of *Murray's authors and publications: from the foolish poet Henry Gally Knight (1786–1846) and *Sotheby the 'pompous rascallion/Who don't speak Italian' (22–3) to the more saleable *Frere. (The 'ultimate Canto' (3), on its way from *Venice to *London with *Hobhouse, is *CHP* IV.)

Byron mentions *Beppo* (10–12) as still needing to be copied and sent. The epistle, like *Beppo*, is notable for its conversational style and apparent spontaneity. This blends, at the end of the poem, with a deliberately casual approach to sex and to orthodox morality. With the paper finished (cp. *Beppo* 789–90), 'There's a whore on my right,/For I rhyme best at night/When a C – t is tied close to my *inkstand*' (70–2). The 'inkstand', rhyming with 'stand', provides innuendo on 'stand' as 'have an erection' (repeated more explicitly in 81) and implies the author's pen – slang for penis. Finally the poem must end because 'the Sopha and lady/Are both of them ready' (82–3). Such material was entertaining for the (all-male) circle to whom Murray habitually showed Byron's letters. Byron exploits to the full, if humorously, his image as Venetian debauchee. It was not deemed suitable for public consumption: Moore, *Life*, omitted the bawdy 67–84 as well as six earlier stanzas; 67–84 were first published in 1974.

'Epitaph for Mr. Joseph Blackett, Late Poet and Shoemaker'

Comic poem. It contains a series of puns and jokes linking the two trades of Blackett (1786–1810). Byron's fair copy is dated 'Malta, 16 May 1811' and the poem was first published in *1832*. The fashionable enthusiasm for Blackett's verse is also mocked in *EBSR* 765–70. In a manuscript note of 1816 (*CPW* i.414) Byron says that he would probably not have satirized the cobbler if he had known that Annabella Milbanke (Lady *Byron) was his patron.

'Epitaph from a Sickbed' *see* Pope, Alexander

'Epitaph on a Friend'

Early poem, written probably in 1803. In Byron's corrected copy of *FP* and in *POVO* (where the title is 'Epitaph on a Beloved Friend') the humble status of the friend is indicated and there are possible hints of physical passion: 'I'll make my last, cold, pillow on thy breast;/That breast, where oft in life, I've laid my head.' In *HI* and *POT* the class-difference and the physical contact disappear.

'Epitaph on Mrs. [Byron]'

Byron's mock-epitaph on his mother, composed probably in 1806 or 1807. It was first published in *CPW*. The poem is a satirical account of Catherine Gordon *Byron's volubility and volatility: her 'clamours worse than Ocean's roar'.

Espronceda, José de *see* Spain

Euripides

(485–406 BC)
Greek dramatist. Byron mentions his *Medea* as one of the plays which 'pleased' him at *Harrow (*BLJ* v.268) and in spring 1807 he translated and expanded lines 627–60 of the play, where the Chorus condemns Jason for abandoning Medea (*HI*, *POT*). On 17 June 1810 Byron sent his former Harrow tutor Henry Drury a lively rendering of the first few lines of the play – 'the nurse's dole in the Medea' – in couplets, beginning 'Oh how I wish that an embargo/Had kept in port the good ship Argo!' (*BLJ* i.245–6). He had just scrambled up the 'Cyanean Symplegades', supposedly the rocks passed by Jason and the Argonauts on their way to Medea's Colchis.

'Euthanasia' *see* Thyrza poems

F

Falcieri, Giovanni Battista (Tita)

(1798–1874)
Byron's gondolier and servant. He entered his service in *Venice in 1818. In *Pisa in1822 he spent a month in prison for his alleged part in the *Masi affair. He was with Byron when he died, and accompanied the body to England. Later his Byron connection led Benjamin *Disraeli, who met him during his Mediterranean tour of 1831–32, to find him employment in England.

Falkland, Charles Cary, Viscount

(1768–1809)
Friend of Byron, killed in a duel in 1809. His death is mentioned in *EBSR* 686 and note (*CPW* i.412). Since he 'left without a shilling four children and his wife' (*BLJ* i.195) Byron became his son's godfather and gave his widow, Christina, £500. By 1812 she had persuaded herself that he was in love with her and that she was the addressee of the 'Thyrza' poems (Marchand, *Portrait* 126).

'Fare Thee Well!'

Poem aimed at Lady *Byron. She is reminded of the many painful consequences, for both Byron and herself, of their broken love. Byron wrote the first draft on 18 March 1816, the day after the couple's preliminary separation agreement was signed. Fifty copies of the poem were printed for private circulation on 8 April and it was published, without permission, in *The Champion* on 14 April. Other piracies followed, including *Poems On His Domestic Circumstances*. The first authorized edition was in *Poems 1816*, where the epigraph on separation, from *Coleridge's *Christabel*, was added.

McGann (2002) examines the different poem – sentimental or hypocritically malignant – 'Fare Thee Well' becomes in its different circumstances of production. These include the hostile context of the *Tory *Champion*, which printed the poem with the more outspoken 'A Sketch from Private Life'.

Prose contributions probably by *Brougham and the editor of *The Champion*, John *Scott, attacked both Byron's liberal politics and his conduct towards his wife. In other contexts a more sentimental reading remained possible. Modern commentators have found the poem two-edged, full of 'complex double-speaking' (McGann [2002], p. 88); 'a portrait of indecision, taut with antithetical tensions' (Elledge [1986], p. 43). There is evident ambiguity about whose is the unforgiving heart in lines 3–4 and the phrasing often suggests a curse as much as a farewell.

In 'The Separation, a Sketch from the Private Life of Lord Iron' (1816), Isaac Robert Cruikshank caricatures Byron and 'Fare Thee Well'. Byron quotes the opening of the poem to his wife as he leaves for exile on the arm of an actress, Charlotte Mardyn. (Both she and Byron maintained that they were barely acquainted, according to Medwin, *Conversations* 42, 44n.) In another version, above the text of the poem, George Cruikshank shows Byron quoting from it ('All my faults perchance thou knowest…') as he is rowed out to his ship with Mrs Mardyn, two other women, a hamper-load of bottles of 'old hock' and a goblet made from a skull – a reference to 'Lines inscribed upon a Cup formed from a Skull' in *CHP(7)*.

'Farewell Petition to JCH Esq.'

Comic couplets. They were addressed to *Hobhouse on 7 June 1810 in *Constantinople, just over a month before he set off for England, and first published in *Murray's Magazine* (1887). His main errand will be to tell *Fletcher's wife about his (un)heroic endurance of travelling conditions. Greetings are also sent to *Matthews; *Cochran*, 'Mediterranean Poems' 18, draws attention to coded references to Byron's homosexuality.

'Farewell to Malta'

Satirical poem. The corrected fair copy is dated 26 May 1811. Satire of the army and navy-dominated social life of the British in the 'little military hothouse' of *Malta caused offence 'to all, but particularly' Major-General Hildebrand Oakes, governor or commissioner of the island (*BLJ* ii.126). Byron gave the poem to Commander Fraser, husband of the Mrs [Susan] Fraser who is praised in the one less satirical passage (33–44). From the Frasers it circulated widely; the unauthorized first publication was in *Poems on his Domestic Circumstances* (1816). 'Farewell to Malta' is in 'Hudibrastics' (*BLJ* ii.126) – comic octosyllabic couplets named after Samuel *Butler's *Hudibras*.

Ferrara

Italian city in the papal-ruled Romagna. Byron visited in mid-April 1817, seeing *Ariosto's tomb, *Tasso's cell, their manuscripts, and the 'old Castle' with 'the actual court... where Parisina and Hugo lost their heads – according to *Gibbon' (*BLJ* v.217). Byron's *Parisina* had been published in 1816. Following the 1817 visit he used Tasso and his cell in *Lament* and in *CHP* IV.307–51, where in Ferrara's 'wide and grass-grown streets... /There seems as 'twere a curse upon the seats/Of former sovereigns' guilty of such crimes as locking up the poet.

On Byron's return in early June 1819 he admired the simple inscriptions in the Certosa cemetery (*BLJ* vi.147, 149).

Fielding, Henry

(1707–54)
Novelist. He was esteemed by Byron as 'the *prose* *Homer of human nature' (*BLJ* viii.11–12). There are many references to Fielding's work in Byron's letters, especially to *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones* and *The Tragedy of Tragedies* (*Tom Thumb*). He reread Fielding in the autumn of 1821 (*BLJ* ix.50) and was struck, in *Jonathan Wild* especially, by the sympathetic liberalism of his politics: 'The inequality of conditions and the littleness of the great – were never set forth in stronger terms – and his contempt for Conquerors and the like is such that had he lived *now* he would have been denounced in the [*Tory government-subsidized] "Courier" as the grand Mouth-piece and Factionary of the revolutionists.'

Fielding's influence on Byron was at its strongest in *DJ*; there are explicit references to *Joseph Andrews* in V.1042 and XIII.766–8 and to *Tom Jones* in XIII.876–80, where the vigour and directness of Squire Western, Sophia and Tom contrasts with modern stiffness. Fielding's strong authorial or narratorial presence seems to have influenced the poem more generally.
Further reading: England (1975).

Filicaia, Vincenzo da *see* *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto IV*

Finden, William and Edward

(1787–1852 and 1791–1857)
Engravers and publishers. Their work includes the engravings for *1833* (also published separately as *Finden's Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord*

Byron) and *Byron Beauties: or, the Principal Female Characters in Lord Byron's Poems* (1836). Their books are 'close kin to the keepsake annuals' (Altick [1985], p. 438) popular with women readers in the same period.
See also: **Illustrations of Byron's work**.

Finlay, George

(1799–1875)
Philhellene and historian. He visited Byron in *Cephalonia in October 1823 and was with him in *Missolonghi from February 1824 until about ten days before Byron's death in April. His mission then was to persuade Byron, on behalf of the warlord Odysseus Androutsos, to come to a conference between rival Greek factions at Salona (Amphissa).

When they met Byron found Finlay 'far too enthusiastic, and too fresh from Germany' (Marchand, *Portrait* 421; he had been studying at Göttingen before he came to Greece as a philhellenic volunteer). But Byron was happy to talk with him (at some length) about non-Greek matters. In Missolonghi he told Finlay about his childhood, his friends, *Aberdeen, *Harrow and *Newstead. Finlay acquired a good understanding of Byron's changing moods and masks. In his *History of Greece* (1877), vi.324–5, he concluded that Byron's 'genius...would in all probability never have unfolded either political or military talent...Both his character and his conduct presented unceasing contradictions. It seemed as if two different souls occupied his body alternately. One was feminine, and full of sympathy; the other masculine, and characterized by clear judgement.'

'First Kiss of Love, The'

Poem in *POVO* and *HI*. It is dated 23 December 1806 in manuscript. The 'first kiss of love' is unequalled both as experience and as subject; 'the effusions, that spring from the heart' are to be preferred to the 'cold compositions of art' (13–16).

Fitzgerald, Lord Edward

(1763–98)
Irish revolutionary admired by Byron. He was mortally wounded while trying to escape capture. 'If I had been a man, I would have made an English Lord Edward Fitzgerald' (*BLJ* iii.249).
See also: '**To the Prince Regent –**'

Fitzgerald, William Thomas

(*c*.1759–1829)
Minor *Tory poet, ridiculed by Byron. From the second edition onwards *EBSR* opens with ‘Still must I hear? – shall hoarse Fitzgerald bawl/His creaking couplets in a tavern hall?’ He is also the butt of ‘Verses on W. T. Fitzgerald’ (1811 or 1812) and of one of the Imitations of Martial (*CPW* iii.35).

Fletcher, William

(1773–?1841)
Byron’s valet from 1808. He remained his master’s loyal supporter, in spite of being dismissed and reinstated three times. He was with Byron on the first foreign trip until early 1811 – corresponding to the ‘staunch yeoman’ sad to leave his family in *CHP* I.158–69 – and for the whole of his 1816–24 exile. Fletcher wrote to Augusta *Leigh to tell her of his master’s death (a task parodied in advance in Byron’s letter to *Hobhouse, written in the character of Fletcher, at *BLJ* vi.44–5), and accompanied the body from *Greece to England. A promised legacy from Byron was not forthcoming. In *London, Fletcher set up a macaroni factory with Lega *Zambelli but this soon failed. He was admitted to a workhouse in 1837 and is last heard of in 1841 (Ralph Lloyd Jones in *DNB*).

Florence

City in Tuscany. Byron visited it in April and May 1817. In *CHP* IV.424–544 Florence is a place of beauty and art and the immortal resting-place (in the church of Santa Croce) of Michelangelo, *Alfieri, Galileo and Machiavelli. But it is also ‘Ungrateful Florence!’ because of its failure to honour and appreciate – as illustrated by their absence from Santa Croce – ‘the all Etruscan [i.e. Tuscan] three’, *Dante, *Petrarch and *Boccaccio.

‘Florence’ *see* Smith, Constance Spencer

Forgeries

Byron’s fame and saleability led inevitably to forgeries of his writings. The most prolific culprit was the so-called ‘Major Byron’ (d.1882) who claimed to be the poet’s son and also used the name DeGibler. For forgeries and doubtful attributions *see CPW* i.xlv–xlvii and vii.98–118.

Foscarini, Villa

Country house at La Mira on the Brenta Canal. Byron rented it as a retreat from *Venice. He lived here in the summer and autumn of 1817 and the autumn of 1819.

Foscolo, Ugo

(1778–1827)
Italian poet who lived in England from 1816. He was the main author of the ‘Essay on the Present Literature of Italy’ included in *Hobhouse’s *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold* (1818). Byron, unaware of the authorship, declared this ‘*perfect* – and not exceeded by *Johnson’s [Lives of the] Poets’ (*BLJ* vi.72). Foscolo irritated Byron by calling upon him, as reported by John *Murray in March 1819, to ‘occupy some Six or Eight years in the Composition of a Work & Subject worthy of you’ (Murray, *Letters* 267; *see BLJ* vi.105). Byron was delighted, however, to receive his detailed letter praising and criticizing *Marino Faliero* (Murray, *Letters* 341): ‘Foscolo’s letter is exactly the thing wanted – 1[st]ly because he is a man of Genius – & next because he is an Italian and therefore the best Judge of Italics. – Besides… he has more of the antient Greek – than of the modern Italian [a reference both to neoclassicism and perhaps to the fact that Foscolo was half-Greek] – Though “somewhat… too wild and Salvage” [Walter *Scott’s *A Legend of Montrose*, Chapter 13] – ’tis a wonderful man’ (*BLJ* vii.194).

Vassallo (1984), pp. 22–3, sees the influence in *CHP* of ‘Jacopo’s introverted brooding on man’s insignificance in an alien universe’ in Foscolo’s *Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* (1802, 1816). (‘The letters of this Italian Werther [*see* Goethe] are very interesting,’ Byron noted in his copy [*Prose* 222].) Foscolo’s *Dei sepolcri* (1807) is a probable source for the importance accorded Santa Croce (*Florence) in *CHP* IV.478–86.

Fox, Charles James *see* ‘On the Death of Mr. Fox’

‘Fragment, A’ (‘Could I remount the river of my years’)

Unfinished meditation on absence and death. A version was published in Moore, *Life* ii.36–7.

‘Fragment, A’ (‘When, to their airy hall, my fathers’ voice’)

Short poem, dated 1803. It was included in *FP*, *POVO*, *HI* and *POT*. The speaker asks to be remembered by no monument or epitaph but ‘my name alone’ – if this has become synonymous with honoured deeds. The tone and landscape are Ossianic; *CPW* i.365 points to *Ossian's *Berrathon* in particular.

'Fragment of a Novel' *see* 'Augustus Darvell'

'Fragment of an Epistle to Thomas Moore'

Lines sent to *Moore in June 1814. The Tsar of *Russia and the King of Prussia – reactionary monarchs, from the point of view of Byron and Moore – were in England following the apparently final defeat of *Napoleon. The second part of the poem describes festivities, including one where the Tsar waltzed with Lady *Jersey. *CPW* iii.460 (following *C*) quotes Mary Frampton's report that this was 'to the great discomposure of the Regent, who has quarrelled with her'. Like 'To Thomas Moore' ('Oh you who in all names') the fragment adopts the anapaestic couplets used by Moore in his own verse epistles.

'Fragment Written Shortly After the Marriage of Miss Chaworth'

Short lyric poem in which the 'Hills of Annesley' no longer 'seem a Heaven' following the marriage of Mary *Chaworth and John Musters in August 1805. The poem is in the tradition of Richard Gall's 'Farewell to Ayrshire', then thought to be by *Burns (*CPW* i.356). It was first published in Moore, *Life*.

Frame Work Bill Speech

Byron's maiden speech in the *House of Lords. On 27 February 1812 he spoke against the *Tory government bill to impose the death penalty on 'frame breakers' or Luddites after disturbances involving Nottinghamshire stocking-knitters. 'During the short time' Byron had 'recently passed in Notts [at *Newstead], not 12 hours elapsed without some fresh act of violence' (*Prose* 22). The main grievances concerned the employers' use of cheap labour and the production of cheap, inferior goods which glutted the market.

The speech argues that the frame-breakers' 'excesses however to be deplored & condemned, can hardly be subject of surprise' in view of their desperate circumstances, and that conciliation should have been tried before confrontation. Even a fraction of the financial aid recently given to allied *Portugal 'would have rendered unnecessary the tender mercies of the bayonet & the gibbet'.

Byron's words have a rhetorical force, wit and range of reference unusual in Lords speeches at the time. He told *Hodgson on 5 March 1812 (*BLJ* ii.167), 'I spoke very violent sentences with a sort of modest impudence... As to my delivery, loud & fluent enough, perhaps a little theatrical.' Lord *Holland found the speech 'full of fancy, wit, and invective, but not exempt from affectation nor well reasoned, nor at all suited to our common notions of Parliamentary eloquence' (*Prose* 282). The vehemence of the views expressed – greater than his preliminary letter to Holland had implied (25 February, *BLJ* ii.165–6) – was likely to be regarded by many peers as dangerously radical. Opposition leaders like Holland could afford to be associated with such a way of speaking only because there was no danger, given the large Tory majority, of the bill being defeated.
See also: **'Ode to the Framers of the Frame Bill, An'**; **'Song for the Luddites'.**

France

Byron never visited France but some of his most important reading was in French, including *Voltaire, *Rousseau, *Sismondi and *Ginguené. He also knew Laclos's *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (*BLJ* iii.220). (According to Blessington, *Conversations* 98, he 'detested, and continually ridiculed' French poetry, which he found 'discordant'.)

Most French (and many other European) readers first encountered Byron's work in the prose translation by Amédée Pichot (10 vols 1819–21, subsequently much expanded; in 1 vol. 1837). For those who could read English, perhaps with the help of Pichot's rather uninspired rendering, there was *Galignani's edition (Paris, 6 vols 1818, 16 vols 1822–25, in 1 vol 1826). Early criticism, encouraged by biographical material published with Pichot's and other translations, fostered an image of dark passions, sombre grandeur, and an author more *Byronic hero than Byron (Cochran [2004], pp. 39–42). He was seen often as a heroic victim of British prudery and social exclusion or of hostile criticism (as, for example, in Victor Hugo's poem 'Le Dédain', dedicated 'A Lord Byron, en 1811'). His legend was promoted, and *CHP* and the *Oriental Tales read or known about, by French Romantics including Hugo, *Lamartine, *Musset and *Dumas. *Don Juan*, however, was regarded as insufficiently serious or moral by readers including Lamartine and Alfred de Vigny. (Musset and *Stendhal saw it more positively.)

Byron's death provoked many poetic laments in France and undoubtedly swelled the number of French philhellenes; in the 1820s and 1830s many regarded him primarily as a supporter of liberal and nationalist causes. More

complex responses came from mid-nineteeenth-century poets including Gérard de Nerval (Cochran [2004], pp. 67–9) and Charles Baudelaire, for whom Byron 'becomes…a poet of masks and poses, a stage figure performing the drama of his subjectivity' (McGann [2004], p. 212).
See also: **French Revolution**; **Napoleon Bonaparte**.

Francesca of Rimini. Translation from the Inferno of Dante, Canto 5

Poem in **terza rima*. It was written in March 1820 and first published in Moore's *Life*. The painstaking nature of the translation, in which Byron said he 'sacrificed all ornament to fidelity' (headnote, *CPW* iv.280), is apparent in the two main surviving versions and their variants (*see CPW* iv.280–5, 514–17).

In *Inferno* v.97–142 Francesca tells *Dante how she and her husband's brother came to fall in love, the prelude to their murder by the husband. Dante is so moved that he faints. The lovers' situation is clearly relevant to that of Byron and Teresa *Guiccioli, whose liaison was being conducted at the time, with some possible risk of violence, in her husband's house in *Ravenna. The tale of Francesca and her Paolo was well known, and Byron had helped Leigh *Hunt with his poem about them, *The Story of Rimini* (1816). Francesca was also of some interest to Byron and Teresa because (as he told *Murray, *BLJ* vii.58) she was born in Ravenna. But what was most important to him was the chance to experiment further (following *Prophecy*) with Dante's *terza rima*, 'of which your British Blackguard reader as yet understands nothing' (*BLJ* vii.58) and to continue, through close attention to Italian poetry, 'his critique of England and the current state of English poetry' (*CPW* iv.517).

'Francisca' *see* ***Parisina***

French Revolution

Revolution in which the *ancien régime* was overthrown. The main events took place between 1789 and 1793. Byron felt that the cause of the revolution was clear enough: 'the government exacted too much, and the people could neither *give* nor *bear more*' (appendix to *Two Foscari*, *CPW* vi.223). But he believed, like many of his contemporaries, that the ensuing violence was too extreme and indeed counter-productive. *Rousseau and his 'compeers', inspiring revolution, overthrew 'good with ill' and left 'but ruins, wherewith to rebuild/Upon the same foundation, and renew/Dungeons and thrones' (*CHP* III.774–7). Byron could 'understand and enter into the feelings of [the moderates] Mirabeau and La Fayette – but I have no sympathy with Robespierre – and Marat' (*BLJ* vii.80).

In February 1821 Byron told John *Murray that he intended Juan to perish in the French Revolution at the end of *DJ* (*BLJ* viii.78).

Frere, John Hookham

(1769–1846)
Comic poet, translator, and a founder of the **Quarterly Review*. His style influenced *Beppo* and *DJ*. In 1817 Frere published the first two cantos of his **ottava rima* poem *Prospectus and Specimen of an Intended National Work, by William and Robert Whistlecraft* (often called *The Monks and the Giants*). Byron read it that September in *Venice and in October wrote *Beppo*, he said, in imitation (*BLJ* iv.267, 269). Frere was favourably impressed by *Beppo* (Murray, *Letters* 251) but was the driving force in the group which, at the end of 1818, advised John *Murray not to publish *DJ* I (Murray, *Letters* 268n.; *BLJ* vi.98).

Frere's poem features comic lists and rhymes, some (brief) digressions, and some self-reflexive awareness of 'our poetic cruise' (I.ix). But the setting is Arthurian and the humour mainly at the expense of Arthurian and similar characters; on the whole it lacks the sharpness of wit, juxtaposition and contemporary satire of *Beppo* and *DJ*. It was a useful model for English work in *ottava rima*, but had less direct influence on Byron than *Casti and *Pulci.

'From Job'

Song in *HM*, probably written in October 1814. The source (quite closely followed) is Job 4:13–21, where the voice of God makes clear to Eliphaz the Temanite that men are (in Byron's words) 'vain dwellers in the dust' (9). 'Nathan's effuse oratorio setting provides grand amplitude for the voices of Eliphaz and God' (Burwick and Douglass [1988], p. 22).

'From the French'

Poem spoken by a Polish officer devoted to *Napoleon. It was written between May and September 1814 and published in *Poems 1816*. The fiction that the poem is a translation permits its unflinching loyalty to the Emperor – very different from the equivocal approach of *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* or *CHP* III.

‘From the Turkish’ *see* **Vaughan, Susan**

Fugitive Pieces *see* ***Hours of Idleness***

G

Galignani, Giovanni Antonio

(1757–1821)
Bookseller. His bookshop in Paris opened in 1800 and he began publishing books, mainly in English, in 1804. Free of British intellectual property laws, Galignani brought out cheap editions of the poets. They could be read at, or borrowed from, his library in the rue Vivienne in Paris. In 1818 the Galignani family brought out a six-volume Byron, to be followed by the sixteen-volume edition of 1822–25 and the works in one volume in 1826. Byron granted them the exclusive right to publish his books in *France. The one-volume complete works began 'the first canonizing series of the romantic poets' (St Clair [2004], p. 296).

Galt, John

(1779–1839)
Scottish novelist. In August 1809 he met Byron and *Hobhouse in *Gibraltar and travelled as far as *Malta with them. He saw them again in *Athens in 1810 and later in *London. In *The Life of Lord Byron* (1830) Galt is interested in the pyschology of a man 'so skinless in sensibility as respected himself, and so distrustful in his universal apprehensions of human nature, as respected others' (173). Himself a writer of such closely detailed novels of Scottish life as *Annals of the Parish* (1821) and *The Provost* (1822), he likes Byron's poems more when they concern 'an actual scene' than an imaginary one. In general, he finds Byron's language harsh and his meaning obscure.

According to Blessington, *Conversations* 146, in 1823 Byron said that he failed to appreciate Galt's good qualities when he knew him because 'his manner had not deference enough for my then aristocratical taste'. (Galt was Lady *Blessington's friend, which may have affected either what Byron said to her or how she reported it.) But in his journal on 5 December 1813 he says that Galt 'with all his eccentricities... has much strong sense, experience of the world, and is, as far as I have seen, a good-natured philosophical fellow' (*BLJ* iii.230). In his novels 'There is a quaint humour and observance of character... that interest me very much... [H]e shows a tenderness of heart which convinces one that *his* is in the right place' (Blessington, *Conversations* 146).

Gamba Ghiselli, Count Pietro

(1800–26/27)
Teresa *Guiccioli's brother and Byron's devoted follower. He was fervent in revolutionary causes – 'a very fine, brave fellow…and wild about liberty' (*BLJ* viii.214). With his father, Count Ruggero, he brought Byron into the *Carbonari. He also strongly encouraged him to join the Greek insurgents, sailed with him in 1823, and was with him until his death. In *Missolonghi he worked hard as Byron's right-hand man and editor of the **Telegrafo Greco*. Following Byron's death Gamba travelled to London, wrote *A Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece* (1825), and returned to serve in the Greek war. Like Byron, he died of fever.

Gamba Ghiselli, Count Ruggero

(1770–1846)
Father of Teresa *Guiccioli. He found Byron personally and politically sympathetic (unlike his son-in-law, Count Guiccioli). With his son, Count Pietro, he recruited Byron for the *Carbonari in *Ravenna. The Gambas' political activities led to their banishment from the Papal States in July 1821 (and later to Ruggero's imprisonment in Ferrara from 1825 to 1832). He was with his daughter and Byron in *Pisa and *Genoa between 1821 and 1823.

Genoa

Ligurian port. It was part of the Kingdom of Sardinia from 1815. Byron lived with Teresa *Guiccioli and the *Gambas at Casa Saluzzo in Albaro, overlooking the city, between early October 1822 and July 1823, when he sailed for *Greece.

George III

(1738–1820)
King of Great Britain and Ireland 1760–1820. After several earlier crises of insanity he became permanently incapacitated in 1811. In *VJ* his domestic virtues are acknowledged but he is 'an old, blind, mad, helpless, weak, poor worm' (330), to be indicted for having protected tyrants, opposed Roman *Catholic emancipation, and allowed himself to become his ministers' tool. At home and abroad 'He ever warr'd with freedom and the free' (353).

George IV

(1762–1830)
Prince Regent from 1811 and King of Great Britain and Ireland 1820–30. Byron had been presented to him at a ball in June 1812; George praised Byron's poems and expressed a particular enthusiasm for Walter *Scott's (*BLJ* ii.182). Whether honestly or to flatter Scott, Byron said that he gained 'a very high idea of [the Regent's] abilities & accomplishments'. He had already, however, anonymously attacked the prince for abandoning the *Whigs for the *Tories in 'Lines to a Lady Weeping'. Subsequently he satirized him in 'Windsor Poetics', '[George IV on Queen Caroline]', 'The Irish Avatar' and *DJ* VIII: 'Though *Ireland starve, great George weighs twenty stone' (1008) – 'forty stone' in Byron's draft. Once, in the imagined 1791 of *DJ* XII, he had been a prince 'full of promise', 'A finished gentleman from top to toe' (665–72).

Germany

Byron passed through parts of western Germany in May 1816. *CHP* III.409–589 deals with the Rhine, its ruined castles and mellow landscape (569–71), and the bloody history now washed away by the river. A Rhineland of 'glorious Gothic scenes' is briefly returned to in *DJ* X.479–96 and the slowness of travel in Germany is mocked in X.564–8. In July 1820 he told Lady *Byron 'the Germans are still a young and romantic people – and live in an ideal world' (*BLJ* vi.180).

Byron knew little or no German (*BLJ* viii.25–6). His main initial knowledge of German literature came from Mme de *Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813), or from the translation, *Germany* (1813). His understanding of *Goethe was increased by *Lewis's oral translation in 1816. He also read *Schiller, the literary history and criticism of Friedrich and August Wilhelm von Schlegel, and *Grillparzer in English, French or Italian translations. He was surprised to hear of the popularity of his poems in Germany (*BLJ* ix. 52, 164–5). *CHP* early became popular and long remained so: Frank Erik Pointner and Achim Geisenhanslüke (2004), p. 236n., count 15 translations of all or one or more cantos between 1821 and 1893, including 9 up to 1846. Major German biographies of Byron as *Übermensch* or a 'fascinating dark figure' were published in the late nineteenth century, and interest continued undiminished until the First World War (Pointner and Geisenhanslüke [2004], p. 237). The same authors (pp. 237–40) cite four main reasons for this enthusiasm: the exotic appeal of Byron's cosmopolitanism in a country of many small states

and much ‘provincialism and small-mindedness’; sympathy for his liberal politics and especially his Philhellenic action; his feeling against his own country’s exclusiveness and *cant, which chimed with the anti-English sentiments of some German nationalists; and the vital advocacy of *Goethe, who championed such controversial works as *Cain* and *DJ*. (The ‘Faustian link’ guaranteed the popularity of *Manfred*.) The poetry is seen often as ‘the epitome of *Weltschmerz*’ (p. 245).
See also: **Heine, Heinrich**; **Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm**.
Further reading: Klapper (1974).

Giaour, a Fragment of a Turkish Tale, The

The first of Byron’s *Oriental Tales. He began work in about September 1812. The first edition, 684 lines long, appeared in June 1813; more material continued to be added until the 1334-line seventh edition, published in December of the same year. Byron described *Giaour* to *Murray in August 1813 (*BLJ* iii.100) as ‘this snake of a poem – which has been lengthening its rattles every month’. It was almost as popular as *CHP* I–II, reaching a fourteenth edition by the end of 1815.

A giaour (pronounced ‘jowr’, rhyming with ‘power’) is an infidel, a non-Muslim. Here the unbeliever is ‘a young Venetian’ who (in 1779 or soon after) avenges his lover, Leila, a Circassian slave ‘who was thrown, in the Mussulman manner, into the sea for infidelity’ (*CPW* iii.39). Having killed her master, Hassan, he retires to a monastery but is no more a friend of Christianity than of *Islam. The tale purports to be a fragmentary compilation of speeches by several different people, including a Turkish fisherman and a friar who hears the giaour’s confession (971–1328).

Sources of *Giaour* include the similar drowning of the beautiful Phrosine of *Yanina, ‘the subject of many a Romaic and Arnaut ditty’ (*CPW* iii.423). Some of the eastern detail and atmosphere are from *Beckford’s *Vathek* (1786), Samuel Henley’s notes on *Vathek*, and Barthélemy d’Herbelot’s *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697). The fragment form may have been indebted to *Rogers’s *Voyage of Columbus* (1809, revised 1812). (*Giaour* is dedicated to Rogers.) Arguably the most important source, however, was personal experience: Byron may have been sexually involved with – the reason for the punishment of – an actual ‘Leila’. Certainly in September 1810 he encountered a procession which was either taking a woman to be thrown into the sea near Piraeus, or had already done so. A few days later Lord Sligo arrived in Athens and heard reports of what had happened; according to the account by Sligo which Byron circulated among his friends, Byron 'succeeded, partly by personal threats, and partly by bribery and entreaty, in procuring her pardon, on condition of her leaving Athens' (*CPW* iii.414). This version of events was 'not very far from the truth' (*BLJ* iii.200); whatever actually happened, 'to describe the *feelings* of *that situation* were impossible – it is *icy* even to recollect them' (*BLJ* iii.230). Rumours about the autobiographical element, encouraged by the tendency to view Harold in *CHP* I and II as Byron, contributed to the fame and popularity of the poem.

More recent discussion has looked at gender, orientalism and structure in *Giaour*. Leila's role is conspicuously less active than that of subsequent heroines in Byron's eastern tales. She is seen entirely from male perspectives and is not allowed to speak – drowned as effectively by the poem's various speakers as by order of Hassan. Franklin (1992) points out that in keeping with the romantic individualistic love which, for the hero, replaces religion, 'Leila has become part of his way of perceiving the world… "The morning-star of Memory!" (1130)'; his love 'can thus be interpreted as a displaced form of male narcissism' (pp. 44–5). It can be argued that the poem promotes feeling for female victims of male imperatives; the Giaour and Hassan are similarly possessive in their attitude to women, although the parallels become less obvious as the poem expands. The original rough draft contains nothing of the Giaour-dominated lines 832–1319, including his confession, which were added gradually in the first, second, third, fifth and seventh editions. (Byron told *Murray that the extended confession was intended 'to soften the ferocity of our Infidel' [26 August 1813, *BLJ* iii.100].)

Readers were likely to be outraged at Leila's fate. But it is not regarded simply as an example of non-western barbarism, as it would have been in most oriental tales of the period. The Advertisement establishes a context in which 'the cruelty exercised on all sides was unparalleled even in the annals of the faithful' (*CPW* iii.40). Lines 1–167 continue the theme: *Greece is oppressed by the Turks but responsible for its own oppression. Greece ('so soft the scene, so form'd for joy,/So curst the tyrants that destroy!') is described in terms similar to the fair but maltreated Leila, and Leila is evidently a victim both of eastern custom and her western lover. He, 'Had she been false to more than one' (1063), would have behaved in the same way as Hassan. Turkish and Christian narrators are equally superstitious (747–86, 909–13). (Marilyn Butler [1988] argues that the often positive attitude to Islam in the poem should be seen in the context of opposition to the 1813 campaign for Christian missionaries to be allowed to proselytize in India.)

Simplistic moral judgement is also made more difficult by 'The sardonic commentary provided in Byron's dense, witty and idiosyncratic notes' (Butler [1988], p. 87) and by the use of different speakers. Sometimes the switches between speakers are abrupt and disorienting. The structure is deliberately fragmentary and unchronological. A chronological narrative might more easily privilege the hero as man of action and deprived lover, but as it is he remains more mysterious, more of a *Byronic hero. An unbeliever as far as both religious groups are concerned, he stands outside their unsatisfactory construction of the world, but presents no coherent alternative to it. The final brief shift to another speaker (1329–34) emphasizes the intensity and inscrutability of the Giaour's experience and indeed that of Leila and Hassan – 'This broken tale was all we knew/Of her he loved, or him he slew.'

Further reading: Cochran (2006); Leask (1992); Roessel (2002).

Gibbon, Edward

(1737–94)

Author of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88). *Decline and Fall* provided historical notes in *CHP* II and elsewhere, and an epigraph to *Ode to Napoleon*. Byron also knew Gibbon's *Memoirs of My Life* and used his account of Ugo and Parisina as a source for *Parisina*. He visited Gibbon's house near Lausanne with P. B. *Shelley in June 1816. In *CHP* III.1000–1 he is 'The lord of irony, – that master-spell,/Which stung his foes to wrath.' Byron shared his taste for irony and his acute awareness of decline and transience.

Gibraltar

British colony. Byron and *Hobhouse visited between 4 and 16 August 1809. Byron told *Hanson it was 'the dirtiest most detestable spot in existence' (*BLJ* i.218). More poetically, the ship passes along 'Calpe's straits' – the Straits of Gibraltar – on a moonlit night in *CHP* II.190–8.

Gifford, William

(1756–1826)

Poet and editor. He edited the fiercely conservative *Anti-Jacobin* (1797–98) and the **Quarterly Review* (1809–24). Byron, who admired his literary satires, *The Baviad* (1791) and *The Maeviad* (1795), and his translation of

*Juvenal (1802), upheld him as an exemplary author in *EBSR* 94, 702, 743–4, 778–80 and 819–30. Gifford was one of John *Murray's circle of advisers; Byron was prepared to defer to his judgement as to no-one else's: 'In all points of difference between Mr. G and Mr. anybody else I shall abide by the former – if I am wrong – I can't help it – but I would rather not be right with any other person,' he told Murray in January 1814 (*BLJ* iv.38; cp. v.169). Byron expressed particular gratitude (*BLJ* iii.63–4) for Gifford's letter of 15 June 1813 (included in Murray, *Letters* 34) advising him to continue *CHP* but to lessen Harold's 'habitual gloom' and avoid irreligion. (Andrew Nicholson in Murray, *Letters* 35, suggests that part of this advice eventually bore fruit when Byron resumed *CHP* in 1816.) 'I always regarded him as my literary father – and myself as his prodigal son,' Byron wrote to Murray from *Missolonghi on 25 February 1824 (*BLJ* xi.123).

Although their politics were very different, Byron seems to have been attracted to Gifford by his forthright contempt for *cant; in March 1817 he told Murray that Gifford, Thomas *Moore and Walter *Scott shared a lack of affectation and nonsense unusual among literary men (*BLJ* v.192). There may also have been a degree of fellow-feeling from Byron for Gifford since, like him, he suffered from a physical impairment.

Ginguené, Pierre Louis

(1748–1816)
French author. Byron was reading his *Histoire littéraire d'Italie* (1811–19) by March 1820 (*BLJ* vii.54) and supplies two extracts from it in his notes to the Preface in *Marino Faliero* (*CPW* iv.542–3). In January 1821 he regards Ginguené's work as valuable and entertaining (*BLJ* viii.41). It provided more detail than *Sismondi's comparative history of southern European literature.

Giraud, Nicolo

(*c*.1795?–?)
Youth who knew Byron at the Capuchin convent in *Athens in 1810–11. Giraud taught him Italian, swam with him and nursed him through a fever. They travelled together to *Malta on Byron's way back to England in 1811. Giraud was left £7000 in the will Byron drew up in August 1811 (*BLJ* ii.71) but later cancelled. The relationship probably included sex.

'Girl of Cadiz, The'

Song on the beauty and forthright passion of the 'dark-eyed Girl of *Cadiz'. It was written in August 1809 and first published in *1832*. At one stage it was intended for *CHP* I, where it was replaced by 'To Inez' (*CPW* ii.281).

Glenarvon *see* Lamb, Lady Caroline

Godwin, William

(1756–1836)
Author and political philosopher. He was Mary *Shelley's father and Claire *Clairmont's stepfather. In 1816 Byron, at the suggestion of Sir James Mackintosh and *Rogers, decided to give the needy Godwin £600 of the £1,050 offered by *Murray for *Siege* and *Parisina*. The idea foundered, however, on Murray's strong opposition. (*See BLJ* v.16–18.) In 1822 Byron agreed to subscribe £25 to a fund set up by Murray and others to help Godwin out of his latest financial crisis (*BLJ* x.18).

It is unclear whether Byron had read much of Godwin's work. In a letter to Byron of December 1816 Murray refers to *St Leon* (1799) as if he expects him to know it (Murray, *Letters* 180). In *CHP* IV.833 'Opinion an omnipotence' quotes *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Political Justice* (1793), I.x. (*CPW* ii.333).

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von

(1749–1832)
German poet. Byron first encountered Goethe's *Faust* through *Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813) and, in 1816, *Lewis's oral translation. *Faust* Part One was an influence on *Manfred* and *Deformed*. (For detailed discussion *see* Klapper [1974], pp. 63–86, 112–40). Byron also had some familiarity with *The Sorrows of Werther* (*see CPW* iii.28, v.296 – *Castlereagh as 'the Werther of Politics'; *DJ* XII.502, XIV.506; *BLJ* viii.78); Harold in *CHP* perhaps has some of Werther's *Weltschmerz*.

Byron wrote a dedication to Goethe (*CPW* iv.544–7) for *Marino Faliero* in October 1820 but decided against including it. (It praises Goethe in general terms but has more to say about English poets, satirizing *Wordsworth and *Southey.) Dedications to *Sardanapalus* – printed in the 1823 edition – and *Werner* (*see CPW* vi.690) followed. Goethe responded mostly favourably to

Byron's work, including *DJ*. The aspiring Euphorion, in a passage of *Faust* Part Two first published in 1827, in part figures Byron.
Further reading: Butler (1956).

Goldsmith, Oliver

(?1730–74)
Poet, playwright and novelist. Byron knew his work well, especially *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), to which he alludes frequently in his letters.

'Golice Macbane'

Ballad in honour of a Scottish warrior. It was written in August 1815 for John Clarke's *Twelve Vocal Pieces* (1817). Golice Macbane (or Gillies MacBean) was killed, after a heroic struggle, at the Battle of Culloden (1746), where he fought for Charles Edward Stuart, the 'Young Pretender'. Byron read about Macbane in a note to 'The Highland Widow's Lament' in the 'Jacobite Ballads, 1745' section of R. H. Cromek (ed.), *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song* (1810). He was predisposed towards the Jacobite cause by his opposition to modern members of the House of Hanover and because, as he explains in a note to 'Lachin Y Gair', many of his Gordon forebears had fought for the Young Pretender and 'were nearly allied by blood, as well as attachment, to the Stewarts' (*CPW* i.373). His more general nostalgia for *Scotland, and reading of *Scott, also played a part, and the theme of battle and defeat was no doubt in his mind in the months following *Waterloo.

Gothic literature

Loose description of works of menace, mystery and real or apparent supernatural involvement. They were usually set in the sixteenth or seventeenth century and were popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth. Among Byron's favourite Gothic tales were works by *Walpole, *Radcliffe, *Lewis and *Beckford. There is some similarity between villains like Schedoni in Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and the *Byronic hero. 'Augustus Darvell' is perhaps Byron's only fully 'Gothic' piece, but Gothic elements elsewhere include the 'furniture' of *Lara* e.g. I.181–200, 261–6, the 'Gothic Gallery' (I.i. opening stage direction) and tower (III.iv.) of *Manfred*, and the Gothic chamber, gallery and Black Friar of *DJ* XVI.
See also: **Polidori, Dr John William**; **Vampires**; ***Vampyre; a Tale, The***.

'Granta, A Medley'

Poem of 1806. It was included in *FP* and Byron's collections of 1807–08. It satirizes the *Cambridge college fellows' venality and dissipation and the undergraduates' pursuit of 'unprofitable knowledge' (36) or 'daring revels' (53).

Grattan, Henry

(1746–1820)
Irish parliamentarian. He opposed the union of the Irish and British parliaments in 1800; in the British Parliament, from 1805, he supported Roman *Catholic emancipation. Byron sympathized with his views and, in spite of his 'Harlequin delivery' (*BLJ* ix.27, 13), admired his speeches. Grattan's oratory and integrity are praised in *The Irish Avatar* 35–48.

Gray, May

(d.1825)
Byron's nurse, in succession to her sister Agnes. She travelled from *Aberdeen to *Newstead with the boy and his mother in 1798. She was, or appeared to be, a fervent Presbyterian. In 1799 John *Hanson, having received a complaint about her dissipation, asked Byron about her; he revealed that 'she was perpetually beating him' and out drinking with 'Chaise-boys' (*P* i.10n.). Later Hanson told *Hobhouse that 'a free girl used to come to bed with him [Byron] and play tricks with his person' (Marchand, *Biography* 57). This abuse is widely supposed to have complicated his attitude to women and sex and influenced his hatred of religious hypocrisy.

Gray, Thomas

(1716–71)
Poet. Byron quotes from or refers to Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard* (1751) – e.g. *BLJ* viii.50–1; *Prose* 109, 135, 143 – and *The Bard* (1757) – e.g. *BLJ* ii.211, iv.62, v.142. Gray's 'hypochondrianism' is among the misfortunes of poets listed in *BLJ* vi.85.

Greece

Country of particular importance to Byron. He travelled in *Albania and Greece between September 1809 and March 1810 and between July 1810 and

April 1811. During this period he visited or lived in places including *Yanina, Kastri (the village at the then unexcavated Delphi), *Athens, *Marathon and *Sounion. With the encouragment of the *London Greek Committee he came to *Cephalonia in August 1823 and to *Missolonghi in January 1824. He died there on 19 April 1824.

Byron was already familiar with such travellers' accounts as Sir William Gell's *Itinerary in Greece* (1808). A classical education guaranteed some familiarity with the sites, literature and ideas of ancient Greece. But in 1809 Greece was a particularly attractive destination because the Napoleonic wars and hegemony in western Europe had made it unusually difficult to reach the traditional goals of the Grand Tour in *France and *Italy. For roughly four hundred years Greece had been a province of the Ottoman Empire, which had long had the same kind of fascination for the west as had the Soviet Union in the twentieth century. Byron also hoped, probably, to be able to take advantage of the relative sexual freedom available to him in Greece. He seems to have engaged in homosexual activity mainly after *Hobhouse's return home in July 1810: *see BLJ* ii.23; and Minta (1998), pp. 147–56.

Byron and Hobhouse set off probably as much in the hope of seeing Turkish life and customs as Greek. But their encounter with the modern inhabitants and their language, then called Romaic, ignited a new interest. *CHP* II mourns 'Fair Greece! sad relic of departed worth!' (693) but delivers at the same time a detailed impression of the modern life of the country. Although ancient glories are given their due, the poem also dwells on 'lands scarce notic'd in historic tales' (409); the protest at Lord Elgin's removal of the marbles (*CHP* II.91–135 and *CPW* ii.190–2; *see* ***Curse of Minerva, The***) concerns contemporary Athens and contemporary Britain as much as ancient sculpture. The notes to *CHP* II provide a reasoned, moderate argument for a more generous attitude towards the Greeks and their future – perhaps they are not ready for independence, but 'they may be subjects without being slaves' and it seems 'rather hard to declare ... that the Greeks, because they are very bad, will never be better' (*CPW* ii.201). The French consul in Athens, Fauvel, tells him that because of the Greeks' depravity they 'do not deserve to be emancipated'; but the causes of the depravity 'can only be removed by the measures he reprobates' (*CPW* ii.200). Byron's list and examples of Romaic literature (*CPW* ii.212–17) add to the cumulative authority of the notes and appendix.

CHP II and its notes, *Giaour* and other *Oriental Tales, 'Maid of Athens, ere we part' and 'The Isles of Greece' (taken out of its context in *DJ* III.689–784) became 'the canonical texts of the Greek Revolution' (Roessel [2002], p. 8).

'January 22nd 1824. Messalonghi' later joined the canon. The Revolution, or *Greek War of Independence, began in March 1821. Byron considered becoming involved in September 1821 but wanted more definite information about the situation in Greece and was dissuaded by Teresa *Guiccioli's objections (*BLJ* viii.211, 214; cp. ix.198). In May 1823 he was still telling *Kinnaird that the main difficulty with his intention of aiding the Greeks was her desire either to go with him or to stop him going (*BLJ* x.178). It seems likely that Byron embraced the Greek project partly in order to escape from the demands of this relationship. Among other factors was the identification with Greece and the Greeks which had begun with his experiences in 1809–11; his interest had continued in poems with Greek settings including, most recently, the unnamed Cycladic island of *DJ* II–IV. Perhaps equally important was the failure of the *Carbonari movement in Italy, which encouraged him to seek a new theatre of political struggle. The flattering approaches of the *London Greek Committee helped tip the balance, although there was continued vacillation and doubt until he actually set out for Greece.

Uncertainty continued on Cephalonia about how best to support the rebels – and which of the rival groups. In *Missolonghi, with *Mavrokordatos, Byron spent his last months in a frustrating round of attempts to organize, control and allot money to rival factions both of Greeks and philhellenes. (He lent the deputies of the provisional Greek government £4,000 himself and was appointed as a commissioner for the *Greek loan.) Intended military action proved abortive. The problems are chronicled in Byron's letters of the period; he had abandoned the *Journal in Cephalonia* for a time because he 'could not help abusing the Greeks in it' (*BLJ* xi.29n.). Nevertheless he remained committed to the Greek cause. Unlike most philhellenes, he tried to remain true to the theory that 'Whoever goes into Greece at present should do it as Mrs. Fry [the prison reformer] went into Newgate – not in the expectation of meeting with any especial indication of existing probity – but in the hope that time and better treatment will reclaim the present burglarious and larcenous tendencies which have followed this General Gaol delivery' (*BLJ* xi.32). (*See also*: **'Present State of Greece, The'**.)

It is frequently felt that Byron achieved little during his months in Greece. His death, however, granted him a heroic status which was used to considerable philhellenic effect. It had an immediate and long-lasting impact on modern Greek literature, both demotic and academic. Byron was honoured in works including Andreas Kalvos's 'The Britannic Muse' (1826), the 'Lyrical Poem on the Death of Lord Byron' (1824–25) by the 'national poet' Dionysios Solomos, Alexandros Soutsos's *The Wanderer* (1838–39), and the biographical plays of Alekos Lidorikis (1934) and Manolis Skouloudis (1964). Beside the exaltation of Byron's sacrifice for Greece there was also some interest in his work. Translations included *Bride* and *Curse* (both 1837), *Siege* (1855), *Giaour* (1857) and *Manfred* (1864). The first Greek *Poems of Lord Byron*, translated by G. Politis, appeared in 1867–71.

In 'Pegasus' (1912), Kostis Palamas proclaims that only now does a Greek poet dare to mount in Byron's place. As is made clear in his lecture of 1924 on 'Byron-worship', he is calling not for a rejection of Byron but for a renewed Byron, modern and vernacular (Trayiannoudi [2004], pp. 431–3). To a greater extent than anywhere else, Byron has remained a hero. (A somewhat different approach is taken in Nikos Koundouros's film *Byron: The Ballad of a Demoniac* [1992], which Trayiannoudi [2004, p. 434] characterizes as 'a mythopoeic creation ... the tragedy of an anti-hero suffering from his own passions and agonies'.) Since the 1820s streets and childen have been named after him. The most famous statue is that of Byron and Greece in the Zappeion gardens in *Athens (1896).

Roessel (2002), pp. 72–97, considers the largely favourable treatment of Byron in Greece in western European and American literature. The strong presence of Byron and his death, Roessel argues, inhibited innovative writing about modern Greece until about 1920 (p. 5).
Further reading: Raizis (1979); St Clair (1972); Tsigakou (1987).

Greek Loan

Loan to assist the Greeks in the *Greek War of Independence. It was negotiated by the deputies Andreas Louriotis and Ioannis Orlandos and the *London Greek Committee in February 1824. Byron was appointed as one of the commissioners for the loan; the first instalment did not arrive until just after his death, but its expectation helped make Byron influential and much sought after in *Missolonghi. A total of £800,000 was promised, but after various deductions only £300,000 was available.

Greek War of Independence

War between Greeks and their Turkish overlords. It began in March 1821. Britain remained officially neutral, but Byron received useful advice in 1823 from Colonel Charles Napier, the British Resident on *Cephalonia. European philhellenes often returned disillusioned by the faction-ridden conduct of the war, but Byron's death for the cause of independence served as a new rallying-point.

The course of events was altered decisively by the unofficial intervention of the naval forces of the Great Powers (Britain, *France and *Russia) at Navarino in 1827. Hostilities ended in 1829 and peace was concluded in 1832.

Grey de Ruthyn, Henry Gould, Lord

(1780–1810)
Nobleman who leased *Newstead Abbey in 1803–08. Byron stayed with him there from November 1803 to January 1804, when he suddenly left and broke off all contact. It has usually been assumed that Byron rejected Grey's sexual advances. Possibly, however, 'Byron allowed himself to be seduced … and reacted with alarm only after the event' (*MacCarthy* 36).

Grillparzer, Franz

(1791–1872)
Austrian playwright. In January 1821 Byron read his 'superb and sublime' verse tragedy, *Sappho* (1818), in an Italian translation. 'Grillparzer is grand – antique – *not so simple* as the ancients, but very simple for a modern – too Madame de *Stael-*ish*, now and then – but altogether a great and goodly writer' (*BLJ* viii.25–6).

Guiccioli, Countess Teresa

(1798–1873)
Byron's 'last attachment' (Blessington, *Conversations* 48). She was the daughter of Count Ruggero *Gamba Ghiselli and the third wife of Count Alessandro Guiccioli (1761–1840). She first met Byron in March 1818 and their liaison began soon after their second encounter in April 1819. She obtained a separation from her husband in July 1820, was granted a further papal decree of separation in 1826 and remarried in 1847.

Byron stayed with Teresa Guiccioli much longer than with any other lover. He told her that she would be 'l'ultima mia Passione' (*BLJ* vi.110) and *Hobhouse that he was in love with her and 'tired of promiscuous concubinage' (*BLJ* vi.108). (In the later stages of their relationship Byron seems to have felt suffocated at times, but considered himself bound to stay loyal to her, having been the cause of her separation from her husband.) He was impressed by her knowledge of and enthusiasm for Italian poetry, and wrote *Prophecy* at her suggestion. To her he wrote 'To the Po. June 2nd 1819', 'I saw thee smile upon another' and 'Stanzas' ('Could Love forever'). She disliked

DJ, however (having read a French translation), and for a time in 1821–22 persuaded him to stop writing it.

After Byron's death the countess visited England (1832–33). She remained immensely proud of their connection, but maintained (implausibly) that their relationship had been platonic. She eventually published *Lord Byron jugé par les témoins de sa vie* (1868; English translation 1869) and wrote *Vie de Lord Byron en Italie* (unpublished until 1983), which present Byron as a quieter, kinder figure than many other versions of his life.
Further reading: Guiccioli (2005); Origo (1949).

H

Hancock, Charles

(1793–1858)
Merchant and banker based in *Cephalonia. He and his partner Samuel Barff (1793–1880), in Zante – now Zakynthos – were both philhellenes, supportive of Byron's mission to *Greece. They dealt with his finances in 1823–24 and received the *Greek Loan, for which he had been commissioner, soon after his death.

Hanson, John

(*c*.1760?–1841)
Byron's solicitor. Byron often found him dilatory, but felt bound to him and his family by ties of friendship going back to his childhood. After 1816, however, he entrusted his affairs, where possible, to the more efficient *Kinnaird.

Harlow, George *see* Byron, portraits of

'Harmodia'

Poem dated 8 September 1814. As a whole it was unpublished until 1905 but 'Sun of the Sleepless' in *HM* is a version of lines 11–18. 'Harmodia' is concerned with '"The things that were"', the inability of memory to do them justice, and the difficulty and delay of putting them into words. The poem may be a fragment of an intended longer work. If so, 'Harmodia' would conceivably have been the name of a character; or some connection with the Greek word *harmodios*, 'fitting', might have become apparent.

Harness, William

(1790–1869)
Friend of Byron at *Harrow. Byron was drawn to him partly because he too was lame. While at school Byron addressed a poem to him but it was

lost (*BLJ* i.156). Harness was ordained in 1812. He preached against *Cain* at St Martin's-in-the-Fields (*The Wrath of Cain*, 1822) but remembered Byron as a good friend. His 'Lord Byron' was included in *Personal Reminiscences by Barham, Harness, and Holder*, ed. R. H. Stoddard (1874).

'Harp the Monarch Minstrel Swept, The'

Song in *HM*. It was written probably in early 1815. The harp of King David, which 'softened men of iron mould' and 'wafted glory to our God', is silent now. According to *Nathan* 33 it was at his request – 'to help out the melody' – that Byron added the final lines 16–20 in which Devotion and Love 'Still bid the bursting spirit soar' as once did David's harp. *Moore's 'The Harp, that once, thro' Tara's halls' in *Irish Melodies* (1808) is an evident source or analogue.

Harrow

Byron attended Harrow school between April 1801 and August 1805. (He refused to return in September 1803 when he was in love with Mary *Chaworth, and stayed away until January 1804.) He admired the headmaster, Dr Joseph *Drury, but had a more difficult relationship with Dr Drury's son, Henry, initially his tutor. Later Byron was at first opposed to, and then reconciled with, the new head, Dr George *Butler.

Schoolfriends of Byron's own age included *Long, *Peel and Wildman (*see* **Newstead Abbey**). Among his younger friends or protegés were John Fitzgibbon, Earl of *Clare, *Delawarr, *Dorset, *Harness and *Wingfield. It is at least possible that it was at Harrow that Byron first gave 'some physical expression' to his homoerotic feelings (Crompton [1985], p. 82).

Byron recalled that he 'always *hated* Harrow till the last year and a half – but then I liked it' (*BLJ* ix.37). Towards the end of his school career he recited or performed on three Speech Days, as *Virgil's King Latinus (5 July 1804), Zanga in Young's *Revenge* (6 June 1805) and King Lear (4 July 1805). Elledge (2000) examines the role of the Speech Day performances in Byron's self-fashioning. They, and Harrow in general, became the object of much affectionate nostalgia.

See also: **Butler, Rev. Dr George**; **'Childish Recollections'**; **Cricket**; **'Lines Written Beneath an Elm, in the Churchyard of Harrow on the Hill'**; **'On a Distant View of the Village and School, of Harrow, on the Hill'**; **'On Revisiting Harrow'**.

Hatadje *see* Turkey

Hazlitt, William

(1778–1830)
Radical essayist and critic. Byron rarely mentions him. In a note intended to accompany *DJ* or *Mazeppa* (*CPW* v.682–3) he defends himself against Hazlitt's accusation, in *Lectures on the English Poets* (1818), that he supported *Napoleon only 'in the hour of his success' and then 'peevishly' vented his disappointment on him. Byron's answer is that he has always written 'what I think on the incredible antitheses of his character'. Of Hazlitt's work more generally he says, in the *Ravenna Journal* (*BLJ* viii.38) that he '*talks pimples* [partly a reference to Hazlitt's physical appearance] – a red and white corruption rising up…but containing nothing, and discharging nothing, except their own humours'. Nevertheless by September 1822 Byron, now involved with the radical *Hunt brothers, was apparently ready to countenance Hazlitt's contributing to *The *Liberal* (*BLJ* ix.216).

The nub of Hazlitt's criticism of Byron as a poet is that he is egotistical and self-absorbed. In Byron, by contrast with *Wordsworth, 'The imagination's associative process is not governed by the result of a grappling with the initial object but rather by the passions of the poet' (Houck [1982], p. 75). And he writes this way, not least, because he is a lord. *CHP* IV, for instance, is appropriately lordly in its contempt for human life, its 'high-sounding and supercilious verse' (*Yellow Dwarf*, 2 May 1818, *RR* v.2336). Many of Hazlitt's remarks are directed against Byron's cynicism: in *CHP* IV, according to the *Yellow Dwarf* piece, 'He is in despair, because he has nothing to complain of' (*RR* v.2336); in *DJ*, 'He hallows in order to desecrate; takes a pleasure in defacing the images of beauty his hands have wrought… [W]hen he is most serious and moral, he is only preparing to mortify the unsuspecting reader by putting a pitiful *hoax* upon him' (*The Spirit of the Age*, 1825). Houck (1982, pp. 81–2) presents evidence that Hazlitt later changed his mind about the value of *DJ*.

'Hear My Prayer'

Short poem, dated 10 October 1812. The 'sacred song' the speaker has just heard was once sung by 'one so dear' (1–2). Such is the resemblance, in look and tone, that 'It seemed as if for me alone/That *both* had been recalled from Heaven!' (7–8). In the manuscript from which the poem was first published in 1898, the title is 'Verses Addressed by Lord Byron in the Year 1812 to the Honble. Mrs. George Lamb' (Caroline [1786–1862], Lady Caroline *Lamb's sister-in-law). *CPW* iii.403 thinks that the earlier singer was Lady Caroline Lamb. But possibly, especially since it is implied that 'she' is dead, the reference is to John *Edleston, whose voice Byron admired and who, as a chorister, was often engaged in sacred song. It is also possible that the addressee was not Mrs Lamb but the attractive Italian opera-singer he told Lady *Melbourne about on 28 September 1812. He saw her 'sometimes' at the house of one of the few families he mixed with at the time in *Cheltenham, the Macleods (*BLJ* ii.217, 216) – where she is likely to have sung for the guests.

Heaven and Earth, a Mystery

Verse drama of October–November 1821. *Murray long hesitated over whether to risk publishing a work potentially, like *Cain*, open to charges of blasphemy. Eventually it appeared in *The *Liberal* on 1 January 1823. Its reception was, in the event, quite muted. Few periodicals reviewed it. The *Gentleman's Magazine* (January 1823) noted its 'mitigated immorality, when compared with former productions' (*RR* iii.1140).

Heaven and Earth is 'founded on' Genesis 6:1–2, where 'the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose' (*CPW* vi.346). Byron follows the early tradition (frowned on by the Church) that the 'sons of God' were fallen angels. It was an idea that had, according to Lady *Byron, 'struck him particularly' for some years; she said that his imagination dwelt obsessively on the idea that he was a fallen angel himself (*CPW* vi.683). The sisters Anah and Aholibamah, forsaking the men who love them, love the angels Azaziel and Samiasa. One of the men is Japhet, son of Noah. As the waters rise, Japhet fails in his desperate attempts to persuade his inflexible father (or the inflexible Jehovah behind him) to let Anah join them in the Ark.

Heaven and Earth is in some respects a continuation of *Cain*. It concerns the further consequences of the Fall and the fate of Cain's descendants. It explores the same sense of injustice – why must the divine programme be so rigid? In keeping with this inflexibility, Japhet feels himself to be the victim of inevitable, preordained salvation (as Raphael assures Noah at III.765). He will not be allowed to die with or for his beloved. The reasonableness of his questioning of God's will is underlined by the fact that he is not by nature a challenging, rebellious, Cain-like figure. (It is Aholibamah who praises 'strong Cain'; her 'haughty blood ... springs/From him who shed the first, and that a brother's!' [III.390, 398–9]). But to Noah, Japhet's prayer for divine compassion (III.704–11) is simply criminal and immature despair (712–13). Aholibamah's and Anah's desire to save their angel lovers from punishment counts for nothing. No more does the angels' willingness to sacrifice their 'celestial power' (III.721) to stay with the sisters and try to save them. Raphael, who tries to call the erring angels 'back to your fit sphere' (III.554), does seem to hesitate momentarily when confronted with a chorus of desperate '*Mortals, flying for refuge*' – 'I cannot, must not aid you' – but ''Tis decreed!' (805). Although one orthodox voice among the mortals accepts 'Blessed are the dead/Who die in the Lord!' (883–4), it is difficult to see this as much of an answer to the mother who has just asked Japhet to save her child: 'Why was he born?/What hath he done –/My unwean'd son –/To move Jehovah's wrath or scorn?' (836–9). Another fleeing woman prompts Japhet's final question 'Why, when all perish, why must I remain?' (929). Relentlessly, in the final stage direction, the Ark floats towards him as other mortals drown. Earlier (751) it was described by Noah as having 'wreckless sides'; the Ark is also, the play implies, 'reckless', uncaring.

Stylistically, the play is very different from *Cain*. Byron often refers to each work, as in their titles, as 'a Mystery'. But he also calls *Heaven and Earth* a 'lyrical drama' (*BLJ* ix.59) and 'a sort of Oratorio on a sacred subject' (*BLJ* ix.81). It is 'longer and more lyrical & Greek than I intended at first' (*BLJ* ix.59). He is strongly aware that the use of choruses is a departure from his practice in the other poetic dramas (except to some extent in the spirits and voices of *Manfred*). This may reflect *Shelley's practice in *Prometheus Unbound*. (Medwin, *Conversations* 156, has it, however, that Shelley objected to the metrical irregularity of Byron's choruses.) Corbett (1988), pp. 187–8, sees the play as more experimental than the other dramas, mixing Greek choruses with 'the prosody and poetic diction derived from Christian liturgy and the Bible' and anticipating the more considered innovations of *Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*.

The play finishes with 'End of Part First': 'there is a suspension of the action which may either close there without impropriety – or be continued in a way that I have in view'; if this first part 'don't succeed – it is better to stop there – than to go on in a fruitless experiment' (*BLJ* ix.59). The dramatic ending – the Flood in progress but the women's death suspended, Japhet alone on his rock but doomed to be rescued – is one perhaps likely to appeal to modern readers. Arguably any continuation would be unnecessary: the point about injustice has already been emphatically made. Nevertheless Medwin, *Conversations* 157–8, reports Byron telling him how Part Second might have developed. It would have shown the aerial travels of the angels

and the sisters until the former were 'called, and condemned', leaving the women to perish as the flood covers 'the only peak of the earth uncovered by water'. Japhet, in the Ark, again pleads with Noah. Aholibamah (rebellious to the last) 'scorns to pray either to God or Man' and plunges into the waves. Anah is swept away and drowned.
Further reading: Manning (1978); Sharkey (2006).

Hebrew Melodies

Collection of short lyric pieces or songs. They deal variously with Jewish exile, incidents from the biblical accounts of Saul and Belshazzar, love and death. Several, including 'She Walks in Beauty', were written before Byron started to work specifically for Isaac *Nathan's melodies in the autumn of 1814. Most were completed by April 1815. The first publication, by Nathan (*N1815)* in April 1815, was of 12 songs, with their musical settings, in expensive folio (£1 1s.). In May John *Murray, after some discussion with Byron and others about Nathan's copyright (Ashton [1972], 33–4), published the 25 pieces of *HM*, including Nathan's initial 12, in a cheaper format without the music. Again with music, *N1816* gathered most of these pieces. The fullest Nathan edition was *N1827–9*. Meanwhile Murray went on to reprint *HM* in *1815* and its successors. Mole (2002) argues that in so doing he was able to assimilate *HM* with poems which were more obviously commercially viable, less of a departure from the author's usual productions, 'minimizing their strangeness and making them seem like Byronic business as usual' (p. 29). Murray's separate *HM*, however, sold 6,000 copies (Ashton [1972], p. 213). Much later reports of massive sales of *N1815* seem improbable, especially since Nathan left London soon afterwards to escape his creditors (Mole [2002], pp. 30, 33n. 40).

The subject matter of *HM* is often viewed in the context of the period leading up to, and following, Byron's marriage to Annabella Milbanke (Lady *Byron) in January 1815. On 20 October 1814 he tells her about the *HM* scheme as one which will evidently interest her; 'it is odd enough that this should fall to my lot – who have been abused as an "infidel" ' (*BLJ* iv.220). One motivation for writing the poems, many of which concern biblical themes or incidents, was to impress her (and himself) with his much stated desire to 'reform' (e.g. *BLJ* iv.175, 178): 'Writing himself out of dissipation and into marriage' (Mole [2002], p. 22). Several pieces were composed during the honeymoon, and some survive in Lady Byron's copies. Accordingly, Mole suggests, 'typically Byronic concerns modulate into deeper keys': the theme of self-imposed exile 'turns into a meditation on Jewish Diaspora', and Harold's cynicism into 'the religious themes of *contemptus mundi* and *vanitas vanitatum*' (p. 23). Burwick and Douglass (1988) see a simpler continuity with earlier work in so far as 'Saul and David, joined by all persecuted Jewish people, become "Byronic heroes" ' (p. 15).

There has been some discussion of how far the biblical poems can be considered 'proto-Zionist' (e.g. Burwick and Douglass [1988], p. 24). Certainly such poems as 'In the Valley of Waters', 'The Wild Gazelle' and 'On Jordan's Banks' can be interpreted in this light. Nathan was persuaded of Byron's respect for the *Jews (*Nathan* 24, 76). But *HM* also fits into the wider vogue for 'national melodies'. Volumes of these included *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* (1793), with words by *Burns, Horace Twiss's *A Selection of Scottish Melodies* (1812), *Select Collection of Original Irish Airs* (1814) and, most popular, the *Irish Melodies* (1808–34) of Byron's friend Thomas *Moore. (Other works with an ethnic slant included *Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* [1802–03], William Herbert's *Select Icelandic Poetry* [1804] and the eastern or Greek lyrics and tales of *Southey and Byron.)

Ashton (1972), pp. 18–19, argues that Byron knew from Moore's example that 'lamentation for lost freedom' could serve as the vehicle for expressing his own 'personal melancholic sense of lost innocence and his nostalgia for what had been'. (Ashton associates the melancholy and nostalgia especially with the memory of *Edleston.) More generally, 'the tears he shed for fallen nationhood were shed for fallen man as well' (Ashton [1972], p. 75). For Shilstone (1988) *HM* is 'a discourse on the power of song' (p. 104), 'an almost Keatsian interlude of belief in the palliative nature of the poet's craft' (p. 112). This he sees as an aspect of the whole collection, which is more often examined as a series of disparate groups – directly biblical, more loosely so, not so at all; pieces about death; pieces about tyrants (Belshazzar, Saul, Herod, Sennacherib).

Reviews were on the whole unfavourable. One problem with the popularity of national melodies volumes was that Byron's 'Jewishness was generally seen as just another costume for the poet to try on' (Mole [2002], p. 26). There was also an element of anti-Semitism in many reviews. Some (for instance the *British Critic* for June 1815, *RR* i.257–61) protested that Byron was proselytizing for Judaism or blamed him for not writing in the accepted tradition of sacred Christian song. The *Christian Observer* for August 1815 complains that 'Oh! Weep for Those' 'rather ungracefully confound[s] the present state of the Jews with the Babylonish captivity' (*RR* ii.593). One of the more positive responses came from *Jeffrey in the **Edinburgh Review*, who briefly acknowledges the 'skill in versification, and…mastery in diction' (December 1816, *RR* ii.871). There was some pique from Moore at *HM* as a rival to *Irish Melodies* (*see* Ashton [1972], pp. 47–8).

During the later nineteenth and twentieth century 'She Walks in Beauty' and 'The Destruction of Sennacherib' remained well-known anthology pieces, separated from their original context. The rest of *HM* was less often read, and Nathan's settings largely forgotten, as on the whole was the fact that the text was intended to be sung. Burwick and Douglass (1988) have worked to remedy this by reprinting *N1827–9* in facsimile; on the nature and sources of Nathan's melodies, *see* pp. 10–14, 30–7, 40.

Heine, Heinrich

(1797–1856)
German poet. At 25, Heine says in *Gespräche* (1852), he was much possessed 'von der wilden Melancholie Byrons'. Both poets experienced melancholy and exile – or a sense of exile or separation from one's country. Heine translated Byron pieces, including 'Fare Thee Well!' and the opening scene of *Manfred*, and was sometimes called 'the German Byron'. There are echoes of *HM* in his own *Hebräische Melodie* (1851).

Hellenica Chronica

Greek newspaper. It was published in *Missolonghi between January 1824 and February 1826. It was established by *Stanhope and edited by Jean-Jacques *Meyer. Byron worried that such a publication 'might – and probably *would* lead to much mischief and misconstruction – unless under *some* restrictions' (*BLJ* 11.138).
See also: ***Telegrafo Greco***.

Hemans, Felicia

(1793–1835)
Poet. Byron liked some of her work (*BLJ* v.108) but found her (anonymous), *CHP*-inspired *Modern Greece* (1817) 'Good for nothing', her poetry more generally 'too stiltified, & apostrophic', and herself open to mockery as a bluestocking (*BLJ* v.262–3, vii.113, 182). Contemporary reviewers contrasted her feminine virtues and his scandalous propensities. In 'The Lost Pleiad' (1823), published in *The Forest Sanctuary and Other Poems* (1825), she meditates on Byron's fall from grace and popularity.
Further reading: Sweet and Taylor (n.d.).

‘Herod’s Lament for Mariamne’

Song in *HM*, written in January 1815. Herod laments that, when he had his wife executed, ‘My wrath but doom’d my own despair’ (11). The sources are Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* XV, and perhaps *Voltaire’s tragedy *Mariamne*. Byron’s Herod may be aimed at the Prince Regent, the future *George IV (Ashton [1972], p. 78). He ‘must dwell in the fallen world created by his jealous tyranny’ (Ashton [1972], p. 78).

Heroic couplet

Verse-form particularly associated with *Dryden and *Pope. Lines of iambic pentameter rhyme in couplets (aa, bb). Byron calls it ‘not the most difficult but perhaps the best adapted measure to our language’ (dedication to *Corsair*). He used it in poems including *EBSR*, *Corsair*, *Age* and *Island*.
Further reading: Wolfson (1997).

‘Hills of Annesley, bleak and barren’ *see* ‘Fragment Written Shortly After the Marriage of Miss Chaworth’

Hints from Horace

Horatian satire. It was written in *Athens in March 1811 and revised mainly in May–June. Publication was shelved when Byron suppressed *EBSR*. *Hints* again came close to publication in 1820–21. An uncorrected text was included in *1831*; the edition in *CPW* incorporates important revisions. ‘Hints’ occurs in the titles of many books of the period, offering, most often, practical or social advice.

The poem is an imitation of *Horace’s *Ars Poetic*a – Byron wanted the Latin text printed with his own – and of *Pope’s *An Essay on Criticism* and *Imitations of Horace*. It was his renewed interest in Pope which prompted his second attempt to publish *Hints*, ‘that Popean poem’, and his surprising opinion that it was better written than the poems he was writing in 1820 (*BLJ* vii.114, 179). Views on what is right and reasonable in poetry and drama are delivered, with contemporary references replacing ancient. As befits the calmer Horatian manner, such references are less tight-packed than in *EBSR*. The harshness of *Juvenal is approached only in the stanzas attacking *Jeffrey (*CPW* i.318–19), a late addition in 1811 which Byron soon decided to omit. Beaty (1985), pp. 50–9, feels that although too close adherence to Horace results in ‘a collection of desultory topics’, Byron successfully creates

a satiric personality; the 'casual style' of *Hints* prepared for 'the more relaxed, conversational approach that would characterize his mature art'.
Further reading: McGann (1976).

Hobhouse, John Cam (Lord Broughton)

(1786–1869)
Loyal friend of Byron. They met at Trinity College, *Cambridge, and travelled together in 1809–10. (Hobhouse's *A Journey Through Albania…to Constantinople* appeared in 1813.) Having been 'groomsman' at Byron's wedding, he supported him through the separation crisis, joined him in Switzerland in 1816, and was with him in *Italy until early 1818. His *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold* was published that year. The friendship survived Byron's mockery of Hobhouse's Radicalism – the 'New Song to the Tune of "Where hae ye been a'day"' – when Parliament had committed him to Newgate prison (December 1819–February 1820). (The poem had been sent to *Murray, who circulated it; a version had appeared in the *Morning Post* in April 1820.) There were further differences over Hobhouse's forthright (no longer extant) disapproval of *Cain* in November 1821 (Graham [1984], pp. 322–3, n. 1). He also disliked *DJ*.

Hobhouse was a founding member of the *London Greek Committee; Byron's preparations for and activities in Greece were the main subject of their correspondence in 1823–24. Hobhouse was deeply shocked by the death of his friend. As executor, he took charge of the funeral arrangements and argued strongly for the destruction of Byron's *Memoirs. His concern for Byron's posthumous reputation – and perhaps his jealousy of *Moore – continued in his refusal to supply information for Moore, *Life*, and indeed his opposition to all biographies of Byron. Some of his own memories were finally published in *Some Account of a Long Life* (1865) and in *Recollections of a Long Life*, edited by his daughter Lady Dorchester (1909–11). He was elected as Radical MP for Westminster in 1820 and campaigned for parliamentary reform. Later he became a cabinet minister and espoused more conservative views. He was created Baron Broughton de Gyfford in 1851.
Further reading: Cochran (2002); Graham (1984).

Hodgson, Francis

(1781–1852)
Cambridge friend of Byron. He was a fellow and resident tutor at King's College when he met Byron in 1807. Byron admired his translation of *Juvenal (1807) and praises his verse in *EBSR* 983 and note (*CPW* i.417). They

were close enough friends to discuss in detail their views on religion (*see* e.g. *BLJ* ii.88–9, 97–8); Hodgson strove unsuccessfully, by letter and in person, to persuade Byron of the truth of orthodox belief. In 1813 Byron gave him £1,000 to enable him to marry. Hodgson was ordained in 1814. He became Provost of Eton in 1840. His *Memoir* (1878) includes some Byron memories.

In *Childe Harold's Monitor; or Lines Occasioned by the Last Canto of 'Childe Harold', Including Hints to Other Contemporaries* (1818), Hodgson seeks to recall 'matchless Harold' and others from 'Gothic wildness' to neoclassical 'Taste and Reason' (pp. 8–9). *CHP* IV is full, unlike the earlier cantos or *Corsair*, of bad grammar and poor rhymes and diction (pp. 51, 56, 93–5). Byron read this poem, and Hodgson's *Saeculo Mastix, or the Lash of the Age we live in*, in 1821. He took issue (*BLJ* viii.115) with Hodgson's note on the corruption of young minds by recent poets' 'depraved heroes' (*Childe Harold's Monitor*, p. 90), but generally approved of the poems as 'all for **Pope*' (*BLJ* viii.112).

Holland, Elizabeth Vassall, Lady

(1771–1845)
Influential political hostess, wife of Lord *Holland. In *EBSR* 554–9 she allegedly rewrites 'each critique' in the **Edinburgh Review*. From 1812 she and Byron were on friendly terms, but she comes in for satire again as Lady Bluebottle in **Blues*.

Holland, Henry Vassall, Lord

(1773–1840)
Prominent *Whig politician. He was the nephew and political heir of Charles James Fox (*see* **'On the Death of Mr. Fox'**). In *EBSR* 519–21, 540–53, the **Edinburgh Review* critics are 'Holland's hirelings': banquets are spread at Holland House where 'Scotchmen feed, and Critics may carouse!' In 1812, after the two men had been introduced by *Rogers, Byron suppressed *EBSR* partly at Holland's request. He became involved, socially and, somewhat more marginally, politically, in Lord and Lady Holland's influential circle.
See also: **'Address, Spoken at the Opening of Drury-lane Theatre'**; ***Blues, The***; ***Frame Work Bill Speech***.

Homer

(*c*. ninth or eighth century BC)
'The martial Homer, Epic's prince' (**Hints* 639). In *DJ* VII.617–44, leading up to the sack of *Ismail, Byron contrasts the scale and savagery of modern

warfare with Homeric and talks of the impossibility of competing with the 'Greek gazette of that [Trojan] campaign' in *The Iliad*. Having 'Homeric' helmets made for his final Greek expedition was an optimistic attempt to inject some ancient heroism into modern fighting. Byron cared deeply about *The Iliad* and was angered at any suggestion that the tale of Troy was untrue. The 'blackguard' Jacob Bryant (*BLJ* viii.22) 'had impugned its veracity' in *Dissertation Concerning the War of Troy* (1796); cp. *DJ* IV.807–8.

Byron sought Homeric 'remembrances' in *Ithaca as well as *Troy (*BLJ* xi.18). *The Odyssey* was almost as important to him as *The Iliad*, as is particularly evident in *DJ* II–III. The singing of Demodocus in *Odyssey* VII is a source for the 'Isles of Greece' singer in *DJ* III.689–784 (*CPW* v.700), the Nausicaä episode in VI for Juan's arrival on Haidée's island, and the return of Odysseus or Ulysses in III–IV for that of Lambro – 'An honest gentleman at his return/May not have the good fortune of Ulysses…' (III.177–8). Kelsall (2007), p. 3, compares the situation in the epic more broadly to 'Byron's own portrayal of contemporary postwar Europe as a fractured culture blighted by the horrors of a confliict more than twenty-five years in duration (longer even than the Trojan War)'.

Byron was an enthusiast for *Pope's translation of Homer as well as the original (*Letter to John Murray* in *Prose* 147). *Cowper's rendering he regarded as unreadable.
Further reading: Almeida (1981).

Homosexuality *see* **Byron, George Gordon, Lord**

Hone, William

(1780–1842)
Radical publisher and journalist. His works include *Conrad, the Corsair; or, the Pirate's Isle. A Tale* (1817) – a prose version of *Corsai*r – and '*Don John, or Don Juan Unmasked*' (1819), where he attacks the existence of one law for the aristocratic poet and respectable publisher of *DJ* and another for less well-connected opposition authors. *Don Juan. Canto the Third* (1819) is a supposed continuation in which Juan becomes a radical journalist and newspaper-seller in London.

Hoppner, Richard Belgrave

(1786–1872)
British consul general in *Venice, 1814–25. He was intimate with Byron from 1817, leased him Villa i Cappuccini near Este, and made him his son's

godfather. Byron sent Hoppner a short poem 'On the Birth of John William Rizzo Hoppner' in a letter of 18 January 1818 (*CPW* iv.490–1). On several occasions from the summer of 1818 Allegra *Byron was left in the care of the consul and his wife Marie Isabelle (d.1869/70).
See also: **'E Nihilo Nihil; or an Epigram Bewitched'**.

Horace

(65–8 BC)
Q. Horatius Flaccus, Roman poet. Byron included a translation of *Odes* III.iii in *POVO* and wrote *Hints*, a modernization of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, in 1811. Like most educated men of his time, Byron often quotes Horatian tags in his letters; Horace was much studied in schools like *Harrow. In *CHP* IV Byron acknowledges him as lyric poet, deep moralist, prescriber of his art, and lively but gentle satirist (666, 689–93), but 'The drill'd dull lesson, forced down word by word/In my repugnant youth' (674–5) has damaged his capacity to appreciate Horace's verse.

Barton (1992) notes that in *DJ* 'Juvenalian passion and heightened rhetoric still take over when Byron becomes angry…but the dominant satiric tone, conversational, colloquial, moderate and wryly amused, is Horatian' (p. 21; cp. McGann [1976], p. 69).

Hours of Idleness, a Series of Poems, Original and Translated

Early collection of poems. Byron's first four volumes, including *HI*, are often grouped together because their contents overlap. The first, *FP*, was printed privately and anonymously by Samuel and John Ridge of Newark and began distribution in November 1806. It contains 38 items, with a preponderance of love poems or 'essays in gallantry in the manner of Thomas *Moore' (Marchand, *Portrait* 41), some classical translations and a few satirical pieces including 'On a Change of Masters, at a Great Public School' and 'Granta, a Medley'. The more erotic poems in *FP*, and evident or suspected references to local women, caused offence among elements of *Southwell society. Partly at the behest of Rev. John Thomas *Becher, Byron recalled and destroyed almost all copies of the volume; four survive.

The poems which Southwell apparently found most scandalous were the erotic 'To Mary' and 'To Caroline' ('You say you love, and yet your eye'). These and lines 17–40 of 'To Miss E.P.', which contain irreverent biblical references, were omitted in the revised collection, *POVO* (again anonymous, printed by Ridge of Newark in December 1806–January 1807). Among other changes 'To Julia' became 'To Lesbia' in an attempt to avoid the identification of Julia *Leacroft. Twelve new poems were added, including Byron's defence of *FP* ('Answer to Some Elegant Verses, Sent by a Friend to the Author') and further translations and love poems. The most substantial addition is 'Childish Recollections', contributing to a greater emphasis on relationships between males than in *FP*. Byron told John *Pigot that the new volume was '*vastly* correct, and miraculously *chaste*' (*BLJ* i. 103). Marchand, *Portrait* 42, notes that 'the artificiality of style did not give him a chance to display his already considerable talents for realism, incisiveness, and humour'. For McGann (*CPW* i.363) *POVO* is 'a little stuffy' and, like the two volumes which followed, pretentious.

Byron introduced more significant changes when he decided to place his poems before 'the Public at large' (*BLJ* i.112) as *HI*, published under Byron's name by Ridge in June 1807. The brief prefaces to *FP* and *POVO*, pleading the author's youth, are replaced (*CPW* i.32–4) by more extended excuses for, and expressions of lordly unconcern at, the quality of the work. 'These productions are the fruits of the lighter hours of a young man, who has lately completed his nineteenth year'; poetry is not his 'primary vocation' and he will probably never publish again. He lays much stress on his aristocratic credentials (as in the poems about *Newstead) while claiming to discount them. Seventeen poems from the earlier collections are omitted. There are fewer love poems ('my amatory pieces will be expunged,' Byron told *Bankes [*BLJ* i.112], '& others substituted') and more classical material, notably the longer version of 'The Episode of Nisus and Euryalus'. There are also more *Ossianic pieces ('Oscar of Alva' and 'The Death of Calmar and Orla') and the nostalgic 'Lachin Y Gair' and 'Song' ('When I rov'd, a young highlander') are added – probably in the long term the most popular poems in *HI*. The tone is more often serious now, frequently elegiac (or for Marchand, *Portrait* 44, 'imitative, sentimental, and mawkish'). The public are to be impressed at the range of classical and personal material. *HI* can be seen as a 'poetic *bildungsroman*' (Franklin [2000], p. 21) showing the formative role for the author of *Harrow, *Cambridge, friends and classical models. He writes 'to shape a sense of self, and to deploy the figura of the author as a source of authority' (p. 19).

Some reviewers of *HI* found this 'sense of self' objectionable, especially Henry *Brougham in the **Edinburgh Review* for January 1808 (a piece whose author, Byron believed, was *Jeffrey) and Hewson *Clarke in the *Satirist* for October 1807 and (reviewing *POT*) August 1808. Brougham picks out the obvious target of Byron's insistence on his youth and noble status. He finds *HI* derivative and dull. Where the translations and imitations are concerned, why print 'school exercises' (*RR* ii.834)? What a privilege it is, he sarcastically concludes, to have got so much from 'a man of this Lord's station' (*RR* ii.835). Clarke ridicules the title of the volume – the author has clearly spent a remarkable amount of time 'in *doing nothing*' – and objects to the treatment of Dr George *Butler in Byron's 'very childish recollections' (*RR* v.2102, 2104). Meanwhile the religiously oriented *Eclectic Review* (November 1807) reacts more as Southwell did to *FP*: it dislikes 'the prominence which is given to voluptuous themes and visions, and the licentious manner in which they are frequently celebrated' (*RR* ii.701).

It was the *Edinburgh* account which particularly infuriated Byron (Medwin, *Conversations* 142), mainly because he had expected the influential *Whig journal to treat a Whig lord more generously. His anger resulted in *EBSR*. But in *POT* (published by Ridge with much of the same material as *HI* in March 1808) Byron 'rid himself of the dilettante taint of the title' (Franklin [2000], p. 18) and dropped the preface which had made him such an easy target for hostile reviewers. The other most noticeable change was the omission of 'Childish Recollections' and the inclusion of 'To the Earl of [Clare]' and 'To the Duke of D[orset]'.

Further reading: *Cochran*.

House of Lords

Upper chamber of Parliament. Byron attended 48 times (*Prose* 278) between 1809 and 1816; more than half his attendances were in 1812. He spoke three times: *see Frame Work Bill Speech*, *Roman Catholic Claims Speech* and *Presentation of Major Cartwright's Petition*. In January 1816 he told Leigh *Hunt what 'a hopeless & lethargic den of dullness and drawling' the House was 'during a debate' (*BLJ* v.19; cp. vii.205).

Houson, Anne

(1791?–1821)

Young woman whom Byron knew in *Southwell. He was involved in a '*flirtation*' (*BLJ* i.104) with her in January 1807 and addressed several minor poems to her (*CPW* i.44–5, 187–91).

See also: '**To Miss H[ouson] an Ancient Virgin who tormented the Author to write something on her *sweet* self**'.

Howard, Hon. Frederick

(1785–1815)
Relation of Byron, killed at *Waterloo. He was the third son of the Earl of *Carlisle. Commemoration of Howard in *CHP* III.254–70 leads into a general account of grief for the fallen.

Hucknall Torkard

Nottinghamshire village, near *Newstead Abbey. Byron was buried in the church on 16 July 1824. Catherine Gordon *Byron and Ada *Byron, Countess Lovelace, are buried in the same vault.

Hunt, Henry ('Orator') *see* 'Peterloo Massacre'

Hunt, (James Henry) Leigh

(1784–1859)
Poet and essayist, editor of *The *Examiner* 1808–21. He was imprisoned in 1813–15 for his attack on the Prince Regent (later *George IV) in *The Examiner* in March 1812. Byron visited him several times in prison as a display of political solidarity with 'the wit in the dungeon' ('To Thomas Moore' ['Oh you, who in all names']). He also provided Hunt with books to help his composition of his poem *The Story of Rimini* and agreed to read and comment on it. Some of his detailed, mostly favourable remarks of 1815 on cantos II and III have survived (*Prose* 213–17). In October 1815 he told Hunt, politely, that the faults in Canto III were 'almost all *verbal*'; as in earlier cantos there is 'occasional quaintness – & obscurity – & a kind of harsh & yet colloquial compounding of epithets – as if to avoid saying common things in the common way' (*BLJ* iv.320). Hunt accepted a few of Byron's suggested alterations but, Byron told *Moore in 1818, defended his style as 'a system…or some such *cant' (*BLJ* vi.46). To Moore he revealed some of his true feelings, at least at this point, about Hunt the 'Cockney' poet: 'He is a good man, with some poetical elements in his chaos' but spoilt by his schooling and his journalistic experience and 'conceited' by prison 'into a martyr'; he is capable both of 'vulgar coxcombry' and 'vulgar phrases tortured into compound barbarisms' (*BLJ* vi.46). Class difference and bias continued to make the relationship between the poets difficult.

Byron had recommended *Rimini* to *Murray and it was published in 1816. (The familiar tone of Hunt's dedication, and especially its address to 'Byron' rather than 'Lord Byron', caused predictable outrage among conservative reviewers.) In *The Examiner*, later in 1816, Hunt defended Byron during the crisis following the failure of Byron's marriage ('Distressing Circumstances in High Life', 21 April) and addressed a verse epistle to him (28 April). (Medwin, *Conversations* 253–4, says that Byron remained grateful for Hunt's support 'When party feeling ran highest against' him.) On 29 July 1821 he published 'Sketches of the Living Poets. no. 2 – Lord Byron' in *The Examiner*. In 1821, when Hunt was having serious financial problems, Byron invited him, through P. B. *Shelley, to come to *Italy in order to collaborate on a new periodical. This became *The *Liberal*. Hunt, with his wife and six children, arrived in June 1822. The periodical was essentially Shelley's idea, and his death soon after Hunt's arrival was one element in its failure. Other factors included attacks in Britain on Leigh and John *Hunt as corrupting influences on Byron (*see* Eberle-Sinatra [2005], pp. 97–8), and Byron's own reluctance to associate too closely with Hunt. This was increased by the presence of the six noisy, destructive and 'not very tractable' children (*BLJ* x.13) living beneath Byron in Casa or Palazzo Lanfranchi in *Pisa in the summer of 1822.

Hunt gives his version of life with Byron in Pisa and *Genoa in 1822–23 in the hostile *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries* (1828). Partly motivated by class and politics (Eberle-Sinatra [2005], pp. 122–3) most reviewers reacted strongly against Hunt's book as ungrateful to his deceased patron and host. 'Hunt has behaved like a hyena to Byron whom he has dug up to girn and howl over him in the same breath,' Sir Walter *Scott wrote in February 1828 (Scott [1932–37], x.373–4). The criticism of Byron is moderated in Hunt's *Autobiography* (1850).

Hunt, John

(1775–1848)

Radical publisher. He was Leigh *Hunt's brother and, like him, was imprisoned from 1813 to 1815 for seditious libel, having published his remarks against the future *George IV in *The Examiner*. He went to prison again in 1821 following an article on parliamentary corruption. He brought out *The *Liberal* (1822–23) and was fined £100 for having published in it *VJ*. He began to publish the later cantos of *DJ* in July 1823. Byron approved of him as 'a stiff sturdy conscientious man' (*BLJ* x.69).

I

‘I Saw Thee Weep’

Song in *HM*, written probably in 1814. The subject’s weeping and smiling afford equal delight ‘as moments that portray the chiaroscuro complexity of her beauty’ (Burwick and Douglass [1988], p. 29). Tradition since *C* has associated the piece with Lady Frances *Webster.

Ibsen, Henrik

(1828–1906)
Norwegian playwright. The protagonists of his plays are sometimes seen as versions of, or reactions to, the *Byronic hero. Bjorn Tysdahl (2004) observes that one side of Peer in *Peer Gynt* (1867) is ‘a composite Byronic hero: wonderful teller of tales, social outcast, sexual hero, cynic and, in the last act, overcome by despair’ (p. 379). There are Byronic elements in the protagonists of some of Ibsen’s later plays, but ‘the right of the hero to pursue the heroic path is often questioned more ruthlessly’ (p. 380).

‘If That High World’

Song in *HM*, written in late 1814. Love survives death. The ‘Ifs’ of the first stanza might suggest unbelief (as noted in *Nathan* 5). Burwick and Douglass (1988) suggest that *Nathan therefore chooses, in his setting, ‘to accentuate the positive with a setting adapted from the Kaddish. Although sung as a mourner’s prayer, the Kaddish is a hymn praising God’ (p. 27).

‘Il Diavolo Inamorato’ *see* ‘Diavolo Inamorato, Il’

Illustrations of Byron’s work

Scenes and characters from Byron’s poems reached a wide audience through engravings and paintings. Thomas Stothard (1755–1834) was the first artist to provide illustrations: 12 plates engraved in 1814 and included in *1815*. *The Examiner* (20 August 1815) praised them for doing justice to the author’s characteristics: ‘passion, melancholy, a fondness for the mysterious, an intense feeling both of the painful and the voluptuous'. Stothard's pictures have regained some currency through their inclusion in *CPW* ii–iii. In Byron's lifetime, however, they were superseded by the illustrations engraved from drawings by Richard Westall (1765–1836). Westall's 21 plates were first issued in 1820. As Clubbe (2005) says, his 'compositions usually avoid action. Languishing maidens consort with weak-kneed males ... Westall liked to portray women [such as Medora and Kaled] suffering' (p. 44). The male protagonists frequently resemble the Byron of Westall's portrait. (*See* **Byron, portraits of**.) Many illustrators and painters – like many readers – would continue to cast Conrad, Harold and Juan as Byron. Byron himself was pleased with Westall's versions: his 'drawings for Juan are superb – the brush has beat the poetry' (*BLJ* vii.168).

Forty Illustrations of Lord Byron (1825), by George Cruikshank (1792–1878), was published both separately and with George Clinton's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lord Byron* (1825). A wide range of works is drawn on, including *Morgante* and *Island*. Uncontrolled by Byron or Murray, the illustrations often share the comic effects of Cruikshank's cartoons. The spiky figures are lively, entertaining and frequently theatrical. Manfred, a traveller in feathered hat, encounters the gesticulating 'Witch of the Torrent', and 'The Self Destruction of Sardanapalus' is full of grand gestures and swirling smoke. There are opportunities for comic caricature in Ben Bunting (*Island*), the desperate faces of the men Juan keeps from the drink (*DJ* II.275–88), and 'Souvaroff teaching his recruits to use the bayonet' (*DJ* VII.407).

The more sober illustrations for *1833* were also published separately by Murray as *Finden's Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord Byron* (1833–34). Relevant landscapes, sites, women and *Ali Pasha are engraved by Edward and William *Finden from the work of artists including *Turner, David Roberts and J. D. Harding. Here, as in *Finden's Byron Beauties: or, the Principal Female Characters in Lord Byron's Poems* (1836), suggestions of politics and active sexuality are on the whole avoided. 'The women's charm', says the 'Address' in *Beauties*, 'exists in their intensity of individual feeling.' The commentary on the first beauty, J. W. Wright's Zuleika, announces (somewhat defensively) that 'On the narrative of the Bride of Abydos the mind dwells with melancholy interest, unmingled with any feeling of reprehension, for the lovers were innocent' (1). Donna Julia's crime is 'palliated ... by the influence of national custom, climate and circumstance' (2) and results in pitiable suffering. Even in *Cain* an uncontroversial, sentimental scene is illustrated by E. Wood: Adah with hands happily clasped and hair drooping over her sleeping infant; 'Perplexed by metaphysical discussion, and saddened by sceptical deductions, the reader turns with pleasure to the contemplation of a scene so lovely, natural, and tangible' (11). Wherever possible there is sweetness and innocence. They are qualified only a little to make Gulbeyaz haughty and 'her frolic Grace – Fitz-Fulke' (*DJ* XVI.1032) amiably mischievous. Although contexts in the poems are mentioned in the commentaries, the clearly, cleanly executed pictures – without background or action – seem more isolated. Byron is successfully sanitized for a respectable, predominantly female, audience.

Illustrations to the Works of Lord Byron (1846), engraved by Charles Heath from artists including Westall, Fanny Corbaux, J. D. Harding and E. Corbould, relates picture to poem more directly by printing brief extracts opposite the relevant illustration. Scenes, places and characters are represented. A more ambitious undertaking was *The Illustrated Byron*, published by Henry Vizetelly in 1854 with 'upwards of two hundred engravings from original drawings by Kenny Meadows, Birket Foster, Hablot K. Brown ["Phiz"], Gustave Janet, and Edward Morin'. Although there are sometimes marked differences between the style of these artists, the large number of the illustrations allows them to contribute, as never before, to narrative and characterization. This is especially so for *Corsair* (which opens the volume with 13 illustrations) and the Haidée story and English cantos of *DJ*. Tensions and interest between Juan, Adeline and Aurora are wittily portrayed. There is much verve and humour – Donna Julia's maid Antonia hammering on the door (p. 153 – *DJ* I.1082–8), a huge, cat-like Catherine the Great (p. 279). A hypnotic, staring Minotti from *Siege* (p. 104) is among the more successful serious moments.

The tradition of mainly topographical illustrations for *CHP* continued in: *Thirty Illustrations of Childe Harold* (1855) by John Tenniel, Lake Price, E. Corbould and others; the Murray *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: a Romaunt* (1859), with engravings mainly from Percival Skelton; and the more loosely connected *Venice from Lord Byron's Childe Harold* (1878), drawn by Linley Sambourne. Ford Madox Brown worked on the poems more widely for the 'Moxon Byron' – *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, edited by W. M. Rossetti and published by Moxon in 1870. Brown also produced a number of Byron paintings, among them a *Manfred on the Jungfrau* (1840–41) and a *Prisoner of Chillon* (1843). Meisel (1988), pp. 593–5, contrasts the domestic, intimate effects achieved by Brown (particularly in his illustrations) and the much grander paintings by *Delacroix of the same scenes – a Moxon picture concentrating on the chained Jacopo embracing Marina in *Two Foscari* III.i., for instance, as against Delacroix's much larger court scene.

Painters had responded to Byron's work from the beginning. At the Royal Academy there were two *Corsair* paintings in 1814, responses to *CHP* in 1817, Sir William Napier's *Juan and Haidée* in 1821, *Mazeppa* and *Manfred* in 1822 (Altick [1985], p. 437). The *Byronic hero gave opportunities for dramatic gestures and moody mien in exotic settings. Manfred was painted often, as most famously by John Martin in 1826, about to leap into the abyss when the Chamois Hunter 'seizes and retains him with a sudden grasp' (*Manfred* I. ii.109 stage direction). (Martin's original oil-painting is lost, but his 1837 watercolour survives.) The other works most painted in the nineteenth century were *Corsair*, *Giaour*, *CHP*, *DJ* – usually Juan and Haidée or Donna Julia – and *Prisoner* (Altick [1985], pp. 441–2). Turner produced Byron-linked landscapes.

In the twentieth century both Byron and illustrated poets were less popular. Several of the pictorial Byrons were limited editions, for example, *CHP* (1931) with pictures by Sir Francis Cyril Rose printed in collotype, or *Manfred…Decorated by Frederick Carter* (1929). Rose and Carter do little to illuminate the poems; more focused are John Austen's 93 'illustrations and decorations' for *DJ* (1926). His stylized figures translate the poem to a recognizable 1920s, with enthusiastic dancing girls on Haidée's island (p. 98) and Haidée herself as a flapper (p. 64). She and other characters are very often, as earlier artists could not safely make them, naked. An aptly satirical tone is maintained; Austen particularly enjoys himself – and the poem – with absurd aristocrats like 'Poor Lord Augustus Fitz-Plantagenet' (p. 337 – *DJ* XIV.352). The pictures by Milton Glaser in *Asimov's Illustrated 'Don Juan'* (1972) attempt interestingly to capture the mixture and multiplicity of subjects and contexts.

'Imitations of Martial' *see* Martial

'Impromptu, in Reply to a Friend'

Short poem 'written…on being reproached for low spirits' (*BLJ* iii.123). The speaker's external gloom will soon sink, his thoughts returning to their dungeon, bleeding 'within their silent cell'. A corrected fair copy is dated 23 September 1813. First publication was in *CHP*(7). 'Impromptu' was probably written for Lady Frances *Webster.

'In the Valley of Waters' *see* 'By the Rivers of Babylon We Sat Down and Wept'

'Incantation, The' *see* ***Manfred, a Dramatic Poem***

Ioannina *see* Yanina

Ireland

Byron sympathized with Irish discontent at British rule. Lord Edward *Fitzgerald was one of his heroes. In the notes to *CHP* II Irish Catholics are compared to the Greeks, the Jews 'and such other cudgelled and heterodox people' (*CPW* ii.201) and in *DJ* VIII.1008 *George IV is obese while Ireland starves. Dedicating *Corsair* to *Moore, Byron refers to 'The wrongs of your own country, the magnificent and fiery spirit of her sons, the beauty and feeling of her daughters' (*CPW* iii.148; *see BLJ* iv.18 and n.).
Further reading: ***Roman Catholic Claims Speech***; ***Irish Avatar, The.***

Ireland, William Henry

(1777–1835)
Poet and Shakespeare forger. Byron reviewed his poem *Neglected Genius* in the *Monthly Review* lxx (February 1813). The review is a witty exposé of Ireland's inaccuracies and bad verse. His dedications are 'enough to kill the living' but his 'anticipated monodies ... must add considerably to the natural dread of death' in his patrons (*Prose* 19).

Irish Avatar, The

Angry satire on King *George IV's warm reception in Ireland in August 1821. 'Avatar' here means (ironically) 'Messiah' (*CPW* vi.602). Byron wrote the poem in September and it was published anonymously in Paris later in the year and then in *The Examiner* for 21 April 1822. To give 'George the Despised' (*Louis XVIII had been called by his supporters 'Louis le désiré') such a welcome is to betray the noble Irish tradition of resistance to oppression. *Moore's 'Lines on the Entry of the Austrians into Naples' (1821) was a possible inspiration (Vail [2001], pp. 72–3).

Irving, Washington

(1783–1859)
American author. Byron liked *The Sketch-Book*, by 'Geoffrey Crayon' (1820) (*BLJ* vii.200). He preferred *History of New York*, by 'Diedrich Knickerbocker' (1809) but its humour is 'too good and too dry for' public taste – 'it is

like [Samuel *Butler's] Hudibras in prose' (*BLJ* viii.53). Irving, who lived in Europe between 1815 and 1832, wrote about Byron and *Newstead in *Miscellanies no. II: Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey* (1835). He dwells on the abbey and gardens, their careful restoration by Wildman, Newstead ghost stories, and Mary *Chaworth. He also tells, at some length (pp. 254–90), the tale of Sophia Hyatt (d.1825), known as 'the White Lady', a deaf and almost blind Byron devotee wandering the vicinity and writing Byron-connected poems.

Islam

Religion encountered by Byron in *Greece and *Turkey. Muslim characters and customs feature in *CHP* II, most of the *Oriental Tales and *DJ* V–VIII. The case for Byron's sympathetic interest in and knowledge of Islam has been put by Blackstone (1974) and Sharafuddin (1994). In the list of his reading drawn up in 1807 Byron says that the 'Koran contains most sublime poetical passages far surpassing European poetry' (*Prose* 1). The note to *CHP* III.853, on the advantages of open-air eloquence and worship, includes a tribute to the 'simple and entire sincerity' of ordinary Muslim worshippers' repetition of 'their prescribed orisons and prayers' (*CPW* ii.311).

Cochran (2006), however, is sceptical of claims for the depth of Byron's Muslim understanding (while recognizing that it goes further than that of many of his western contemporaries). He believes (pp. 9–10) that Byron's knowledge of the Qur'an comes principally from the 'Preliminary Discourse' to George Sale's 1734 translation rather than from the translation itself. Byron used the 'positive qualities' of Islam mainly 'as a stick with which to beat Christian *cant' (p. 19).
Further reading: Oueijan (1999).

Island, or Christian and his Comrades, The

Verse tale set in the South Pacific. It was written in January and February 1823 and published by John *Hunt in June 1823. (Originally Byron intended it for *The *Liberal*.) The principal source is William Mariner's *Account* (ed. John Martin, 1817) of the paradisal, untroubled life of the inhabitants of Tonga. Byron's other main source, William Bligh's *Voyage…in His Majesty's Ship Bounty…Including the Narrative of the Mutiny* (1792), cites the friendliness of the inhabitants of Tahiti and 'the allurements of dissipation' (*CPW* vii.142) as the cause of his seamen's famous mutiny in 1789. *Island* includes a brief account of the mutiny and a loose version of its aftermath, in which mutineers led by Fletcher Christian die fighting the expedition sent to capture them. (In fact the expedition did not find Christian, who with some others had settled on Pitcairn Island.) The main focus of the poem, however, is on Torquil and his lover, the resourceful islander Neuha, who leads him to safety in a cave reachable only from under water. Torquil is based partly on midshipman George Stewart who, unlike him, was captured. He died when the ship taking him back to England was lost in 1791.

Interpretation has centred on Byron's remark to Leigh *Hunt that 'I have two things to avoid – the first that of running foul of my own "Corsair" and style – so as to produce repetition and monotony – and the other *not* to run counter to the reigning stupidity altogether – otherwise they will say that I am eulogizing *Mutiny*. – This must produce tameness in some degree' (*BLJ* x.90). He avoids evident eulogy of mutiny by treating Bligh sympathetically – indeed he uses Bligh's account as his only source for events on the *Bounty*; Christian and his mutineers' 'life was shame, their epitaph was guilt' (IV.270). The troubled, courageous Christian is not the straightforward champion of liberty he became in some traditions. As the equivalent of a *Byronic hero, however, he is allowed a sublimely defiant end. And final condemnation is headed off by the attack on those 'bullies of eternal pains' who take it upon themselves to judge the dead and doom them to hell (IV.353–6). Fulford (2003–04), p. 12, points out that this is probably aimed at *Southey 'who had doomed Byron to hell for his "Satanic" poetry in his *Vision of Judgement*'.

The heroic aspect of Christian might have produced 'repetition and monotony' but for the fact that he is a minor figure by comparison with Torquil. The lovers are granted their island idyll, spending much of the poem separate from the other characters and not suffering the consequences of mutiny. Neuha, free of 'civilized' conventional views on sex outside marriage and with no notion that women should be submissive, is largely responsible for this distancing. Franklin (1992), pp. 96–8, contrasts her with the more passive heroines of the earlier tales. (She shares her strength with Gulnare in *Corsair*, but is benign, joyous and no killer.) She is characterized by verbs of motion including 'springing' (III.183), 'grappled' (IV.46), 'plunged' (IV.388), 'bounding' (IV.392). The 'primitive' setting, of course, makes possible the poem's frank celebration of this 'infant of an infant world, as pure/From Nature' (II.127–8). More specifically, although it was on Tahiti (Otaheiti) that most of the renegades settled, Byron drew on Mariner's positive report on Tongan sexual morality as free but respectful compared with 'the infidelity and prostitution that were thought typical of Tahiti' (Fulford [2003–04], p. 9). The presentation of Neuha – for whom Torquil has mutinied – also implies support for the liberal views apparently denied when the mutiny was condemned.

In the safety of the cave or 'chapel of the Seas' a mitre, shrine and 'seeming crucifix' are simply effects of light and 'a little tinge of Phantasy' (IV.155–60). But the orthodoxies and constraints of the world cannot be left entirely behind. The Polynesians' 'unexploring navy, the canoe' (I.46), 'Goldless Age, where Gold disturbs no dreams' (I.216) and 'song – the harmony of times/Before the winds blew Europe o'er these climes' (II.65–6) imply their colonizing opposites. Even the final reference to 'such happy days/As only the yet infant world displays' (IV.419–20) hints at the existence of the developed adult world which threatens to destroy such delight. (In that world mutiny ends in death, not island joys.) A less serious threat or counterpoint to paradise comes with the pipe-smoking 'seaman in a savage masquerade' (II.463), Ben Bunting, and the humorous hymn to tobacco which precedes his entrance. Perhaps significantly, he addresses only Torquil, whom he must take temporarily back to the masculine or European world of the fight, and not Neuha. Yet the presence of an essentially comic figure can also be seen as apt in a tale so much less dark than its predecessors, a tale where Neuha laughs and claps in the safety of the cave (IV.118, 128).
Further reading: Beatty and Newey (1988).

'Isles of Greece, The'

Song in *DJ* (III.689–784). The 'sad trimmer' (649) poet who would sing such a song (688) is partly meant for *Southey, and the country where 'The heroic lay is tuneless now' is England as well as *Greece. Byron probably includes his own work in the indictment. Nevertheless the song is directed mainly at the present state of Greece, the sad contrast with the heroic past and the desire for revival. 'Thus sung, or would, or could, or should have sung,/The modern Greek' (III.785–6). The piece has often been included in anthologies.

Ismail

Fortified port on the Danube delta, now in Ukraine. The ferocious assault in which the Russians captured it from the Turks in 1790 is prepared for in *DJ* VII and described in VIII.

Istanbul *see* Constantinople

Italian *see* Languages, Byron's Knowledge of

'Italian Carnival, An'

Prose sketch by Byron, dated 6 February 1823. The description of the carnival, where 'Life becomes for a moment a drama without the fiction' (*Prose* 192–3), has some similarities with that in *Beppo*. Satire is aimed at travellers and the 'Masquerade' of Parliament.

Italy

Byron lived in Italy between October 1816 and July 1823. At this time the Italian peninsula was divided into various separate states. Lombardy and the Veneto were under Austrian control as, effectively, was Tuscany. The papal states, with their capital in *Rome, included Emilia and Romagna. The Kingdom of Naples had close contacts with the Church and the Austrians. Only Piedmont-Sardinia, including Turin and *Genoa, had any real independence. Within recent memory, however, much of Italy had been ruled by *Napoleon and his representatives, and there was some stirring of aspiration for a united, or at least a freer, country, as witnessed by the *Carbonari groups. (Most of Italy was eventually united in 1859–60, the rest by 1870.)

Byron spoke Italian well (*see* **Languages, Byron's knowledge of**), mingled in Italian society especially in *Milan, *Venice and *Ravenna, and engaged in a series of relationships with Italian women culminating in Teresa *Guiccioli. His work engages with such earlier writers as *Ariosto, *Berni, *Boccaccio, *Casti, *Dante, *Petrarch, *Pulci and *Tasso. Poems with an Italian setting or content include *Parisina* (written before he visited the country); *CHP* IV with its hymn to Italians' 'extraordinary capacity…the fire of their genius' and their longing for 'the immortality of independence' (*CPW* ii.123); *Lament*; *Prophecy*; *Beppo*; 'Venice. An Ode'; *Marino Faliero* and *Two Foscari*; 'To the Po'; and *Francesca*. There are many references to Italian life in *DJ*. Such works, with Byron's letters and journals, and particularly his accounts of Rome and Venice, strongly influenced the expectations of nineteenth-century readers and tourists.

In Italy early translations of the *Oriental Tales, *CHP* and a few other works were followed by Carlo Rusconi's complete prose translation of 1840–42 and the cheaper, often reprinted version of 1852–53 by Giuseppe Nicolini and others (Zuccato [2004], pp. 82–3). Byron was much discussed by Ludovico di Breme (1781–1820), *Pellico and their liberal circle in Milan; later in Tuscany Francesco Guerrrazzi (1804–73) propagated a very different 'Satanic' Byron

(Zuccato, pp. 91–2). After his death there was a general upsurge in biographical and fictional versions of his life and, particularly thanks to *Mazzini, he was often interpreted as a proto-Risorgimento hero.
See also: **Bologna**; **Donizetti, Gaetano**; **Ferrara; Florence**; **Foscolo, Ugo**; **Monti, Vincenzo**; **Pisa; Rossini, Gioacchino**; **Verdi, Giuseppe**; **Verona.**
Further reading: Bandiera and Saglia (2005); Cavaliero (2005); Iamartino (2004).

'Italy, or *not* Corinna'

Unfinished satirical prose sketch by Byron, written in 1820. Among the '100000 travellers who broke loose from Great Britain in all directions' after peace with *France are two young men, Amundeville and Clutterbuck. The aristocratic-sounding name Amundeville, used again in *DJ* XIII–XVII, probably refers to Byron himself and Clutterbuck to the similarly solid, English sound of *'Hobhouse'; Byron had signed 'To the Editor of the *British Review*' 'Wortley Clutterbuck'. In 1817 the real pair, like the fictional, visited Arquà.

The main satirical target of the sketch is William *Sotheby – 'Solemnboy' – who travelled in Italy in 1816–17 ('blundering through Italy without a word of the language', according to *BLJ* v.253) and published the poems of *Farewell to Italy* in 1818. The title alludes, as Nicholson in *Prose* 356 points out, both to Mme de *Staël's *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (1807) and to William Playfair's *France As It Is, Not Lady Morgan's France* (1819), an attack on Lady Morgan's *France* (1817).

Ithaca

Greek island, the kingdom of *Homer's Odysseus. It had been under British control since 1809. Byron visited Ithaca from *Cephalonia in mid-August 1823 and went to 'the places to which the remembrances of Ulysses [Odysseus] and his family are attached' (*BLJ* xi.18).

J

Jackson, John 'Gentleman'

(1769–1845)
Boxer, heavyweight champion 1795–1803. Byron, who knew Jackson by 1808 at latest, took lessons from him in London at the Pugilistic Club, Bond Street. They were still sparring in April 1814 (*BLJ* iv.91). The pupil was, he says, 'not a bad boxer – when I could keep my temper' (*BLJ* ix.12). Byron mentions Jackson in *Hints* 598 and commends his 'good humour, and athletic as well as mental accomplishments' in a note to *DJ* XI.145–52. Cecil Y. Lang in McGann (1985), p. 154, suggests that Johnson in *DJ* V.78–88 is an 'affectionate portrait' of Jackson.

Janina *see* Yanina

'January 22nd 1824. Messalonghi'

Poem traditionally known as 'On this day I complete my thirty sixth year'. *CPW* vii.150 notes that this is not the title but 'a brief explanatory head-note'. The poem was first published in the *Morning Chronicle* on 29 October 1824. A brief extract had already been published in the *Westminster Review* in July (p. 227).

According to Pietro *Gamba, Byron showed or read the poem to him, *Stanhope and others as 'something, which, I think, is better than what I usually write' (Gamba [1825], p. 125). The 'others' whom 'this heart ... hath ceased to move' refers above all, it is generally agreed, to Loukas *Chalandritsanos. Whether or not Gamba and Stanhope realized this is debatable. In the opinion of Crompton (1985), Byron 'half-lifted the mask' of his homosexual feelings (p. 322); the piece is 'too theatrical, a kind of literary counterpart to David's painting *The Oath of the Horatii*. But as a personal record of a man under an almost intolerable strain who is trying desperately to pull himself together', it has 'an inescapable poignancy' (p. 325).

CPW vii.151 suggests less personal sources in Greek klephtic songs, the patriotic song 'Britons, Strike Home!' and *Anacreon's first Ode, where the decision is for love over martial glory.

Jeffrey, Francis, Lord

(1773–1850)
Editor of the **Edinburgh Review* (1803–29), a prominent *Whig lawyer. (He became Lord Jeffrey in 1834.) Byron believed that he was the author of its unfavourable review (January 1808) of *HI* – in fact by *Brougham. Jeffrey therefore features in *EBSR* 438–539 as another Judge Jeffreys – the notorious hanging judge of 1685 – 'chieftain of the critic clan' (507) and participant in an abortive and allegedly farcical duel with Thomas *Moore. Jeffrey and the review are again attacked in lines omitted from *Hints* (printed in *CPW* as 'Lines Associated with *Hints from Horace*'). Subsequently Byron was pleased (e.g. *BLJ* iv.92, 156) with Jeffrey's mostly positive *Edinburgh* reviews of *CHP* I–II (February 1812), *Giaour* (July 1813), *Bride* and *Corsair* (April 1814), *CHP* III and *PCOP* (December 1816), *Manfred* (August 1817) and *Beppo* (February 1818). Jeffrey admired in these works versions of the 'singular freedom and boldness, both of thought and expression, and a great occasional force and felicity of diction' which he found in *CHP* I–II (*RR* ii.837). He also expressed concern, however, at the melancholy and misanthropy of the poems. Further doubts surface in his reviews after 1818 – *Marino Faliero* and *Prophecy* (July 1821), *Sardanapalus*, *Two Foscari* and *Cain*, with comments also on *DJ* (February 1822), and *Heaven and Earth* (February 1823). Adherence to the Unities in the dramas 'looks very like affectation' after so much 'unbridled license' in earlier works (February 1822, *RR* ii.923). Jeffrey dislikes *Cain* and the sudden drops into 'mockery at all things serious or sublime' in *DJ* (*RR* ii.937).

In spite of this changed estimation of the later works, Byron and Jeffrey continued essentially on good terms (but never met). *DJ* X.85–132 refers to Jeffrey's criticism of *DJ*, but remains determinedly cordial towards 'Dear Jeffrey, once my most redoubted foe' (122). Jane Stabler (2002a) argues the similarity of the views and the rhetoric of the two men. There were some close resemblances: like Byron, Stabler notes (p. 150), 'Jeffrey moved in and out of favour with *Holland House. He was a great talker, a dandy who walked with a limp, was subject to spells of melancholy and *ennui*.' They were gentlemen, liberals and 'partial sharers of a national [Scottish] identity' (Fry [2002], p. 125).

'Jephtha's Daughter'

Song in *HM*, written probably in late 1814. In Judges 11:30–40 Jephtha vows that if he defeats the Ammonites he will sacrifice whoever comes out of his house to meet him on his return. Byron expands the daughter's words accepting her fate (Judges 11:36) into a more joyous welcoming of the sacrifice for God, father and country. The *Eclectic Review* for July 1815 protested at the incongruity of setting such biblical subjects 'to the light measures of a love song' or what the *British Review* for August called this 'sort of jumping anapaest' (*RR* ii.731, i.427).

Jersey, Sarah Child-Villiers, Countess of

(1785–1867)
Fashionable *Whig hostess. She was daughter of the 10th Earl of Westmorland and wife of the 5th Earl of Jersey. She knew Byron during his London years, entertaining him at receptions there and in the country at Middleton Park. She supported him, continuing to receive him, during the separation scandal of 1816.
See also: **'Condolatory Address to Sarah, Countess of Jersey, on the Prince Regent's Returning Her Picture to Mrs. Mee'**; **'Fragment of an Epistle to Thomas Moore'**.

Jews

Byron's attitude to the Jews was mixed. In *Age* 674–705 he rails at the international role of Jewish moneylenders and in 'Magdalen' takes the then-conventional Christian view of Jews as authors of their own misfortunes. Yet he seems to have enjoyed cordial relations with *Nathan during their work on *HM*, which involved some close engagement with Jewish music and traditions. It is difficult to know how much, if at all, Nathan is exaggerating when he talks about Byron's warm sympathy for 'the realtered state of the Jews', wonder at the 'uncontaminated' continuity of 'the Jewish nation' and freedom from 'the prevalent prejudices' (*Nathan* 76, 24). His relationship with the composer was, of course, very different from that with moneylenders (on whom *see BLJ* ii.147, v.278; and *DJ* II.517–20). He had no qualms about praising the work of Isaac *D'Israeli.

Johnson, Samuel

(1709–84)
Dr Johnson: writer, talker and lexicographer. Byron had an easy familiarity with many of his works. In his letters and prose works he frequently quotes or refers to Johnson's essays, *The Lives of the English Poets*, *Rasselas*, *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. Byron also knew James Boswell's *Life of*

Samuel Johnson well. He saw Johnson as a pillar of eighteenth-century wisdom and good sense: 'that truly Great Man – whom it is … the present fashion to decry' together with *Pope and others of their school (*Some Observations*, in *Prose* 112). *The Vanity of Human Wishes* is a source for *Age*. It is 'a grand poem – and *so true*! … The lapse of ages *changes* all things … *except man himself*, who has always been, and always will be, an unlucky rascal', doomed to death and disappointed wishes (*BLJ* viii.19–20).

Jonson, Ben *see* Elizabethan and Jacobean drama

Journal in Cephalonia

Diary. Byron wrote entries for 28 and 30 September and 17 December 1823 and (in *Missolonghi) for 15 February 1824. (The lines beginning 'The Dead have been awakened – shall I sleep?', dated 19 June 1823, precede the entries. They express martial and heroic sentiments like those of 'January 22nd 1824. Messalonghi', 21–40) He writes about the difficulties of the political situation in *Greece and his uncertainty about how to proceed, his visit to *Ithaca, his convulsive fit on 15 February 1824 and, more meditatively, on 'the calm though cool serenity of a beautiful and transparent Moonlight – showing the Islands – the Mountains – the Sea – with a distant outline of the Morea traced between the double Azure of the waves and skies – [which] have quieted me enough to be able to write' (*BLJ* xi.33–4). Such observations by Byron are very rare amid the practical concerns and frustrations of Greece; he told Dr Henry Muir that he gave up the journal (temporarily at least) because he 'could not help abusing the Greeks in it' (*BLJ* xi.29n.). It was first published in *P*.

Journal of 1813–14

Journal kept between 14 November 1813 and 19 April 1814. It was published with omissions in Moore, *Life*; the manuscript is lost. The journal gives opinions of and anecdotes about *Napoleon, *Rogers, *Southey, *Sotheby, the champion boxer and publican Tom Cribb, Mary *Duff and early passion, Leigh *Hunt, 'Monk' *Lewis, *Sheridan, *Kean, 'your public and your *understood*' courtesans (*BLJ* iii.240) and many other people, encountered mainly in *London. There is discussion of the work and the overwhelming personal presence of Mme de *Staël. Byron draws his 'triangular "Gradus ad Parnassum"' of contemporaries, with Walter *Scott at the top; Rogers; *Moore and *Campbell; Southey, *Wordsworth and *Coleridge; and, at the base of the triangle, 'The Many' (220). He discusses diet, republicanism and his fame in *America, and says that 'To withdraw *myself* from *myself* (oh that cursed selfishness!)' is the motive for his 'scribbling' (225). He writes much about his involvement with literary and fashionable society, but he also remarks on the emptiness of parties, wonders what the purpose is of dandies, kings, fellows of colleges, women 'of a certain age' and himself (244). In one mood he wants to avoid society, 'a solitary hobgoblin' (246).

Perhaps most interesting is his account of the journal itself as 'a relief. When I am tired ... out comes this, and down goes every thing. But I can't read it over; – and God knows what contradictions it may contain. If I am sincere with myself (but I fear one lies more to one's self than to any one else), every page should confute, refute, and utterly abjure its predecessor' (233).

Finally, according to Byron, political disillusionment ends the diary. The fact 'That the Bourbons are restored!!!' will keep him 'from returning, like a dog, to the vomit of memory' (257).

Journals, Byron's *see* ***Alpine Journal***; ***Detached Thoughts***; ***Journal in Cephalonia***; ***Journal of 1813–14***; ***Ravenna Journal***

'Julian'

Fragment of a narrative poem, dated 12 December 1814. It was first published, with some alterations (*see CPW* iii.461), in *C*. McGann describes it as 'an unfinished tale of Byronic guilt and suffering' and 'largely a psychological projection, a dream narrative' (*CPW* iii.461). The first three stanzas look forward to 'Darkness' with their sober unfolding of misfortune for the boat overwhelmed in the night, the lone, despairing survivor and the 'sunless' isle. But in stanzas 4–6 Julian is revived by a mysterious stranger who speaks in the authoritative tones of Jesus in the Gospels: 'Look upon me and know thou shalt not die.' (He also has 'Strange power of healing' in his touch.) Images of light, awakening and spring replace the nightmare beginning. Fierce storm and shipwreck, followed by an encounter with a commanding being with apparently magical power, may recall *Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

Junius

Pseudonym of the author of published letters attacking *George III and his ministers in 1769–72. Junius gained a reputation as the defender of free speech. In *VJ* 585–668 he is one of the king's arraigners, changeable in form because of the long uncertainty about his identity. (As ‘nobody at all’ [640] he perhaps also represents ethical integrity, free of the purely personal.) Byron was aware, however, that Junius was probably Sir Philip Francis (1740–1818).

Juvenal

(*c.* AD 60–136)
Decimus Junius Juvenalis, Roman satirist. His robust invective – distinct from the milder satire identified with *Horace – influenced the tone of *EBSR* and *Age*. Byron esteemed, as well as the original, the translations by *Gifford (1802) and *Hodgson (1807) and *Johnson’s version of Juvenal’s Tenth Satire, *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (1749).
Further reading: Beaty (1985); Franklin (2000).

K

Kean, Edmund

(1787–1833)
Tragic actor. His appearances as Shylock and Richard III in 1814 brought him the same sort of adulation and immediate fame accorded to Byron and *CHP* I–II in 1812. Kean's original and energetic acting was widely contrasted with the statelier style of John Philip Kemble; Manning (1972–73), pp. 191–2, suggests a similarity with the 'discontinuous effects' of the *Oriental tales. Byron saw Kean as Richard III at *Drury Lane several times in 1814. In the performance of 19 February he found 'Life – nature – truth – without exaggeration or diminution. Kemble's Hamlet is perfect; – but Hamlet is not Nature. Richard is a man; and Kean is Richard' (*BLJ* iii.244). The same year (*BLJ* iv.115, 235) Byron saw Kean's Iago ('perfection' – 'particularly the last look. I…never saw an English countenance half so expressive') and Macbeth ('fine but unequal'). In January 1816, as he recalled it in 1819, he underwent 'the agony of reluctant tears…on seeing Kean's Sir Giles Overreach' in Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (*BLJ* vi.206.)

Byron first met Kean on 19 May 1814. On various occasions he gave him 50 guineas, a watch, a snuff-box and a Turkish sword (Manning [1972–73], pp. 189–90). When they dined together that October Byron reported to Lady *Melbourne that Kean is 'a wonderful compound – & excels in humour and mimicry' but 'in other respects – in private society – he appears diffident & of good address – on the stage he is all perfect in my eyes' (*BLJ* iv.212). According to *Nathan* 102 Byron was particularly amused, when they first met, by Kean's antics with 'the face and body of an opera dancer' painted 'upon the back part of his hand'.

By 1817, as a result of Kean's part in the failure of *Maturin's play *Manuel*, Byron was somewhat less taken with what he heard of his behaviour. In September 1821 Byron resisted requests to adapt *Marino Faliero* so that Kean could play the Doge (*BLJ* viii.208, 210). Nevertheless it is likely that memories of his playing style had some effect on the way Byron wrote his tragic characters. Manning (1972–73), pp. 197, 200–1, argues for the influence of both Kean's Richard III and his Richard II on Sardanapalus: the first on his gaiety and panache, the second on his unexpected heroism.

Kean's one appearance in a Byron-derived piece was in William Dimond's *The Bride of Abydos, a Tragick Play* (1818).

Keats, John

(1795–1821)
Poet. In 1814 Keats wrote the admiring sonnet 'To Lord Byron' ('Byron, how sweetly sad thy melody … '). Subsequently, however, he judged his work superficial: Byron 'describes what he sees – I describe what I imagine. Mine is the hardest task'; he 'cuts a figure – but he is not figurative' (letters to George and Georgiana Keats, 18 February and 18 September 1819). According to his friend Joseph Severn he was particularly angry, during his final voyage to Italy in 1820, about the shipwreck scenes in *DJ* II. Here Keats accused Byron of gloating and jeering 'over the most solemn & heart rending since [scenes] of human misery … [T]he tendency of Byrons [*sic*] poetry is based on a paltry originality, that of being new by making solemn things gay & gay things solemn' (Rollins [1948], ii.134–5). The absurd, self-indulgent Emperor Elfinan, in Keats's unfinished sarirical poem of 1819 *The Cap and Bells or, The Jealousies*, is partly Byron (as well as the future *George IV).

Byron's animosity for Keats is similarly strong. In *Some Observations* (*Prose* 113–17) he takes Keats to task for presuming to denigrate neoclassical poets in 'Sleep and Poetry', lines 181–206. Keats's attitude makes him clearly 'a tadpole of the lakes' (*Prose* 116) – a disciple of the Lake poets. More extreme characterizations of Keats's *Lamia* volume (1820), which Byron received in October 1820, occur in his letters to *Murray: 'Johnny Keats's *p-ss a bed* poetry'; 'his is the *Onanism* of Poetry'; 'such writing is a sort of mental masturbation' (*BLJ* vii.200, 217, 225). Ricks (1974) discusses these remarks as examples of intense, violent embarrassment (p. 85) and an indication of some of the differences between the poets. While Keats explores and expresses embarrassment, the 'limpidity and lucidity of Byron's style act as a *cordon sanitaire* against contagious embarrassment' (Ricks [1974], p. 83). Class bias is also involved, with Byron anxious to distance himself from the 'Cockney school' (Keats, *Hunt, *Hazlitt).

Byron's view of Keats moderated somewhat when, in April 1821, he heard of his death and, that summer, read his *Hyperion*. He was probably also influenced by a series of letters from P. B. *Shelley, discussing and defending Keats, and perhaps by Shelley's bold step of including Byron in *Adonais* as Keats's chief mourner. In November 1821 Byron added to *Some Observations* a note recording the poet's death as a result, supposedly, of John Wilson Croker's review of *Endymion* in the **Quarterly Review* 19 (April

1818); cp. '[John Keats] ('Who killed John Keats?') (*BLJ* viii.163). Byron's note continues 'My indignation at Mr. Keats's depreciation of *Pope – has hardly permitted me to do justice to his own Genius – which malgrè [*sic*] all the fantastic fopperies of his style – was undoubtedly of great promise. – His fragment of "Hyperion"...is as sublime as *Aeschylus. – He is a loss to our literature the more so – as he himself before his death is said to have been persuaded that he had not taken the right line, and was reforming his style upon the more Classical models of the language' (*Prose* 113). Later, in *DJ* XI.473–80, he reflects further on how Keats 'who was killed off by one critique,/Just as he really promised something great,/If not intelligible, – without Greek/Contrived to talk about the Gods of late,/Much as they might have been supposed to speak'. (Obviously there is still some condescension here.) William C. Keach (2001), pp. 211–12, suggests that Byron feels able to praise *Hyperion* because its Miltonic blank verse is more unlike his own than the *Spenserian stanzas of *The Eve of St Agnes*, the **ottava rima* of *Isabella* or the couplets of *Lamia*.

Keats's star rose as Byron's fell in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The precision, harmony, sensuousness and complexity of Keats won more frequent critical approval than Byron's more cumulative effects and more varying tone. His critical remarks on Keats seemed irreverent and offensive, to be contrasted with the intellectual seriousness of Keats's judgements rather than seen in the wider context of Byron's defence of neoclassicism.

Further reading: Dando (1990).

Kemble, John Philip *see* Kean, Edmund

Kennedy, Dr James

(*c*.1793–1827)

Army surgeon and evangelical Christian. He and Byron spent many hours discussing *religion at Argostoli in *Cephalonia in 1823, with Byron taking the line that he was no infidel but was sceptical about formal religion. Byron told Charles *Barry about the 'zealous Dr. Kennedy – a very good Calvinist – who has a taste for controversy and conversion – and thinks me so nearly a tolerable Christian that he is trying to make me a whole one' (*BLJ* xi.56). Neither man seems to have swayed the other's opinions, but they developed a mutual respect. Kennedy's *Conversations on Religion with Lord Byron* was published by his widow in 1830.

Kinnaird, Hon. Douglas

(1788–1830)
Banker, friend and literary executor of Byron. They met at Trinity College, *Cambridge. Kinnaird persuaded Byron to write much of *HM* for Isaac *Nathan in autumn 1814, to join him in the sub-committee of management of *Drury Lane Theatre in May 1815, and to write the 'Monody' on *Sheridan in July 1816. After 1816 Byron relied on Kinnaird as his principal business adviser and agent. He also used him as a literary intermediary with *Murray, sending him the manuscripts of poems, including several cantos of *DJ*.

Kinnaird was returned as a radical MP in 1819–20. His loyalties in literature, theatre and politics are indicated in his portrait by an unknown artist (illustration 35 in Marchand, *Biography*; 34 in *MacCarthy*.) He is shown with pictures of Byron and of *Kean as Richard III, a bust of *Napoleon, and an open copy of Byron's *Parisina*.

Knight, G[eorge] Wilson

(1897–1985)
Critic, most famous for his writings on *Shakespeare. His 'The Two Eternities: An Essay on Byron', in *The Burning Oracle* (1939), is characterized by Foot (1988), p. 112n., as 'a magnificent piece of Byronic rhetoric about Byron himself ... [F]or sheer exultation in Byronic glory and excitement Knight is still hard to beat.' Knight's later idiosyncratic but powerful accounts include *Lord Byron: Christian Virtues* (1952), *Lord Byron's Marriage: The Evidence of Asterisks* (1957) and *Byron and Shakespeare* (1966).

L

La Mira *see* **Foscarini, Villa**

‘Lachin Y Gair’

Poem of loyalty to *Scotland. It was written in 1807 and published in *HI* and *POT.* The dark, snow-topped mountain of ‘LACHIN Y GAIR, or as it is pronounced in the Erse, LOCH NA GARR’ (*CPW* i. 103), is to be preferred to ‘gay landscapes’ and ‘gardens of roses’. (Byron visited the area as a child, in 1795 or 1796.) Byron’s ancestors dwell, in *Ossianic fashion, in ‘the tempests of dark Loch na Garr’, which gives him the opportunity to introduce a note on his noble Gordon ancestors, their Jacobite service and their descent from King James I of Scotland (*CPW* i.373). An evident model for the poem is the ballad ‘Exile of Erin’, attributed to *Campbell, with its ‘land of my forefathers, Erin-go-Bragh’. As in ‘Oscar of Alva’ Byron wrongly thinks ‘the Pibroch’ is the bagpipe itself, not its music.

As ‘Dark Lochnagar’ the poem became a popular Scottish song and pipe tune.

Lamartine, Alphonse de

(1790–1869)
French poet. He addressed ‘L’Homme’ (*Méditations poétiques*, 1820) to Byron as an exciting and disturbing ‘Esprit mystérieux, mortel, ange ou démon’ (‘which I call very uncivil, for a well-bred Frenchman, and moreover one of the craft,’ said Byron, according to Blessington, *Conversations* 191). *Dernier chant du pèlerinage d’Harold* (1825) is a sequel to *CHP* in which Harold/Byron goes to Greece, where his salvation remains uncertain. Lamartine also wrote a life of Byron (1865) based partly on material supplied by Teresa *Guiccioli.

Lamartine responded to the melancholy and heroic Byron; in his *Cours familier de littérature* (1856) he expressed disapproval of most aspects of *DJ* – a blasphemous, cynical, vulgar work written in reaction to the humiliation of the club-foot.

Lamb, Lady Caroline

(1785–1828)
Byron's lover from March 1812. She was the wife of Hon. William Lamb (1779–1848), later Viscount Melbourne. The first time she saw Byron she famously described him in her journal as 'mad – bad – and dangerous to know', a phrase which has often been felt to apply equally well to herself. He ended their tempestuous affair with some difficulty in August 1812, but she effectively refused to accept the situation. In December 1812 she ceremonially burned his effigy and copies of his letters and in July 1813, at a ball, seemed to threaten to stab herself in his presence. (She was probably, in modern terms, a manic or bipolar depressive.) In March 1816 she told Lady *Byron about his (alleged) confessions to her of incest and homosexuality (Moore [1961], pp. 240–4).

The relationship between the lovers has been a common subject of attention in biographies and fiction. It was the main focus of Robert Bolt's film *Lady Caroline Lamb* (1972). A traditional subject for speculation is how far Lamb's androgynous appearance and passion for dressing as a boy appealed to – or was designed to appeal to – Byron's sexual preferences. (It can also be seen, perhaps more interestingly, as part of the lovers' mutual break with conventional distinctions of gender.) Critical writing has looked increasingly at the literary relationship between the two. In Caroline Lamb's novel *Glenarvon* (1816) the vampire-like Glenarvon combines features of Byron and the *Byronic hero. She parodied *DJ* in *A New Canto* (1819) and *Gordon: a Tale* (1821). The eponymous character in her novel *Ada Reis* (1823) is a Byronic corsair – male in this case but no doubt echoing the name of Byron's daughter. On the other side *Glenarvon* was possibly an influence on the presentation of society in the English cantos of *DJ*.

Byron wrote for Caroline Lamb 'Yet fain would I resist the spell', at an early stage of their relationship, and 'Go – triumph securely' after their break-up later in 1812.
Further reading: Douglass (2004); Graham (1990); Normington (2001).

Lamb, Charles

(1775–1834)
Essayist and poet. He achieves minor insulting mention as a follower of *Wordsworth and *Southey in *EBSR* 906 and note. Later Byron intended a recommendation of his 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare, Considered with

Reference to their Fitness for Stage-Representation' (1811) for the preface to **Werner* (*CPW* vi.714). At some point in 1821–22 (Medwin, *Conversations* 139, 140) he read Lamb's *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets Who Lived About the Time of Shakespeare* (1808).

Lamb, Viscountess Elizabeth *see* Melbourne, Elizabeth Lamb, Viscountess

Lament of Tasso, The

Poem written rapidly in April 1817 and published in July. There were three further editions by the end of the year. *Tasso, imprisoned for (according to legend) daring to love Leonora d'Este, sister of Alfonso II of *Ferrara, laments the 'Long years of outrage, calumny, and wrong;/Imputed madness' (3–4) and confinement. But his prison will become a 'consecrated spot' (240) when Alfonso's Ferrara is ruined or forgotten. Leonora will in the end be united with Tasso because 'No power in death can tear our names apart'; 'it shall be our fate/To be entwined for ever – but too late!' (244–7).

Byron had visited 'Tasso's cell' at the hospital of Sant' Anna probably on 17 April. A sober headnote describing a 'much decayed, and depopulated' Ferrara confirms Tasso's prophecy and counterpoints the intensity of the monologue.

The poem has clear autobiographical relevance. Byron in 1817 saw himself as the noble victim of injustice, one whose enemies 'have debased me in the minds of men,/Debarring me the usage of my own,/Blighting my life in best of its career,/Branding my thoughts as things to shun and fear' (96–9). Tasso was already established as the type of the suffering poet, persecuted but triumphant in his art. (The Leonora legend was widely disseminated. No specific source for *Lament* is known, although the general influence of Tasso's own shorter *Rime* bas been suggested.) The theme of forbidden love has inevitably been read as resonating with Byron's love for Augusta *Leigh and with his earlier treatments of such relationships including *Parisina* (also set in Ferrara, as mentioned in the Advertisement.)

William St Clair (1990), p. 8, argues that *Lament* greatly outsold its predecessor *PCOP* because it is about hopeless love while the apparently similar *Prisoner* is about prison or oppression. It is also 'an overtly Christian work, a point of great importance to many readers of the upper income groups during the anti-jacobin years'.

Further reading: Brand (1965).

Languages, Byron's knowledge of

Byron was a fairly proficient linguist. In 1821, in *Detached Thoughts* (*BLJ* ix.31), he noted that the languages he knew, 'even the classical (Greek and Latin in the usual proportion of a sixth form boy) and a smattering of modern Greek – the *Armenian & Arabic Alphabets – a few Turkish & Albanian phrases, oaths, or requests – Italian tolerably – Spanish less than tolerably – French to read with ease – but speak with difficulty – or rather not at all – all have been acquired by ear or eye – & never by anything like Study'. Of German he knew 'absolutely nothing, – except oaths learned from postillions and officers in a squabble'; he relied on English, French or Italian translations (*BLJ* viii.25–6).

Italian (followed, perhaps, by Romaic or Modern Greek) was clearly the foreign language he came to speak and understand most fluently, particularly from 1816 when he lived in *Italy. (He had begun to learn it with Nicolo *Giraud in *Athens in 1810; but 'no tongue so easy to acquire a little of, or so difficult to master throroughly' [*Prose* 220].) As well as Tuscan Italian he was fairly familiar with Venetian (*BLJ* ix.19) and at least aware, in *Ravenna, of 'Romagnuole' (*BLJ* viii.18, 39).

Lara. A Tale

Verse tale. It is usually regarded as part of the *Oriental Tales group. Byron wrote the first draft between 15 May and 12 June 1814. The fair copy was made between 14 and 23 June and the poem was published anonymously, with Samuel *Rogers's *Jacqueline: a Tale,* soon after 5 August. Three editions of the two poems in 1814 sold about 7,000 copies and were followed by a fourth, of about 3,000, of *Lara* alone and under Byron's name. There is no known source for the main plot, in which Lara returns home after mysterious adventures, becomes involved in feuds with Ezzelin and Otho, and dies in the arms of his loyal page Kaled, who is now finally revealed as a woman. For the general setting and the civil strife of Canto II sources include *Sismondi's and other histories, Guicciardini's perhaps among them (*CPW* iii.452; *BLJ* iv.161). Byron notes that the description of Ezzelin's fate at II.550–95 'was suggested by the ... burial of the Duke of Gandia' in William Roscoe's *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth* (1805).

The Advertisement published with the first three editions (*CPW* iii.453) suggests that the reader 'may probably regard' *Lara* 'as a sequel to a poem that recently appeared', evidently *Corsair.* Some readers (and successive editions of the *Oxford Companion to English Literature*) have taken it literally as a sequel, with Lara simply a continuation of Conrad and Kaled as Gulnare (but unrecognized by Lara). Accordingly his unspecified past crime has been interpreted as disloyalty to Medora. It is a sequel more clearly in terms of what the Advertisement calls 'the cast of the hero's character, the turn of his adventures, and the general outline and colouring of the story'. Lara has the characteristics of the *Byronic hero (I.11–154, 267–382) but one who has reached a stage beyond Conrad's: 'Woman' was part of the youthful dream of 'escape from thought' from which he has awoken (I.117–30). (But there is still [I.303–4] 'softness too in his regard,/At times, a heart as not by nature hard'.) The politics of the poem also seem to have moved on somewhat: the suggestions of a feudal, western European setting makes the freed serfs 'Who dig no land for tyrants but their graves!' (II.219) sound more radical than the pirates of *Corsair*. But Lara's motives for freeing and leading his serfs remain more personal than political and those who 'smote for freedom or for sway' (II.276) are regarded as no better than each other.

Kaled has been compared or identified with Gulnare because they are both active heroines (unlike the passive Medora, Leila in *Giaour* or Zuleika in *Bride*). Possibly it is she who murders Ezzelin. Certainly, as Franklin (1992), pp. 86–7, notices, she takes on some traditionally masculine characteristics, including stoic concealment of her love, participation in battle and rejection of religion (II.484–5). But she is less likely to shock than Gulnare because 'The strength and independence of female passion are no longer to be feared when put to the service of the "feminine" virtue of selfless devotion' (Franklin [1992], p. 86). Another aspect of the relationship beween Kaled and Lara is its possible homosexual overtones. The 'climes afar' (I.512) of their past together are generally assumed to be the eastern Mediterranean on the basis of Lara's pointing east at II.467, Kaled's Arab name and the setting of *Corsair*. Events happened there which – like Byron's relationships with boys in *Greece, perhaps – cannot be spoken of. Just as homosexuals of the time had their code-words, only Kaled understands 'that other tongue' of Lara's dying words (II.442–7). The two seem 'To share between themselves some separate fate,/Whose darkness none beside should penetrate' (II.452–3) and there is much else in the poem about secrets that cannot or will not be revealed. Finally Lara never knows that Kaled is a woman – we never hear her real name – and the reader, although there are some fairly broad hints, finds out only at II.512–19. Another secret relationship which was on Byron's mind at the time was the one with Augusta *Leigh, whose name, in 'Opening Lines to *Lara*' (first published 1905; *CPW* iii.256–7) is 'too dearly cherished to impart'.

Lara has been generally less popular than the other tales, mainly for the reasons given in the *British Critic* for October 1814, which regrets 'that so much good versification has been thrown away upon a tale without action, a deed without a name, and a character from its frequent repetition, now wholly devoid of interest' (*RR* i.255). The relative vagueness of the setting – fixed by 'no circumstance of local or national description' (note to I.1) – contrasts with the earlier carefully realized oriental contexts. Gothic interiors dominate and the sea for once is absent. The unresolved mysteries of Lara's past, the Gothic, apparently ghostly visitation of I.203–10, and the death of Ezzelin, remain puzzling. Probably Byron had in mind this failure to specify, to reduce a situation to simply explicable cause and effect, when he said that *Lara* was 'too metaphysical to please the greater number of readers' (*BLJ* iv.295). Manning (1978) reads the mysteries of Lara's past more psychologically: 'the actions he has committed but never fully understood return in the guise of a double. Ezzelin's accusations are self-reproaches externalized… [H]e is the self Lara's conscious mind has repressed' (p. 53). A similar process is perhaps at work in Kaled's final collapse. She cannot leave the spot where he died because to do so would be to admit the loss of her defining role, her own identity.

'Last Words on Greece'

Familiar title of 'What are to me those honours or renown', probably Byron's last poem. It was written some time between late February and 9 April 1824 and first published in *Murray's Magazine* in 1887.

Like 'Love and Death', which is preserved in the same manuscript, the poem alludes to Byron's unrequited love for Loukas *Chalandritsanos. For all the honour and renown of the Greek cause 'I am the fool of passion.' Crompton (1985) compares the intimate tone of the poem with Shakespeare's sonnets; its rhyme and movement suggest 'a kind of truncated sonnet' (p. 327). Jane Stabler (2004) observes that 'The a b a b rhyme relentlessly exposes the unanswered nature of Byron's desire and the pathetic image of a bird helpless before a snake threatens a collapse into self-pity before the wry alternative perspective of the last line' (p. 282).

Leacroft, Julia

(*fl.* 1804–07)

Young woman known to Byron in *Southwell. They were involved in amateur dramatics together and 'To Lesbia' (in *FP* as 'To Julia'; *POVO*) is addressed to her. According to *Hobhouse (Marchand, *Biography* i.124) her family 'winked at an intercourse between' them 'in hopes of entangling him in an unequal marriage'. In January 1807 Byron nearly fought a duel with Leacroft's brother. Byron told *Long that 'the *Brother*... finding I preferred *Fighting* to *Matrimony* & knowing at the same Time I was a decent shot... the affair ended' (*BLJ* xiii.3; cp. i.104–6).

Leigh, Hon. Augusta

(1783–1851)
Byron's half-sister and lover. She was the daughter of Captain John ('Mad Jack') *Byron and his first wife Amelia, Baroness Conyers (1754–84), and from 1807 the wife of Colonel George Leigh. She did not meet her brother until 1803. Their sexual relationship began soon after they met again in 1813 and almost certainly ended in the autumn of 1814, just before his marriage. When the newly married couple were with Augusta Leigh, Byron behaved slightingly to Lady *Byron and made clear his preference for his sister. This later contributed to Lady Byron's suspicion that the relationship was incestuous; in March 1816 Lady Caroline *Lamb claimed to her that Byron had admitted as much (Moore [1961], pp. 240–4). After the separation Lady Byron worked to persuade Augusta Leigh to confess and to break off or limit her contact with Byron. Meanwhile, in exile, Byron continued to express undying devotion for his sister (e.g. *BLJ* vi.129–30), although he was frustrated that having been 'frightened... with all sorts of hints and menaces' by 'Lady Byron's people' and others, she could no longer 'write to *me* a *Clear common letter* – and is so full of mysteries and miseries – that I can only sympathize – without always understanding her' (*BLJ* viii.217).

Among the poems associated with this relationship are 'Stanzas to [Augusta]', 'Stanzas for Music' ('I speak not – I trace not – I breathe not thy name') and 'Epistle to Augusta'. Augusta is evidently alluded to in *CHP* III.469–95 (the 'one fond breast' of 476) and the *Alpine Journal* is addressed to her. Zuleika in *Bride* and Astarte in *Manfred* have also traditionally been seen in this context. From the late nineteenth century the probability of the siblings' incest became a dominant strand in Byron biography.
See also: **Leigh, Elizabeth Medora**.
Further reading: Bakewell (2000).

Leigh, Elizabeth Medora

(1814–49)
Daughter of Augusta *Leigh, possibly by Byron. The name Medora comes from *Corsair*. She herself believed, partly encouraged by Lady *Byron, that Byron was her father, but this is by no means certain.

'Letter on the State of French Affairs, A' *see* Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de

Letter to [John Murray], on the Rev. W.L. Bowles' Strictures…on Pope

Byron's defence of Alexander *Pope. It was written between 7 and 10 February 1821 and published with a few additions on 31 March. Byron renewed his attack on Rev. William Lisle *Bowles as a result of reading Isaac *D'Israeli's review of Bowles's *The Invariable Principles of Poetry* (1819) in the *Quarterly Review* (4 November 1820). As in his edition of Pope and various pamphlets, Bowles had criticized both Pope's personal morality and his poetry, which he condemned for following art rather than nature. Byron defends Pope and champions didactic poetry against purely imaginative; Pope is an '*Ethical* poet', 'the moral poet of all Civilization' (*Prose* 149, 150). Andrew Nicholson in *Prose* 408 suggests that the *Letter* 'is perhaps the more persuasive by virtue of its forcefulness and sincerity than by any strict observance of formal reasoning'.

'Letter to the Editor of "My Grandmother's Review" ' *see* 'To the Editor of the *British Review*'

Letters

Byron's letters are notable for wit, zest and the impression of spontaneity. Mood and focus change rapidly but without impairing clarity and structure. The point has often been made (for instance by Auden [1963], p. 401) that the letters exhibit, from early on, qualities not found in his poems until *Beppo* and *DJ*. Among Byron's principal correspondents were John *Murray, *Hobhouse, Lady *Melbourne, Thomas *Moore and *Kinnaird. His letters from *Greece in 1823–24 are less various, more consistently forceful and practical, than usual.
See also: **Webster, Lady Frances Wedderburn**.

Lewis, Matthew 'Monk'

(1775–1818)
Novelist, dramatist and friend of Byron. He was known especially for his Gothic novel *The Monk* (1796). *EBSR* 265–82 gives a satirical but perceptive account of the horrific and the erotic in Lewis's writing. (On *The Monk see*

also BLJ iii.234.) In person Byron found him 'a good man – a clever man – but a bore – a damned bore' (*BLJ* ix.18; cp. iii.227, 241).

At Villa *Diodati in the summer of 1816 Lewis orally translated extracts from *Goethe's *Faust* which influenced the composition of *Manfred*. Later, Lewis's play *The Wood Demon* (1807) was a source of *Deformed*.

Liberal, The

Periodical in four numbers. It was published by John *Hunt between 15 October 1822 and 30 July 1823. It was conceived as an outlet for more radical ideas than could be expressed in most of the established periodicals, and as a way (not successful, in the event) of providing financial aid to Leigh *Hunt. P. B. *Shelley, who was the most committed encourager of the scheme, died in July 1822. The main contributors were Byron, Hunt and *Hazlitt. Byron's *VJ*, *Blues*, *Heaven and Earth* and *Morgante* first appeared in *The Liberal*. *Island* and *Age* were for a time intended for it.

Byron faced considerable hostility from such friends as *Hobhouse, *Moore and *Kinnaird, much of it aimed at the harm to Byron's already damaged reputation likely to result from association with the Hunts. (Byron thought [*BLJ* x.122–3], however, that his own unpopularity doomed *The Liberal* to fail.) Reviews too were mostly hostile, on predictably political grounds. In 1822 Carlyle said that in Edinburgh 'they will not sell it – – it is so full of Atheism and Radicalism, and other noxious *isms*'; in June 1824, 8,285 single numbers remained unsold and the set of all four numbers (1824) also sold very poorly (St Clair [2004], p. 589). Initial sales in 1822–23 were in fact quite good, but far too many copies were printed.

The project foundered when Byron stopped writing for *The Liberal*. Another important factor in its collapse was a 'lack of clarity ... as to whether Byron's role was aristocratic patron or literary and business partner' (Franklin [2000], p. 157).
Further reading: Marshall (1960).

'Lines inscribed upon a Cup formed from a Skull'

Poem of late 1808, revised in August 1811. It was published in *CHP*(7). The skull had been found by a gardener at *Newstead – it 'had probably belonged to some jolly friar or monk', Byron decided – and had been polished, set in silver, and adapted as a cup (Medwin, *Conversations* 64–5, 66n.). The poem mixes the traditions of *memento mori* and *carpe diem*: the skull speaks to the reader, but to suggest not concentration on right living or dying but enjoyment of the moment – 'Quaff while thou canst.' The effect is slightly macabre but mainly comic, with an edge of satire: 'In me behold the only skull,/From which, unlike a living head,/Whatever flows is never dull.'

'Lines On Hearing That Lady Byron Was Ill'

Poem directed against Lady *Byron. It was written in 1816 and published (by Lady *Blessington) in the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1832. She is reaping the sorrow she has sown and is 'The moral Clytemnestra' of her lord.

'Lines to a Lady Weeping'

Short poem addressing Princess *Charlotte. It was first published anonymously in the *Morning Chronicle* on 7 March 1812. Charlotte was said to have wept at a banquet on 22 February when her father, the Prince Regent (later *George IV), attacked the *Whigs who had long supported him. On becoming Regent, as Byron has it, the Prince 'discarded his friends and his opinions' (*BLJ* iv.42). When the piece was reprinted under Byron's name in the second issue of *Corsair* in February 1814, he was accused of 'insolence' or subversiveness by the *Tory press, especially *The Courier* (1 February 1814 onwards) and the *Morning Post*. Andrew Nicholson in Murray, *Letters* 477–505, reprints and discusses the relevant material.

'Lines to Mr. Hodgson' ('Huzza! Hodgson, we are going')

Comic verse-letter. It was sent to *Hodgson from Falmouth Roads, where Byron was waiting to sail for Portugal, on 30 June 1809 (*BLJ* i.211–13). The poem gives a comically vigorous account of noise, sea-sickness and general chaos. *Fletcher, Joe *Murray and *Rushton are 'Stretched along the deck like logs' (49–50) while *Hobhouse 'Now his breakfast, now his verses/Vomits forth and damns our souls' (55–6). The humour and excitement contrast with the melancholy of 'Stanzas to [Mrs. Musters] on Leaving England', written at about the same time.

'Lines Written Beneath an Elm, in the Churchyard of Harrow on the Hill'

Poem dated 2 September 1807 and published in *POT*. The speaker imagines peaceful burial, 'When Fate shall chill at length this fever'd breast', beneath the favourite tree of his earlier *Harrow meditations.

London

During Byron's early visits to London he either lodged with Elizabeth *Massingberd at 16 Piccadilly or stayed with John *Hanson and his family at Earl's Court. He lived in London for parts of 1808–09 and for much of the period between his return to England in 1811 and his departure in 1816. His main residences in this period were 8 St James's Street (from 28 October 1811), 4 Bennet Street (from 19 January 1813), an apartment in Albany, Piccadilly (from 28 March 1814), and 13 Piccadilly Terrace (from 29 March 1815). He belonged to such *clubs as Watier's and was actively involved in fencing and boxing (*see* **Angelo, Henry** and **Jackson, John 'Gentleman'**), gambling, theatre-going and, at times, whoring and heavy drinking.

London is the setting of *DJ* X.634–XIII.360: 'that pleasant place/Where every kind of mischief's daily brewing/Which can await warm youth in its wild race' (XII.178–80). Byron looks back, from his exile's perspective, at the surface glitter of fashionable society and politics in his 'years of fame' (1812–16).

London Greek Committee

Philhellenic committee. It was founded in January 1823, to organize aid for the Greeks in their War of Independence, by *Blaquiere and *Bowring, who became secretary. Members included *Hobhouse, *Kinnaird and Jeremy Bentham. Byron, having shown an interest in the cause, heard of his election to the committee in May 1823. After his death less money was forthcoming from donors and the committee entered a period of financial difficulties and scandals.

Londos, Andreas *see* Rhigas, Konstantinos

Long, Edward Noel

(1788?–1809)

Friend of Byron at *Harrow and *Cambridge. He shared Byron's enthusiasm for swimming and other outdoor pursuits. Byron addressed him in 'To ENL Esq.' and he is the Cleon of 'Childish Remembrances'. In his *Ravenna Journal* in 1821 (*BLJ* viii.23–5) Byron gave some thought to Long's amiable, sometimes melancholy disposition. He had joined the Coldstream Guards and died when a transport ship went down in 1809.

Louis XVIII, King

(1755–1824)
King of France, 1814–15 and 1815–24. With him the Bourbon monarchy, interrupted by the *French Revolution and *Napoleon Bonaparte, was restored. Louis is an object of satire in *Age*.

'Love and Death'

Familiar title of 'I watched thee when the foe was at our side'. The poem was written at some point between late February and 9 April 1824 and first published in *Murray's Magazine* in 1887. Its subject is clearly Byron's unrequited feelings for Loukas *Chalandritsanos. Having 'watched thee' through the vicissitudes of near-capture by the enemy, near-shipwreck, fever and earthquake, it is the speaker's lot 'To strongly – wrongly – vainly – love thee still.' Crompton (1985) characterizes the piece as written in the 'simplest and barest confessional style', reading 'almost like a versified journal' (p. 329).

'Love and Gold'

Poem possibly of 1812–13, first published in *C*. It concerns the dangers of courtship and marriage for a wealthy heiress. It may be addressed to the future Lady *Byron or, *CPW* iii.424 suggests, Lady Adelaide Forbes (1789–1858) or Margaret Mercer *Elphinstone.

Lovelace, Ralph Milbanke, 2nd Earl of

(1839–1906)
Grandson of Byron and Annabella Milbanke (Lady *Byron). He took his grandmother's name. His *Astarte: a Fragment of Truth Concerning…Lord Byron* (1905) argued that Byron and Augusta *Leigh had committed incest. For Astarte *see* ***Manfred***.

Lucy

(*fl.* 1808–12)
A servant at *Newstead Abbey (surname unknown). She became pregnant by Byron in late 1808. (*DJ* XVI.531–6 probably alludes to this.) He arranged to pay her an annuity of £100, later changed to £50 each for her and the child. She returned to his employment in September 1811 but was dismissed in

January 1812, with Susan *Vaughan, after having sex with Robert *Rushton. Nothing further is known of her child. 'Lucietta. A Fragment', probably of 1811, addresses Lucy and prefers Susan Vaughan.

Luddites *see* ***Frame Work Bill Speech***; 'Song for the Luddites'

Luttrell, Henry

(1768–1851)
Conversationalist. Byron knew him during his *London years. Luttrell was 'the best sayer of good things, and the most epigrammatic conversationist I ever met: there is a terseness, and wit, mingled with fancy, in his observations, that no one else possesses' (Blessington, *Conversations* 76). Byron liked his witty verse epistle 'Advice to Julia' (1820).

M

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Lord

(1800–59)
Historian, essayist and politician. His review of Moore, *Life*, in the **Edinburgh Review* 53 (June 1831), admires *Moore's 'kindness, fairness, and modesty' and is itself one of the more carefully balanced accounts of the time. The essay is most often remembered for the remark: 'We know no spectacle so ridiculous as the British public in one of its periodical fits of morality.' Having put the case for Byron as victim of such a fit from 1816 onwards, Macaulay considers his place in the history of English poetry. He identifies Byron's mixed loyalties to 'the school of poetry which was going out' and the nineteenth-century 'revolution'. If as a critic Byron 'spoke with extravagant admiration' of *Pope, as a poet he accommodated himself to 'the literary tastes of the age in which he lived'. He excels in description and meditation rather than drama and narrative. Like most nineteenth-century commentators, Macaulay ventures few opinions on *DJ* and other late works.

Macready, William Charles

(1793–1873)
Actor-manager, best known in tragedy. He played the title-role in versions of *Werner* (1830–51), *Sardanapalus* (1834) and *Marino Faliero* (1842), and Doge Foscari in *Two Foscari* (1838). Macready's involvement in literary drama was part of his campaign to reform the stage, degraded, in his view, by more popular tastes.

Macpherson, James *see* Ossian

Macri, Teresa

(1797–1875)
Byron's 'Maid of Athens'. He lodged with the twelve-year-old Teresa, her mother Tarsia and her two sisters between December 1809 and March 1810. 'Song' (*'Maid of Athens, ere we part') is addressed to her. Byron told *Hobhouse that 'The old woman Teresa's mother was mad enough to imagine

I was going to marry the girl' (*BLJ* ii.13; cp. ii.46). She later married James Black (1803–68), an Englishman living in Greece, and was much visited by Byron-aware travellers.
Further reading: Brouzas (1947).

'Magdalen'

Poem written in April 1814 and first published in 1887. The Jews are accursed and persecuted as a result of the crucifixion of Christ. Traditionally 'Magdalen' has been associated with *HM*, but its New Testament subject and hostility to 'Israel's swarthy race' (8) mean that it would sit uneasily with the Old Testament and pro-Jewish pieces in that collection. The poem predates Byron's first contact with *Nathan; at this stage Byron was conceivably planning a sequence with a rather different religious focus. But it remains, in its uncompromisingly orthodox attitude, something of an anomaly. Possibly it was triggered by Byron's experience of, and bias against, Jewish moneylenders, as expressed in *Age* 674–705: in 'Magdalen' he mentions the *Jews' alleged 'idle lust of useless gold' (18). Another likely context, since the poem is dated 18 April, is *Napoleon's first abdication a week earlier: 'an unexpressed connection between Jesus and the Jewish people, and Napoleon and the people of Europe (especially England)' (*CPW* iii.458).

'Maid of Athens, ere we part'

Love poem written in February 1810 and associated with Teresa *Macri. It was published with *CHP* I–II as 'Song'. Roessel (2002), pp. 77–9, discusses its 'politicization' after Byron's death: there was frequent 'conflation of Byron's expression of love for a Greek woman and his commitment to a feminized *Greece', both by visitors who wrote about the 'Maid' and by authors of such works as *The Revolt of the Greeks; or, the Maid of Athens* (by John Baldwin Buckstone, performed at *Drury Lane in 1824).
The song was set by *Nathan and by Charles Gounod.

Malta

Mediterranean island, under British rule (1800–1964). Byron visited on his way to the east in September 1809, when he fell in love with Constance Spencer *Smith, and on his way back in May 1811. On 'this barren isle,/ Where panting Nature droops the head' only 'Florence' – Smith – is 'seen to smile' ('To Florence', 5–7). On Malta Byron wrote 'Written in an Album', 'To Florence' and 'Farewell to Malta'.

Maltby, Harriet *see* **'To Marion'**

Manfred, a Dramatic Poem

'A kind of poem in dialogue…or drama' (*BLJ* v.170). It was written mainly between August 1816 and February 1817. Parts may be earlier: a first version of 'The Incantation' (in *Manfred* I.i.192–261) was published in *PCOP* as 'a Chorus in an unfinished Witch drama…begun some years ago' (*CPW* iv.463). *Manfred* was published in June 1817.

The hero is 'a kind of magician who is tormented by a species of remorse – the cause of which is left half unexplained'. (He has somehow [II.ii.117–21] caused the death of the beloved Astarte, who is evidently his sister.) He summons various spirits 'which appear to him – & are of no use'. He then contemplates suicide but is prevented by the simple-living Chamois Hunter. He 'at last goes to the very abode of the Evil principle in propria persona – to evocate a ghost [the Phantom of Astarte] – which appears – & gives him an ambiguous and disagreeable answer – & in the 3d. act he is found by his attendants dying in a tower – where he studied his art' (*BLJ* v.170).

Astarte is revealed almost explicitly as the hero's sister. It is sometimes felt that the reference to 'the only thing he seem'd to love, –/As he, indeed, by blood was bound to do,/The lady Astarte, his –' (III.iii.45–7) deliberately taunts readers aware of Byron's suspected relationship with Augusta *Leigh, or boldly invites discussion of the issue. (The 'Incantation' is also often discussed in personal terms, as a self-hating curse on Manfred/Byron with the later addition of lines [I.i.232–51] fairly clearly aimed at Lady *Byron.) Literary sources for the incest motif, however, include Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, Chateaubriand's *René* and *Walpole's *The Mysterious Mother*. Walpole is part of the more general debt to *Gothic literature in *Manfred* with its '*Gothic gallery*' (I.i. opening), lonely and extreme mountain settings, spirits, invocations and mysterious, haunted hero. This influence was perhaps reinforced by 'Monk' *Lewis's visit to Byron in Switzerland in the summer of 1816.

Lewis also had a more direct effect on the genesis of *Manfred* because during his visit he orally translated 'most of' *Goethe's *Faust* Part One for Byron (*BLJ* vii.113). Its principal influence was on the opening of Byron's poem, especially I.i.13–17 (*See Faust* Part One, I.354–76). Manfred and Faust both summon spirits, but Manfred refuses a Faustian pact with them (I.ii.4, II.ii.158–60, III.iv.114); Goethe himself felt that Byron 'has completely assimilated my *Faust*… He has used all the *motifs* in his own way, so that none remains quite the same' (Butler [1956], p. 33). Byron, however, insisted (*BLJ* vii.113) that 'the *Staubach* & the *Jungfrau*' – seen on his Alpine tour of September 1816 – were more important in making him write the poem than *Faust*. There was also 'something else', presumably his personal situation in 1816.

Other sources have been identified in *Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Satan's defiance influencing Manfred's; III.iv.129–32 echoes Milton's I.354–5) and the Prometheus myth – especially the Titan's defiant endurance in Byron's own 'Prometheus'. The hall of Eblis in *Beckford's *Vathek* is like that of Arimanes in *Manfred* II.iv. Zoroastrianism provided Arimanes's original, Ahriman. (Awareness of Zoroastrianism came probably [Cochran (2006), p. 192] from Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia* [1815].) *Macbeth* lent some evil atmosphere and the visionary blood of II.i.21–9. *Manfred* can be seen also as a rejection of *Wordsworth's idea of nature's healing, integrative power, which had influenced Byron in *PCOP*. Manfred himself is a variation on the *Byronic hero, perhaps more mature, more explicitly facing questions about existence, the self and forgiveness; Byron himself told *Murray that *Manfred* was 'too much in my old style… I certainly am a devil of a mannerist – & must leave off' (*BLJ* v.185).

Manfred moves from the tortured searcher for 'Forgetfulness' of I.i to the gathered, self-knowing figure who says ''tis not so difficult to die' at the end. His progression has been seen as one towards tragic stoicism or existentialism (or simply the triumph of the will). Some commentators feel that references to 'the overruling Infinite – the Maker' (II.iv.47) or 'Powers deeper still beyond' (II.iv.76) suggest a less purely human-centred aspect to Manfred's defiance, but the references remain unspecific. From early on there are examples of Promethean independence and defiance, of the hero's awareness that 'The mind, the spirit, the Promethean spark,/The lightning of my being, is as bright,/Pervading, and far-darting' (I.i.154–6) as the spirits'. The turning point, however, is when, mastering himself after Astarte's 'ambiguous and disagreeable answer', Manfred 'makes/His torture tributary to his will' (II.iv.160–1). This is followed in III by his calm, 'Inexplicable stillness' (III.i.7), a sense of what it would be like to have found 'The golden secret, the sought "Kalon"' (III.i.13): an openness to experience continued in his rapture at the 'Glorious Orb' of the sun (III.ii.3–24) and his soliloquy on the remembered moonlit Coliseum (III.iv.8–45). Once he sought only oblivion but now he is interested in his own thought processes and sees the value of memory.

Manfred's new state of mind is reflected also in his courteous but firm rejection of the conventional religion offered by the Abbot. (The original version of the act [*CPW* iv.467–71] included a more intolerant Abbot and an intemperate – if partly comic – response from Manfred, who has spirits carry the old man to a mountain top. Byron rewrote this material in response to *Gifford's unfavourable verdict in late April and early May 1817.) Finally, in a more powerful assertion of independent selfhood, he dies not at the demons' command (III.iv.81–141) but of his own free will – 'Old man! 'tis not so difficult to die.' ('Old man', McGann [2002] points out, 'plays ironically with the Christian – and specifically Pauline [e.g. Ephesians 4.22] – source that it evokes' [p. 187].)

Commentators have often sensed a disjunction between form and content, or between Gothic spirits and incantations and intellectual debate. (The *European Magazine* for August 1817, *RR* ii.962, complained, more simply, that Byron 'has given us effects without detailing causes, and shown us strange things without a clue to their developement' [*sic*].) One answer to this objection is the view that the spirits should not be taken literally. Rather, they are aspects of Manfred's communion with himself, externalizations of his conflicting desires. Whether this is so or not, the range of spirits – of earth, air, water, evil, destiny, the Witch of Atlas, the Phantom of Astarte – gives Byron the opportunity for much formal variety. (*See* especially the seven spirits of I.i.)

Supernatural elements are more likely to be taken at face value when the play is presented on stage. Byron believed that in writing a 'very wild – metaphysical – and inexplicable' fantasy, where most of the persons are spirits, he had 'rendered it *quite impossible* for the stage' (*BLJ* v.170). Nevertheless there were several spectacular mid-nineteenth-century productions. The 1834 adaptation at Covent Garden omitted some of the more philosophical and controversial passages – Astarte became Manfred's cousin – and introduced troupes of dancing witches and fiends. The spectacular finale in Arimanes's hall concluded with Astarte's forgiveness of Manfred. Samuel Phelps succeeded in the title role of his somewhat more accurate version in 1863–64. Of more lasting interest – still sometimes performed – are Robert *Schumann's overture and incidental music for *Manfred* (1852). Possibly a modern production would respond to McGann's argument (2002, pp. 182–3) that Byron is staging Manfred's powers – or metaphorically his own – 'in a proto-Brechtian play. So the work appears as an exposition of, and implicitly an argument with, the illusionistic styles and ideas of Romanticism.'

In spite of the Gothic trappings and sensational productions, *Manfred* became a text of some importance for nineteenth-century readers, including

Goethe and *Nietzsche; it is 'Byron's most Nietzschean work: an exploration of the meaning, and even the possibility, of integrity and selfhood' (McGann [1997], p. 209).
Further reading: Corbett (1988); Howell (1982); Spence (2004); Alan Rawes in Bone (2004).

Marathon

Site of the victory of the Greeks over the Persians in 490 BC. It figures liberty in *CHP* II.836–63 and 'The Isles of Greece' (*DJ* III.701–6).

Marceau, François

(1769–96)
Young French general, 'Freedom's champion', in *CHP* III.536–53. He is included in the list of French worthies, *DJ* I.21.

Marchand, Leslie A.

(1900–99)
Byron scholar and biographer. Marchand's most important work includes *Byron: A Biography* (3 vols, 1957), the one-volume *Byron: A Portrait* (1970) and the authoritative edition of *Byron's Letters and Journals* (13 vols, 1973–94).

Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice. An Historical Tragedy

Drama in blank verse. Byron wrote the bulk of it between 4 April and 16 July 1820 but intended 'to write a tragedy on the subject' (*BLJ* v.174) as early as February 1817. It was published on 21 April 1821 and there was a second edition later in the year.

Byron took the main outline of his plot from Venetian chronicle sources, principally the *Vite dei Dogi* of Marin Sanudo (1466–1536). In 1355 the elderly Doge Marino Faliero conspired with a group of citizens to overthrow the state, massacre the patricians and set himself up as absolute ruler. He was provoked by the failure of the state sufficiently to punish a young nobleman, Michele Steno, for his insult about the Dogaressa – 'others enjoy her, but he [the Doge] keeps her' (*CPW* iv.528). The citizen conspirators – like Faliero – felt excluded from power by the patriciate. The plot was betrayed when Beltramo Bergamasco (Byron's Bertram) attempted to warn one of the intended victims to stay at home at the time of the proposed attack. Faliero was beheaded and a monitory black veil and condemnation were painted where his portrait among the doges should have been.

Byron was at pains to demonstrate historical accuracy by printing extracts from Sanudo and other sources with the play. Discussion has concentrated, however, on the influence of *Shakespeare and *Otway. (*Schiller's *Fiesco* is another relevant conspiracy play.) There are some echoes of *Macbeth* III.i – Macbeth with the murderers – in I.ii, where Faliero meets the plebeian Israel Bertuccio. More generally the Doge may be indebted to Macbeth the uncertain killer, like him determined to carry out his plan but often acutely aware of the arguments (and emotional considerations) against it. There are clearer parallels with *Julius Caesar*. In both plays, with similarly fatal consequences for the conspirators, there is debate about whether any of the opposing party can safely be spared (*Julius Caesar* II.i.155–92; *Marino Faliero* III.ii.22–81). The atmosphere of Act III in general, with its keen debates among conspirators, owes something to Shakespeare's play. Israel Bertuccio and Philip Calendaro are explicitly compared to Brutus and Cassius (V.i.171–8) and there are obvious similarities between Faliero and Brutus, thinking revolutionaries who cannot confide in their loyal wives. (Byron was no doubt drawn to Faliero's story and to *Julius Caesar* partly by continuing awareness of the contradictions of the *French Revolution – high ideals versus bloody practice – and by knowledge of the revolutionary group he joined in the summer of 1820, the *Carbonari.) Otway's *Venice Preserv'd*, which concerns a later plot against the republic, is another dramatic source, but is a less seriously political play than either *Marino Faliero* or *Julius Caesar*.

Commentators have often doubted that there is enough drama in *Faliero* for a play, whether intended for a '*mental theatre*' (*BLJ* viii.187) or not. *Hazlitt finds it 'without fluctuating interest, and without the spirit of dialogue' (*London Magazine*, May 1821, *RR* iv.1592). *Jeffrey says that the story is one 'without love or hatred – misanthropy or pity – containing nothing voluptuous and nothing terrific – but depending, for its grandeur, on the anger of a very old and irritable man' (**Edinburgh Review*, July 1821, *RR* ii.911). Angiolina has often seemed cold in her rectitude. (*Macready's adaptation of 1842 makes her more sentimental; she rushes on stage at the end and faints as the executioner's sword descends.) Some feel that the corruption of the patricians has been established insufficiently, at second hand. But dramatic interest is provided by Faliero's continual doubts and changes of mood, his streak of rashness, and the conflict which results from his aristocratic disdain for his plebeian fellow-conspirators. This closely reflects Byron's own position as a liberal aristocrat suspicious of Radical 'ruffians' and 'blackguards' (*BLJ* vii.80–1). Arguably, too, the patricians are made more sinister by their near-absence from the play until Act IV. In V.iv, off-stage again, they see execution done on Faliero while the people – and the audience – are shut out, unable to hear his words or influence events.

Recent criticism has defended the Venetian 'nocturne' of IV.i.23–111 from charges of dramatic irrelevance. For Corbett (1988) this shadowy Venice suggests both 'the illusions and the false hopes of the faction' and 'the instability of the Doge's intentions, the volatility of his passions' (p. 69). For Anne Barton (1975) the passage shows Lioni's 'complex and sensitive awareness' of the world in order to make clear 'what kind of loss is involved in [the conspirators'] deciding to obliterate a human consciousness like this one' (p. 150). (Reactions to Bertram as compassionate betrayer at IV.i.127–326 may be more complicated.) Another passage often singled out for discussion is Faliero's last speech, addressed 'to Time and to Eternity'. One agenda here is biographical. Byron was once fêted like the soldier Faliero; now he has fallen, like him, into infamy, but the future may judge differently.

Byron insisted that *Faliero* should not be performed (*CPW* iv.305; *BLJ* vii.182, viii.20–3). He did, however, see himself as contributing to the reform of drama in his desire for 'a nearer approach to unity than the irregularity' for which English plays are reproached (*CPW* iv.305–6). (It is in deference to the classical unity of time that he is 'induced…to represent the conspiracy as already formed, and the Doge acceding to it' (*CPW* iv.306) rather than, as in the sources, involved from the beginning.) And a version of the play was staged, in spite of attempts by *Murray to have it stopped, at *Drury Lane in April–May 1821. The adaptation was half the length of the original. It omitted attacks on patrician corruption and put more emphasis on personal motivations. *The Times* for 26 April 1821 describes 'bleeding fragments, violently torn from that noble work'. Performed only seven times, it was not a commercial success. Macready adapted *Faliero* more sensitively, if still sentimentally, for his 1842 production at the same theatre, where too a spectacular musical version was put on in 1867. Donizetti's operatic treatment (1835) is based indirectly on Byron's play. Productions of the play were rare in the twentieth century; there was one at the Hovenden Theatre Club, London, in 1958.

Further reading: Howell (1982); Lansdown (1992).

Marlowe, Christopher *see* Elizabethan and Jacobean drama

Martial

(*c.* AD 40–104)
The Roman poet Marcus Valerius Martialis. 'Imitations of Martial' are Byron's updatings of nine epigrams. They were probably written in 1812 but only one was published before the twentieth century: 'F[itzgeral]d's house hath been on fire…' appeared, with 'Laureate's' in place of 'F[itzgeral]d's', in *The Examiner*, 7 November 1824. The change represents an attack on *Southey instead of W. T. *Fitzgerald. Other subjects of the poems include *Rogers and an unidentified cuckold. Later (probably 1822) Byron produced a version of Martial's epigram I.i which was published in *The *Liberal* 2 (1823).

Nicholson (2007) adds three more, previously unknown, Martial translations, one (*Epigrams* XI.lxxxvii) dated 1 May 1814. He also (pp. 80–1) makes a case for the poet's wider influence on Byron, and particularly *DJ*, citing his geniality, breadth of interests, self-referentiality and 'the abundance of his rhetorical devices – grammatical and verbal play, innuendoes, ambiguities and…use of anaphora and repetition to ironic or bathetic effect'.

Masi incident

Clash with a soldier involving Byron and his associates. On 24 March 1822 Byron, P. B. *Shelley, *Trelawny, Pietro *Gamba and others scuffled with Stefano Masi, a garrison sergeant-major, as they rode towards one of the gates of *Pisa. Some time later Masi was stabbed with a pitchfork by Byron's coachman, Vincenzo Papi. Papi and 'Tita' *Falcieri were arrested; they were released, several weeks later, on Masi's recovery. The incident bred local resentment against the Byron-Shelley group and precipitated its break-up.

Massingberd, Elizabeth

(?–1812)
Byron's London landlady and arranger of loans. He lodged with her at 16 Piccadilly several times between 1800 and 1808. She and her daughter guaranteed a loan at the end of 1805 (as a minor he needed such a guarantee). This began a series of complex and expensive financial arrangements designed partly to obtain cash for Byron and partly to pay her own debts.

After Mrs Massingberd's death in 1812 Byron continued to make 'very numerous payments' to her still financially entangled daughter (Moore [1974], pp. 163–4).

Massinger, Philip *see* Elizabethan and Jacobean drama

Matthews, Charles Skinner

(*c*.1786–1811)
*Cambridge friend of Byron and *Hobhouse. Matthews became a fellow of Downing College in 1808. He was well known, at least in Byron's circle, as an atheist and homosexual. His drowning in the river Cam may have been suicide. Byron paid tribute to his 'powers of mind' and 'softer qualities' in a note at the end of *CHP* I (*CPW* ii.189) and gathered recollections of him in *BLJ* vii.224–5 and 230–4.

Maturin, Charles Robert

(1782–1824)
Gothic writer, now best known for his novel *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820). His tragedy *Bertram* was accepted for performance in 1816 at the persuasion of Byron during his time on the management sub-committee at *Drury Lane. Byron had written to Maturin in December 1815 suggesting revisions to make the play more stageworthy (*BLJ* iv.336). The *British Review* (August 1816) diagnosed in Bertram 'the same mischievous compound of attractiveness and turpitude, of love and crime, of chivalry and brutality' as in Byron's heroes (p. 75).

Bertram was a great success in the theatre but Maturin's next play, *Manuel* (1817), was a failure; Byron said that it was 'the absurd work of a clever man' (*BLJ* v.237) – 'with the exception of a few capers, it is as heavy a Nightmare as was ever bestrode by Indigestion' (*BLJ* v.252). He helped the impoverished Maturin with a £50 loan in 1815 (*BLJ* iv.337) and wanted to give him a share of the proposed payment from *Murray for *Siege* and *Parisina* in 1816.

Mavrokordatos, Prince Alexandros

(1791–1865)
Greek leader. For generations members of his family had held positions of authority in the Turkish Empire. Mavrokordatos lived in exile for some years before going to *Greece to fight in the *Greek War of Independence

in 1821. (He had lived in *Pisa from 1818 to 1821, where he had known the *Shelleys.) He was a westernizer – in favour of democratic institutions and hopeful of British intervention in the war. The National Assembly elected him President in 1822 but opposition from rival faction leaders led him to vacate the post in 1823. He was Commander-in-Chief in Western Greece when Byron joined him in *Missolonghi at the beginning of 1824. They worked closely together and Byron respected him more than most of the Greeks he dealt with: 'Prince Mavrocordato is an excellent person and does all in his power – but his situation is perplexing in the extreme' (*BLJ* xi.124). Mavrokordatos was several times Greek prime minister in the 1830s–50s.
Further reading: Minta (2006).

Mazeppa, A Poem

Verse tale of suffering and survival. It was written in *Venice between 2 April 1817 and 26 September 1818 and published in June 1819. The main outline of the story comes from the extracts, printed as Byron's 'Advertisement', from *Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* (1772). (Ivan) Mazeppa was a Pole who became Prince or Hetman of the Ukraine under Peter the Great of *Russia but later defected to Sweden. In his youth he had been discovered in an 'intrigue' with a woman and been bound naked to a wild horse by her husband.

In the third extract Voltaire describes the wounded and exhausted King Charles of Sweden resting in a wood after his defeat by the Russians at Poltava (1709). This is the setting for the frame of *Mazeppa*, where the hero tells the king the story of his earlier life. Charles was a by-word for extreme and ultimately doomed ambition: Samuel *Johnson's exemplar of baseless 'Warrior's Pride' in *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (1749) (Johnson [1974], 191–222). He was therefore likely to excite comparisons with *Napoleon; here the most explicit reference is to Charles's and Napoleon's unsuccessful invasions of Russia (*Mazeppa* 8–14). Charles also acts as a foil for Mazeppa. The king's ignorance of the 'gentle frailties' of love (284), for example, contrasts unfavourably with his follower's experience of the 'electric wire' (242) of mutual passion – even if passion nearly brings about his destruction.

The uncontrolled wild horse is a traditional symbol for the uncontrolled passions. Mazeppa (bound physically and by passion) is in no position to ride the horse – unlike the Bucephalus he rides so skilfully at Poltava (101–6), forming 'So fit a pair' in contrast to the earlier forced pairing. But he does learn acceptance and so control. He crosses a spiritual boundary and is 'rebaptized' (589) when he stops struggling against death in stanza xiv

(McGann [1968], p. 182). Alternatively Mazeppa progresses ‘from sexual transgression via emblematic punishment (bound, naked, to a wild horse) to sexual resurrection (“The sparkle of her eye I caught,/Even with my first return of thought”, 808–9)’ (Bernard Beatty [1988], p. 12). Such explicit progression, Beatty suggests, distinguishes Mazeppa from *Coleridge’s Ancient Mariner, although the two poems share ‘the central device of retelling a past tale of terror to a listener from a different world’. (Direct echoes of *The Ancient Mariner*, suggestive of the dream-like nature and landscape of the Mariner’s and Mazeppa’s suffering, are noted in *CPW* iv.494.)

Mazeppa is often seen as marking a transition between the manner and idiom of the *Oriental Tales and of *DJ*. The most popular example of the new manner is the unexpectedly comic ending – ‘The king had been an hour asleep’ (869) – which may ironize Mazeppa’s moral conclusion to his story (848–54) or give another indication of Charles’s limitations. The use of the frame also allows a sense of distance or perspective usually absent in Byron’s earlier narratives, while the first-person delivery of the main story (as in *Prisoner*) provides a contrasting immediacy. It is clear from the beginning that Mazeppa will survive his ordeal and from early on (393–422) that he will obtain full and satisfactory revenge, but this does not prevent a very immediate sense of the blood, thirst and fever of the ride.

In the 1820s (following the reprint published by Galignani in Paris in July 1819) Mazeppa’s ride inspired paintings by Géricault, *Delacroix and Horace Vernet and the poem influenced Victor Hugo’s ‘Mazeppa’ in *Les Orientales* (1829). Stage adaptations of Byron’s poem included a free version by H. M. Milner, first performed in 1831. Milner’s version was revived in the early 1860s, when Adah Isaacs Menken (1835–68) famously played the role of the naked and bound Mazeppa in flesh-coloured tights. The excitement of her audience was an indirect tribute to the sexual energies of the poem.

Further reading: Babinski (1974).

Mazzini, Giuseppe

(1805–72)

Italian revolutionary and political writer. He lived in England between 1837 and 1848. In ‘Byron and *Goethe’ (*Monthly Chronicle*, September 1839) he interprets Byron as a suffering, humane poet of the emotions – ‘Byron was the poet of the subjective life, Goethe of the objective’ – and of political liberty. Mazzini sees Byron as unjustly reviled in his own country. His death in *Greece represents ‘the holy alliance of poetry with the cause of the people’.

Medwin, Thomas

(1788–1869)
Author of *Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824). He knew Byron, through his second cousin P. B. *Shelley, in *Pisa during 1821–22. His book contains some errors and misunderstandings but provides, over all, a convincing record of Byron's views on a wide range of subjects.

Melbourne, Elizabeth Lamb, Viscountess

(1751–1818)
*Whig hostess and Byron's confidante. She was the recipient of some of his most detailed, frank and entertaining letters. She advised him on his various liaisons, helping him to end his affair with her daughter-in-law, Lady Caroline *Lamb, and forwarding his first proposal of marriage to her niece, Annabella Milbanke (Lady *Byron). Byron told Lady *Blessington that Lady Melbourne united 'the energy of a man's mind with the delicacy and tenderness of a woman's' (Blessington, *Conversations* 132). Lady Pinchbeck (*DJ* XII.336–407) is in part a portrait of her.

Memoirs

Prose account which Byron intended for posthumous publication. The memoirs were complete up to 1816 when Byron gave them to *Moore in Venice in 1819; he sent Moore additions in December 1820. In October 1819 Byron told John *Murray that 'The life is *Memoranda* – and not *Confessions* – I have left out all my *loves* (except in a general way) and many other of the most important things – (because I must not compromise other people) ... But you will find many opinions – and some fun – with a detailed account of my marriage and it's [*sic*] consequences' (*BLJ* vi.236; cp. vi.63–4). (More detail about his 'loves' was apparently provided in the later additions. *See* Moore [1961], p. 47.) The manuscript was read also by such friends as the *Hollands, *Kinnaird and Mary *Shelley – who said that 'There was not much in them' (Shelley [1980–88], i.437) – and possibly by *Murray.

Moore sold the manuscript to Murray for 2,000 guineas in 1821, but in 1822 entered into a new arrangement under which Moore or Byron could buy it back for the same amount (Moore [1961], p. 30). When news of Byron's death reached *London, however, *Hobhouse became anxious to protect his friend's reputation and he, Murray and the representatives of Lady *Byron and Augusta *Leigh determined that the memoirs must be destroyed.

(Moore [1961], pp. 34–42, suggests that Hobhouse was motivated mainly by jealousy of Moore.) Moore argued unsuccessfully for their complete or partial preservation. They were burned in the fireplace at 50 Albemarle Street on 17 May 1824.

Merivale, John Herman *see* ***Beppo***

Metre and verse-forms

Byron wrote in a wide variety of verse-forms. Of particular importance are the *heroic couplet, *Spenserian stanza, **terza rima* and **ottava rima*. Tetrameter couplets are used in poems including *Giaour*, *Bride* and *Siege*. He also wrote blank verse – in his plays, for instance – but firmly defended the use of rhyme: he is 'not persuaded that the Paradise lost would not have been more nobly conveyed to Posterity, not perhaps in heroic couplets although even *they* could sustain the Subject – if well balanced, but in the Stanza of *Spenser, or of *Tasso, or in the terza rima of *Dante – which the powers of *Milton could easily have grafted on our language' (*Some Observations* in *Prose* 112).
See also: **Sonnets**.
Further reading: Addison (2004); Bone (1998); Stabler (2002b).

Meyer, Johann Jakob

(d.1826)
Swiss philhellene who edited the **Hellenica Chronica*. He shared *Stanhope's Benthamite and republican ideals. Byron complained to Samuel Barff (19 March 1824, *BLJ* xi.139) that while proclaiming the freedom of the press the doctrinaire Meyer actually excluded or cut 'any articles but his own and those like them'; 'Of all petty tyrants he is one of the pettiest.' He remained in *Missolonghi, dying in the attempted break-out or *exodos* from the Turkish siege of 1825–26.

Mickiewicz, Adam

(1798–1855)
Polish Romantic poet. Himself exiled by the Russians, he admired Byron's commitment to Italian and Greek nationalist causes. His version of *Giaour* (Paris, 1834) makes the picture of Greece more positive and the hero's end more hopeful. Mickiewicz also translated 'The Dream' and 'Darkness'. There are elements of the *Byronic hero in *Konrad Wallenrod* (1828).

Milan

Italian city visited by Byron between 12 October and 3 November 1816. He met literary figures including *Stendhal, the poet *Monti, Ludovico di Breme and *Pellico. At the Ambrosian Library he was particularly taken with the 'love-letters and verses' of Lucrezia Borgia (1480–1519) and removed from the library a lock of her long fair hair, 'the prettiest and finest imaginable' (*BLJ* v.114, 116).

Milbanke, Annabella *see* Byron, Anne Isabella (Annabella), Lady

Mill, John Stuart

(1806–73)
Philosopher, social and political theorist. Like many in his generation, he came to prefer *Wordsworth to *Byron. In depression in 1826–27, his *Autobiography* (1873) relates, he 'read through the whole of Byron…to try whether a poet, whose peculiar department was supposed to be that of the intenser feelings, could rouse any feeling in me'. This was no help: 'His Harold and Manfred had the same burden on them which I had'. Wordsworth's poetry, by contrast, provided 'a medicine for my state of mind' because it expressed 'not mere outward beauty, but states of feeling, and of thought coloured by feeling, under the excitement of beauty' (Mill [1981], pp. 149–51).

Millingen, Julius

(1800–78)
Physician who attended Byron at the end of his life. He had been sent as surgeon for Western *Greece by the *London Greek Committee. His and Dr *Bruno's inexperience and insistence on bleeding the patient possibly hastened his death. Millingen published *Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece with Various Anecdotes of Lord Byron and an Account of his Last Illness and Death* (1831).

Milton, John

(1608–74)
Poet. His work held a position of special authority and familiarity in early nineteenth-century British culture. Byron is aware particularly of *Paradise*

Lost, *Samson Agonistes*, *Comus*, 'Lycidas' and 'Il Penseroso'. He saluted Milton's politics – unlike *Southey and other turncoat Lake poets he 'closed the tyrant-hater he begun' (*DJ* Dedication 73–88) – and placed him high in his canon of great writers: 'Thou shalt believe in Milton, *Dryden, *Pope' (*DJ* I.1633). In *Hints* he is the great exemplar, taking the place of *Homer in *Horace's *Ars Poetica*: 'His strain will teach what numbers best belong/ To themes celestial told in epic song' (107–8); in *Paradise Lost* 'Still in the midst of things he hastens on,/As if he witness'd all already done;/Leaves on the path whatever seems too mean/To raise the subject, or adorn the scene' (203–6).

Byron claimed in the preface to *Cain* that he had not read Milton since the age of 20, 'but I had read him so frequently before, that this may make little difference' (*CPW* vi.228). Such familiarity is suggested by many passing allusions to, or echoes of, Milton's early work as well as *Paradise Lost*. For instance the morning of *Siege* 633–6, brightly breaking away 'from her mantle grey', recalls the morn 'with sandals grey' and the 'mantle blue' of 'Lycidas' 187 and 192. *Bride* 710–12 echoes, as Byron's note points out (*CPW* iii.442), *Comus* 207: 'And airy tongues, that syllable men's names.' The wandering 'pathless' stars of 'Darkness' 3–5 perhaps remember the 'wandering moon', like one led astray 'Through the heaven's wide pathless way', in 'Il Penseroso' 67–70. The song to the water-nymph 'Sabrina fair', in *Comus* 858–88, begins a train of thought about *Long and diving with him in the river Cam, which was not, unlike Sabrina's, 'a very "translucent wave"' (*BLJ* viii. 23–4).

Byron engaged most closely, however, with *Paradise Lost*. He told James Hogg (*BLJ* iv.84) that the poem 'is, as a whole, a heavy concern; but the two first books of it are the very finest poetry that has ever been produced in this world'. In *DJ* III.818 it is 'a little heavy, but no less, divine'. Satan is the hero of the work (*BLJ* viii.115; Medwin, *Conversations* 77–8). McGann (1976) argues that Byron's 'humanistic reading' of Satan as guilty but not purely evil helped him create his own criminal heroes (p. 26). Certainly there is often an association with Milton's Satan: as McGann points out, Lara is described as an 'erring spirit' who is 'hurled' from another world (*Lara* I.315–16) and Conrad's deeds 'had driven/Him forth to war with man and forfeit heaven' (*Corsair* I.251–2). Later *Paradise Lost* is an important point of reference for both Manfred's defiance and Marino Faliero's; 'the mind is its own place, and in itself/Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n' (*Paradise Lost* I.254–5) informs *Manfred* III.i.70–3; and the Doge endures '*hell* within me and around' (*Marino Faliero* III.ii.519). (In Manfred's case there are also parallels with *Samson Agonistes*. *See* McGann [1976], p. 37.)

Paradise Lost is even more important for *Cain*. Satan provides an analogue for the challenges of Cain and Lucifer to the divine dispensation, and Milton's poem gives Byron ammunition for his defence of *Cain*: 'If "Cain" be "blasphemous" – Paradise lost is blasphemous'; 'Milton's Satan is twice as daring and impious – as mine' (*BLJ* ix.103, 60; cp. ix.53, 89, 118). Newlyn (1993), pp. 183–9, explores the Miltonic elements, the way paradise is lost, on Haidée's island (*DJ* II–IV).
Further reading: McGann (2002).

Mira, La *see* Foscarini, Villa

Missolonghi

Town in western *Greece where Byron died. Missolonghi (or Mesolongion) is on the shore of an extensive lagoon and he described it as a 'mud-basket' (*BLJ* xi.107). He arrived from *Cephalonia, to a hero's welcome, on 3 January 1824. After some hesitation he had come to join *Mavrokordatos. For most of Byron's time in the town it was blockaded by the Turks. He was much engaged in attempts to organize Greek affairs, restrain his *Suliotes, and defuse disputes among philhellenes from different European countries. Having contracted a fever after riding in heavy rain on 9 April 1824, he died on 19 April. Mavrokordatos declared 21 days of mourning. A funeral oration was pronounced by the politician Spyridon Trikoupis. The statue of Byron in the Garden of Heroes dates from 1881.

Missolonghi was captured by the Turks after a long siege in 1825–26. Its heroic resistance, together with the Byron connection, made it particularly famous among Greeks and philhellenes.
Further reading: Minta (2007); St Clair (1972).

'Monk of Athos, The'

Unfinished narrative poem. It was written probably in early 1811. *CPW* first published lines 1–54, which introduce the intended subject of the poem: 'fond domestic ties/Asunder torn by War's relentless Hand…/Proscription's sword and Persecution's brand' (46–50) following a Greek uprising against Turkish rule (probably, as CPW i.424 says, that of 1774). Lines 55–81, describing the contrasting peace of holy Mount Athos, were first published in 1890 in Hon. Roden Noel's Life of Byron. The poem is in *Spenserian stanzas and includes some archaisms in the manner of *CHP* I – 'I ween' (9); 'And mourne in simple and incondite lays' (13).

'Monody on the Death of the Right Honourable R.B. Sheridan'

Poem written and published in mid-July 1816. It was delivered at *Drury Lane Theatre by the actress Maria Davison in September. (Byron [*BLJ* v.82–3] would have preferred another actress, Miss Somerville, who he thought more likely to show the necessary 'energy' in this piece which he had 'spiced ... with Cayenne all through – except a small infusion of the pathetic at starting'.) The formal commemoration of *Sheridan's oratory, dramatic genius and wit is inspired partly by Sheridan's own 'Monody' on the death of David Garrick (1779). The more passionate defence of the deceased against those who exult in others' misfortunes no doubt refers as much to Byron's recent ostracism and exile as to Sheridan's final poverty and alcoholism.

Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de

(1533–92)
French essayist. In April 1823 Byron described *DJ* as 'Montaigne's Essays with a story for a hinge' (*BLJ* x.150). Andrew Nicholson, in *MSYRB* X.xxii, argues for Montaigne's importance in the later cantos, emphasizing his 'forthright, outspoken, and common-sense views, his scepticism ... his immense good humour, wit and wisdom ... besides his digressive style (on which he himself frequently comments), vast range of reading and classical allusion'.

Monti, Vincenzo

(1754–1828)
Italian neoclassical poet. Byron was pleased to meet 'the most famous Italian poet now living' (*BLJ* v.119) in *Milan in October 1816. He disliked, however, the ease with which Monti had changed his politics to fit with successive regimes, including the Napoleonic and the Austrian. According to Moore, *Life* ii.308n., lines condemning Monti for 'The prostitution of his Muse and wife' were omitted from *Prophecy* only because he was 'then living'. *See also BLJ* vii.151–2.

Moore, Doris Langley

(1902–89)
Biographical scholar. Her most important studies, drawing on detailed research in the Wentworth, Lovelace, *Murray and other archives, are *The*

Late Lord Byron (1961) and *Lord Byron, Accounts Rendered* (1974). Her novel, *My Caravaggio Style* (1959), is about a bookseller who forges Byron's lost memoirs. She founded the Costume Museum housed in Bath since 1963. Byron's Albanian dress, which she discovered at Bowood House in 1962, was once displayed in Bath and is now again at Bowood.

Moore, Thomas

(1779–1852)
Irish poet, Byron's friend and biographer. *HI* and the related volumes are influenced by the mixed sentimental and sceptical tones of Moore's *Poetical Works of the Late Thomas Little, Esq.* (1801). In *EBSR* Byron satirizes him as 'Little! young Catullus of his day,/As sweet, but as immoral in his lay!' (287–8) and for his farcical duel with *Jeffrey (464f.). *Rogers, however, arranged a reconciliatory first meeting between the two on 4 November 1811 and they rapidly became intimate friends. Vail (2001), pp. 1–2, 7–8, 11, lists what they had in common: they were both in a sense outsiders (an Irish Catholic whose father was a grocer, a bisexual aristocrat of impoverished family lacking in lordly connections); both enjoyed laughing at the fashionable and literary society which had taken them up; both were widely regarded as influentially immoral writers; they were liberal *Whigs who believed in using their work to support Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform and the rights of oppressed peoples. (Byron associates himself closely with Irish nationalism by dedicating *Corsair* to Moore, whom Ireland ranks 'among the firmest of her patriots' and 'first of her bards'.)

Their literary relationship was close. In his *London years Byron often heard Moore and others sing from his *Irish Melodies* (e.g. *BLJ* iv.114) and in *HM* drew on its lyricism, its imagery and its identification with a people. Byron encouraged Moore to write his long eastern poem *Lalla Rookh* (1817) but found it disappointingly close to the style he now disliked in his own *Oriental Tales (Vail [2001], pp. 103–39). In 1823 both poets published works dealing with the love between angels and women before the Flood, *Heaven and Earth* and Moore's *Loves of the Angels*. (Vail [2001], pp. 146–53, argues that Moore's angel Rubi is 'a celestial variant of the Byronic hero' or a representation of Byron himself.) Finally, Moore's satires are sometimes credited with influencing Byron's in the direction of informality – away from *EBSR* and towards *Beppo*.

Byron entrusted Moore with his *Memoirs, partly in the hope of helping him financially. Moore produced *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with Notices of his Life* (1830) also partly because of financial need – but out of friendship too and a sense of guilt at having allowed the destruction of

the Memoirs. Another strong motive was to defend Byron against the malice and misunderstanding of biographers who had known and liked him less, particularly Leigh *Hunt. Moore had the advantages of close personal knowledge, access to first-hand material, the patience to interview many witnesses, and considerable help from Mary *Shelley.
See also: **'Fragment of an Epistle to Thomas Moore'**; **'To Thomas Moore' ('My boat is on the shore')**; **'To Thomas Moore' ('Oh you, who in all names…')**.

More, Hannah

(1745–1833)
Writer best known for her novel *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1809). In *DJ* I.124 the book is associated with Donna Inez, who is 'Morality's prim personification'.

Morgante Maggiore di Messer Luigi Pulci

**Ottava rima* translation of the first canto of *Pulci's *Morgante*. Byron worked on it between October 1819 and February 1820. *Murray delayed publication because he regarded the work as dangerously irreligious; eventually it was published by John *Hunt in *The *Liberal* in July 1823. The *Morgante* canto ('Maggiore' refers simply to the second, longer version of Pulci's poem) tells, in often mock-heroic style, the tale of Charlemagne's paladin Orlando. Having saved 'an Abbey…/All from the beastly rage of Giants three' (5–6) he converts the surving giant, Morgante, to Christianity and becomes his friend. The translation is remarkably close considering the difficulty of 'combining…interpretation of the one language with the not very easy task of reducing it to the same versification in the other' (Advertisement, *CPW* iv.248).

Defending both the translation and the Pulci-influenced and much-condemned *DJ* I–II, Byron told Murray on 7 February 1820, 'I think my translation of Pulci will make you stare' – compare the original 'and you will see what was permitted in a Catholic country and a bigotted age to a Churchman on the score of religion; – and so tell those buffoons who accuse me of attacking the liturgy' (*BLJ* vii.35). The Advertisement seeks to demonstrate the context of the *ottava rima* poems in a literary tradition which began with Pulci and includes *Frere. The translation itself was intended to further the same aim. It was published, at Byron's insistence, together with the original.
Further reading: Vassallo (1984).

Morning Chronicle

*Whig newspaper. In it Byron published, anonymously, 'Ode to the Framers of the Frame Bill', 'Impromptu on a Recent Incident' ('On the Regency' in *CPW* vii.95), 'Lines to a Lady Weeping', 'Parenthetical Address, by Dr Plagiary', 'On the Death of Sir Peter Parker, Bart.' and 'Ode (from the French)'. The *Morning Chronicle* printed 'Condolatory Address to Sarah, Countess of Jersey, on the Prince Regent's Returning Her Picture to Mrs. Mee' without Byron's permission, and the first complete version of 'January 22nd 1824. Messalonghi' posthumously.

*Moore also published a number of political poems here.

Murat, Joachim

(1767–1815)
Napoleonic marshal and King of Naples. Having been one of *Napoleon's most successful generals he joined his enemies in 1814 in order to keep Naples. In 1815 he changed sides again and was executed in October by the restored Bourbon monarchy. 'Ode (From the French)' laments that Murat sold himself 'to death and shame/For a meanly royal name' but describes with some zest his former glory, his days of 'dashing/On thy war horse through the ranks,/Like a stream which burst its banks.' In the ode Byron pities his death by 'a slave's dishonest blow' and in a letter to *Moore on 4 November 1815 mourns and salutes him: 'Poor, dear, Murat, what an end! You know, I suppose, that his white plume used to be a rallying point in battle' (cp. 'Ode [From the French]' 36, 50–9); at his execution 'He refused a confessor and a bandage; – so would neither suffer his soul or body to be bandaged' (*BLJ* iv.330–1). (Hugo, in *Parisina* 475, also dies 'with eyes unbound'; *see* Murray, *Letters* 151–2n.) The manner of Murat's death was an evident contrast with Napoleon's failure to fall on his sword (*Nathan* 40; cp. *Ode to Napoleon*).

Murray, John

(1778–1843)
Byron's publisher. He is often called John Murray II to distinguish him from his publishing father and descendants. Murray was established as sole partner from 1803 in the company based, from autumn 1812, at 50 Albemarle Street, London. Transactions between Murray and Byron began with *CHP* which, with the *Oriental Tales, brought Murray considerable wealth and

prestige. Byron had been well placed to publish with Murray: *EBSR* had attacked the **Edinburgh Review* and exalted *Gifford just before Murray started to publish the rival **Quarterly Review*, edited by Gifford, in 1808; and the 'loco-descriptive' *CHP* suited the firm's evolving reputation as publisher of travel literature (Graham [2004], p. 31; Franklin [2000], p. 45). The fortunes of Murray and Byron rose together in an age when 'the publisher replaced the patron as mediator between authors and the reading public' (Franklin [2000], p. 46).

Murray's task in publishing Byron was to find a way 'to keep a poet with anti-commercial prejudices, "tempestuous passions", and liberal *Whig sentiments suitable for the list of a conservative publishing house and an elite readership' (Graham [2004], p. 31). Graham ([2004], pp. 32–4) studies Murray's skilful solution of using Byron's respect for Gifford's editorial opinions, as well as Murray's own tactful influence. Up to at least 1816, they had some success in toning down or editing out some of the more controversial attitudes of the poems. The personal relationship between author and publisher became fairly close. Andrew Nicholson in Murray, *Letters* xvii–xviii, characterizes the manner of their earlier letters: 'Murray – deferential and complimentary without being sycophantic, forthright but diplomatic ... writing with the authority of experience and knowledge whilst appealing to Byron's self-esteem and best interest; Byron – flattered, agreeable, bantering, but firm and unyielding, transmuting Murray's very objections to various passages into reasons for their retention.' After Byron's exile his letters to his publisher, which he knew would be read to or circulated among his friends and advisers, become more full and self-revealing and Murray's become more relaxed and 'occasionally discursive – even hesitantly argumentative' (Murray, *Letters* xix). Byron also relied on Murray to supply him with recent books and such equipment as 'Tooth powder – Magnesia – Tincture of Myrrh ... and Peruvian Bark' (*BLJ* vi.29).

Many factors contributed to the decline and ending of the relationship. Byron, who had once given away his copyrights and refused 1,000 guineas for *Giaour* and *Bride*, later cared to be paid well. Physical distance increased the number of textual wrangles, perceived slights and misunderstandings between them. Particularly difficult for Murray was the radical tone and content of Byron's later work. He published *Cain* in 1821 only because Byron would not allow publication of *Sardanapalus* and *Two Foscari* without it. (In January 1822 Murray was threatened with prosecution over *Cain*: *see BLJ* ix.103–4; and Murray, *Letters* 433.) He hesitated to publish *VJ*, which Byron eventually brought out instead in *The *Liberal*. Finally when *Kinnaird read him extracts from *DJ* VI–IX and the Preface to VI–VIII in October 1822

Murray wrote to Byron that 'these were so outrageously shocking that I would not publish them – if you would give me your estate – Title – & Genius' (Murray, *Letters* 455). For his part Byron was angry at Murray's apparent failure, after *VJ* had been transferred to John *Hunt, to send him the preface and corrected proof (24 October 1822, *BLJ* x.17–18). Probably it was in fact Kinnaird's failure: *see* Murray, *Letters* 463. (For further details of the break *see* Franklin [2000], pp. 160–4 and Murray, *Letters* 455–67.)

After Byron's death Murray acquired as many as possible of Byron's remaining copyrights. He published Moore, *Life*, and the early collected editions. Under his descendants the company continued to issue Byron-related books including, in the twentieth century, *BLJ* and the biographical works of Iris Origo, *Marchand, Doris Langley *Moore and *MacCarthy*.

See also: **'Epistle from Mr. Murray to Dr. Polidori'**; **'Epistle to Mr. Murray' ('My dear Mr. Murray,/You're in a damned hurry')**; **'To Mr. Murray' ('For Orford and for Waldegrave')**; **'To Mr. Murray' ('Strahan – Tonson – Lintot of the times')**; **'To Mr. Murray' ('To hook the Reader – you – John Murray')**.

Further reading: Mason (2002).

Murray, Joseph (Joe)

(1737?–1820)

Byron's loyal butler, 'Old Murray'. He entered the service of William, 5th Lord *Byron in the early 1760s. Byron was affectionate towards the 'poor honest fellow' (*BLJ* i.181), who went with him as far as *Gibraltar in 1809. He continued to provide for Murray after leaving England in 1816.

Murray archive

Publisher's archive. It includes about 1,200 of Byron's letters, many letters to him, and many of the manuscripts of his poems. Formerly in London at 50 Albemarle Street (*see* John *Murray), the collection was sold to the National Library of Scotland, where it arrived in 2006.

Musical settings

Composers have often set Byron's poems. Alice Levine (1982) found 'approximately 750 musical works related to Byron' (p. 178). Mention should be made, among composers, of *Nathan, *Donizetti, *Berlioz, *Schumann and *Verdi. Sir William Sterndale Bennett produced a *Parisina* overture in

1835. Franz Liszt's piano étude *Mazeppa* derives partly from Byron's poem; his *Tasso. Lamento e trionfo* is inspired mainly by *Lament* although intended as the overture for a production of *Goethe's *Tasso*. Tchaikovsky completed his programmatic *Manfred Symphony* (based on an outline by Balakirev) in 1885. Romantic composers were strongly influenced by Byronic melancholy as perceived in *CHP*, the *Oriental Tales, *HM* and *Manfred*.

Songs continued to be set in the twentieth century (by Hugo Wolf among others). 'She walks in beauty, like the night' was especially popular (Levine [1982], p. 179). Arnold Schoenberg set *Ode to Napoleon* in 1942 and 1944. Alan Bush wrote a *Byron Symphony* (1961) and there were operas by Virgil Thomson (1975) and Richard Meale (1991).

Musical taste, Byron's

Byron says relatively little about music. His expertise with metre and rhyme suggests, however, a 'good ear'. We know that he generally enjoyed *Rossini. He was aware of, and sometimes interested in, traditional songs and ballads: 'The Jolly Beggar' (*see* **'So We'll Go No More A Roving'**), 'Sally in Our Alley' (*see* **'Ballad to the Tune of "Sally in Our Alley"'**), the Albanian songs of the notes to *CHP* II (*CPW* ii.196–7), the Greek love songs he translated (*CPW* nos 154–6). In *Switzerland, according to Mary *Shelley, he often sang *Moore's 'Tyrolese Song of Liberty' (Shelley [1987], ii.478). He wrote many pieces denominated 'Song' or suitable for music, for instance Childe Harold's 'Good Night' (*CHP* I.118–97), 'The Isles of Greece' and *Hebrew Melodies*. Juan 'had/An air as sentimental as Mozart's/Softest of melodies' (*DJ* XI.371).

According to *Nathan* 83 Byron often 'made appointments to take instructions in singing', but always tried to postpone the lesson by 'the ingenuity of his observations, or by frankly acknowledging his want of courage'. *Nathan says (*Nathan* 83–4) that his voice was 'harmonious and pleasing, yet he never exerted it musically without appearing greatly confused at the unsuccessful commencement of the essay'. Nevertheless he would join in when Nathan sang 'She walks in beauty, like the night'.

Musset, Alfred de

(1810–57)

French poet and playwright. In his autobiographical novel *Confession d'un enfant du siècle* (1836) he complains that Byron (and *Goethe) have failed to inspirit and direct a bewildered post-Napoleonic generation. Nevertheless

Musset, who had a good knowledge of English, frequently draws on and alludes to Byron's work. From *Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie* (1830) onwards, he was attracted by Byron's irony as well as his melancholy. 'Mardoche' (in *Contes*) shows the close influence of the plot of *DJ* I and the digressive, conversational manner of *DJ* as a whole. Byronic elements in *Namouna* (1833) and other works are assessed by Joanne Wilkes (2004), pp. 26–31, and Peter Cochran (2004), pp. 58–63.

'My Boat is on the Shore' *see* 'To Thomas Moore' ('My boat is on the shore…')

'My dear Mr. Murray,/You're in a damned hurry' *see* 'Epistle to Mr. Murray'

'My Soul is Dark'

Song in *HM*, written probably in late 1814. *Nathan* 37 says that Byron, having heard allegations that he was insane, 'declared, that he would try how a *Madman* could write' and rapidly produced 'My Soul is Dark'. It alludes to the story of David minstering to Saul through music in I Samuel 16:14–23. It is thus 'a Hebrew Melody about the cathartic role of Hebrew melodies' (Ashton [1972], p. 85).

N

Napier, Colonel Charles James

(1782–1853)
British Resident of *Cephalonia 1822–30. Byron went to the island in 1823 having heard of Napier's philhellenic sympathies (which were at odds with official British neutrality in the *Greek War of Independence). Napier combined these with caution, born of practical experience of war, about how the Greeks might best be helped. In December 1823 Byron recommended Napier to *Bowring as militarily and personally excellent, on good terms with *Stanhope, *Mavrokordatos and Byron himself, and the ideal man 'to lead a regular force, or organize a national one for the Greeks' (*BLJ* xi.73). He later achieved military success in India as the conqueror of Sind.

Napoleon Bonaparte

(1769–1821)
First Consul of France from 1799, Emperor 1804–14 and 1815. Many of Byron's contemporaries were fascinated – horrified, entranced or both – by the self-made monarch who was seen as either the heir or the betrayer of the *French Revolution. For most *Tories he was the arch-enemy whereas many *Whigs admired him or at least preferred him to a restored *ancien régime*. His energy and success inspired heroic or demonic representation. To these patterns Byron added a strong sense of personal identification. This was registered most famously when he travelled into exile in a replica of Napoleon's coach and when, in *DJ* XI.440, he looks back at his time as 'grand Napoleon of the realms of rhyme'.

Byron was always, nevertheless, ambivalent about the man who could be perceived as either divine 'Scourger of the world' or 'bloated Chief' (*CHP* I.545, 550). He was a '"Héros de Roman" of mine – on the continent; I don't want him here' (*BLJ* iii.210, 17 November 1813). It was impossible for Napoleon to live up to his heroic myth, particularly after, in 1814, he chose abdication and Elba rather than a glorious death in battle or noble suicide. This is one of the main subjects of *Ode to Napoleon*. After *Waterloo and the second abdication in 1815 Byron looked in more detail, in *CHP* III.316–78, at Napoleon's 'spirit antithetically mixt/One moment of the mightiest, and again/On little

objects with like firmness fixt,/Extreme in all things!' (317–20). He should have been less scornful of men, should not have become 'A god unto' himself and to the 'astounded kingdoms all inert'; but 'quiet to quick bosoms is a hell' (370). There is still clearly a strong element of admiration, and a tendency to characterize Napoleon with the same mixed, enigmatic, remarkable qualities as a *Byronic hero. Byron returns to the subject in *Age* 43–259, where Napoleon is again both glorious and futile, and in *CHP* IV.800–23.
See also: **'From the French'; 'Napoleon's Farewell (From the French)'; 'Ode (From the French)'; 'On the Star of "The Legion of Honour" (From the French)'.**
Further reading: Bainbridge (1995); Hogg (1981).

'Napoleon's Farewell (From the French)'

Poem in three stanzas. It was written and published anonymously in *The Examiner* in July 1815, six weeks after *Waterloo, and included in *Poems 1816*. In *The Examiner* an editorial note dissociates the journal from the opinions expressed in the poem and points out that the author is expressing 'what may be considered as the speaker's feelings', not his own. *Napoleon takes his leave of a *France he made glorious but whose 'weakness decrees I should leave as I found thee'. But still he may return. It is a much more evidently sympathetic portrayal of Napoleon than *Ode to Napoleon*.

Nathan, Isaac

(1790–1864)
Composer. He was the son of a synagogue *chazan* or cantor and was originally intended for the rabbinate. Having unsuccessfully tried to interest Walter *Scott in writing for him, on 13 June 1814 he sent Byron his setting of 'This rose to calm my brother's cares ...' (*Bride* I.287–94). (He composed 20 Byron songs in addition to those in *HM* and the related volumes. They are listed by Ashton [1972], p. 53.) Nathan wrote again on 30 June, outlining his project and politely asking for some verses to accompany some 'very beautiful Hebrew melodies of undoubted antiquity' (Ashton [1972], pp. 9–10). It was, however, only on the intervention of *Kinnaird in September 1814 (Ashton, pp. 14–15) that Byron was persuaded to take up Nathan's suggestion. (*See* ***Hebrew Melodies***.)

N1815 was dedicated to Princess *Charlotte, the subject of Byron's 'Lines to a Lady Weeping'. Nathan was her singing teacher, but the dedication, in conjunction with Byron's name, also indicates liberal *Whig sympathies.

Nathan's relationship with Kinnaird deteriorated during the composition of the melodies. The reasons seem to include Kinnaird's snobbery and perhaps anti-Semitism, and jealousy at Nathan's close working relationship with Byron. (For Nathan's self-justificatory attacks on Kinnaird *see Nathan* x–xviii, 90–8.) Nathan also cannot have been pleased when *Murray published his own separate edition of *HM*, but acquiesced under pressure or persuasion (Ashton [1972], pp. 33–4). With Byron himself, however, he enjoyed, as far as is known, cordial relations – if inevitably with some condescension on Byron's side. The main evidence for their friendship is given in *Nathan*, perhaps with a degree of exaggeration. The book also provides anecdotes about Byron's relationship with the actors *Kean and *Dowton and records his remarks on a number of the songs. Byron gave Nathan £50 as a parting gift in 1816 (*Nathan* 88).

The composer, having failed to overcome financial difficulties at home, emigrated to Australia in 1840.
Further reading: Burwick and Douglass (1988).

'New Song to the Tune of the "Vicar and Moses", A'

Satire of March 1822. It is aimed at George Frederick Nott (1767–1841), a clergyman who preached against Byron, P. B. *Shelley and their work, in *Pisa. The title refers to a popular song about a vicar prone to drinking; there was also a famous Staffordshire figure of him sleeping while his clerk preached.

Newstead Abbey

The 'melancholy mansion of my fathers' (*BLJ* iii.136). Byron's ancestral home in Nottinghamshire originated as an Augustinian priory in the twelfth century and was converted into a house by Sir John Byron from 1540. Elements of the mediaeval buildings survived, most notably the west front of the priory church. Byron lived at Newstead with his mother (Catherine Gordon *Byron) in 1798–99 and part of the summer of 1800 before it was let to tenants in 1801. (Newstead needed extensive repairs, and the Byrons had little money. Many rooms were simply left empty.) From 1803 the tenant was Lord *Grey de Ruthyn, with whom Byron lived in 1803–04; the Byrons moved back to Newstead when Grey left in the summer of 1808. Mrs Byron continued there during her son's travels and died there in August 1811. In 1812, in spite of his previous determination not to part with the house, he was persuaded to put it up for sale in the hope of solving his financial problems. Thomas Claughton (*c.*1774–1842) offered £140,000 in August 1812 but prevaricated until eventually giving up the contract, and forfeiting £25,000, two years later. Finally Colonel Thomas Wildman (1787–1859), who had been at *Harrow with Byron, bought Newstead in 1817 for £94,500. Byron last visited the house in 1814.

As the place of his ancestors, sign of noble status and site of early memories, Newstead was of considerable sentimental importance to Byron. It inspired adolescent poems of glorious past and melancholy decay: 'On Leaving Newstead Abbey', 'Elegy on Newstead Abbey' and 'To an Oak in the Garden of Newstead Abbey'. In 1811 he returned to the same themes in *'Newstead Abbey' ('In the dome of my Sires as the clear moonbeam falls'). Byron, *Matthews and *Hobhouse put the house to less reverent use for a Gothic party in 1809 with '*Monks*' dresses from a masquerade warehouse', drinking from the skull-cup (*see* '**Lines inscribed upon a Cup formed from a Skull**') and 'buffooning all around' (*BLJ* vii.231).

Newstead is the basis for Norman Abbey in *DJ* XIII–XVII. The fictional version, described in XIII.433–536, is a great stately home: what Newstead might have been if Byron's predecessors had maintained it and their money. There are, however, many physical resemblances between the real and fictional abbeys: the woodlands and lake, the 'glorious remnant of the Gothic pile' which 'stood half apart/In a grand Arch' (465–7), the statue of the Virgin 'Spared by some chance when all beside was spoil'd' (484), the 'strange unearthly sound' or 'dying accent' driven through the arch (499–501).

Colonel Wildman and, after 1861, William Frederick Webb and his family undertook careful restoration of the abbey. In 1931 Sir Julien Cahn gave it to Nottingham City Council. It is open to the public and displays a collection of Byron-related pictures and objects including his pistols, inkstand and betrothal ring.
See also: **Irving, Washington**.

'Newstead Abbey' ('In the dome of my Sires as the clear moonbeam falls')

Poem dated 26 August 1811 and published in 1834. This is a more sober reflection on decay than the earlier poems on *Newstead; this time there is no hope of reviving the past and the ruin 'fixed on my tower and my wall … tells not of Time's or the tempest's decay,/But the wreck of the line that have held it in sway' (21–4). The mood is affected by the recent death of Catherine Gordon *Byron, *Matthews and *Wingfield.

Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm

(1844–1900)
German philosopher. His idea of the *Übermensch* or superman was perhaps influenced by Manfred and the image of Byron himself (Pointner and Geisenhanslüke [2004], p. 267).

Nottingham

Midlands town, centre of hosiery trade. Byron lived in Nottingham as a child from 1798 to 1799 and in 1800 fell in love here with Margaret *Parker. He made further occasional visits from *Newstead (about twelve miles away). His body lay in state at the Blackamoor's Head on 15–16 July 1824 and many townspeople followed the cortège to the edge of the town on its way to *Hucknall. Beckett (2000) suggests that such sympathy was a response to 'the perception of Byron as a man with an interest in the downcast', whether the Nottinghamshire Luddites of 1812 (*see* ***Frame Work Bill Speech***) or the Greeks (p. 58). In 1806 he had described Nottingham – famous for radical activity – to John *Pigot as 'that *political Pandemonium*' (*BLJ* i.98).

O

Observations upon Observations

Contribution by Byron to the dispute over *Bowles's views on *Pope. It is a response to Bowles's *Observations on the Poetical Character of Pope* (1821). Byron sent the piece to *Murray on 21 April 1821 but decided to suppress it following Bowles's acknowledgement of the 'urbanity and honourable opposition' of Byron's recent *Letter to John Murray* (*Prose* 405).

'Occasional Prologue, Delivered Prior to the Performance of "The Wheel of Fortune", at a Private Theatre, An' *see* Drama and theatre

'Ode (From the French)'

Post-*Waterloo poem. It was published anonymously in the **Morning Chronicle* on 15 March 1816 and probably written (*CPW* iii.492) about a week earlier. The victors of Waterloo should not congratulate themselves: *Napoleon was invincible while 'the soldier citizen/Swayed not o'er his fellow men' but was defeated once 'The Hero sunk into the King'. But the spirit of freedom endures, as tyrants will find to their cost. This prophecy is delivered in apocalyptic terms borrowed, as Byron's note to line 21 in *Poems1816* indicates, from Revelation 8:7–11. The desire to strike a prophetic note originates in Byron's anger at W. T. *Fitzgerald's claim to have prophesied Waterloo in his anti-Napoleonic poem 'The White Cockade' (1814). Following the assassination of the ultra-royalist Duc de Berri, *Louis XVIII's nephew, in 1820, Byron maintained that the conclusion of his ode – 'Crimson tears will follow yet' – qualified him as just as much of a prophet (*BLJ* vii.84).

Section 3 of the poem is concerned with Joachim *Murat, who again was invincible until he betrayed freedom's cause. The ascription of the poem to François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848) in the *Morning Chronicle* headnote is aimed sarcastically at Chateaubriand's support for the restored Bourbon regime.

'Ode to a Lady Whose Lover was Killed by a Ball, which at the Same Time Shivered a Portrait next his Heart'

Poem written probably in 1819 or 1820. It was first published in *C*. Love is preserved by the true lover's death.

Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte

Poem written in April 1814, at the time of *Napoleon's first abdication and confinement on Elba. The first of many editions was published anonymously on 16 April; the third edition, soon afterwards, added stanza v; three additional stanzas, xvii–xix, were printed in Moore, *Life* i.546. The author's name first appeared in the tenth edition.

Napoleon is condemned for his ignominious failure to live up to expectation by dying heroically. Not until his fall 'could mortals guess/Ambition's less than littleness' (17–18). The *Tory *Antijacobin Review* (May 1814), like several other reviews, was persuaded that the ode shows an unequivocally patriotic spirit (*RR* i.50–1, 53). But Bainbridge (1995), pp. 149–51, argues that the allusion to Prometheus in the original final stanza (xvi) 'scripts a new heroic role for Napoleon', transforming his abdication from 'an act of surrender into one of defiance ... The failure of Satan [8–9] is transformed into the positive pride of Prometheus.' (Nicholson [2003b], p. 73, shows that the associated lines '[Prometheus and Napoleon]' [*CPW* iii.269] are not Byron's.)

Arnold Schoenberg set *Ode to Napoleon* for speaker, piano and string quartet in 1942. (In the 1944 version a string orchestra replaces the string quartet.) Schoenberg clearly had Hitler as much as Napoleon in mind.
Further reading: *MSYRB* xi; O'Neill (2006).

'Ode to the Framers of the Frame Bill, An'

Poem vigorously satirizing the *Tory government's bill to impose the death penalty for the Nottinghamshire frame-breakers. It was published anonymously in the *Morning Chronicle* on 2 March 1812, and in the *Nottingham Review* on 6 March, a few days after Byron's *Frame Work Bill Speech*. The poem uses robust sarcasm, rhyme and puns to deliver a simpler, rougher, funnier version of the sentiments in the speech.
Further reading: Mole (2003).

'Oh! Snatched Away in Beauty's Bloom'

Song of mourning in *HM*. Possibly it remembers *Edleston. According to *Nathan* 30 Byron said, of the anonymous person mourned, 'She is no more, and perhaps the only vestige of her existence is the feeling I sometimes fondly indulge.'

'Oh, talk not to me of a name great in story' *see* 'Stanzas Written on the Road Between Florence and Pisa'

'Oh! Weep for Those'

Song of Jewish exile in *HM*, probably written in September 1814. It is reminiscent of Psalm 137. Burwick and Douglass (1988), p. 24, see the piece as proto-Zionist.

'On a Change of Masters, at a Great Public School' *see* Butler, Rev. Dr George

'On a Cornelian Heart Which Was Broken' *see* 'Cornelian, The'

'On a Distant View of the Village and School, of Harrow, on the Hill'

Nostalgic poem of 1806. It appears in *FP*, *POVO* and *HI*. Byron fondly remembers life at *Harrow, where 'friendships were form'd, too romantic to last', where he pondered at evening, and where he performed as characters from Young's *Revenge* and from *King Lear*. Recollection of these scenes 'Embitters the present, compar'd with the past.' The emphasis is more personal than in Thomas *Gray's 'Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College', which probably suggested the title.

'On his Sickness. A Parody' *see* Pope, Alexander

'On Jordan's Banks'

Song in *HM*, probably written in September 1814. It is a lament of Jewish exile, calling on God to 'Sweep from his shiver'd hand the oppressor's spear'. The 'How long ... How long ... ?' of the final couplet echoes the recurrent 'O Lord, How long?' of the book of Psalms (Burwick and Douglass [1988], p. 24).

'On Leaving Newstead Abbey'

Early poem. It was written in 1803, first printed in *FP*, and included in *POVO*, *HI* and *POT*. 'Thou, the hall of my fathers, art gone to decay', but the present Byron goes forth to emulate their glorious deeds.

'On Revisiting Harrow' ('Here once engaged the Stranger's view')

Poem of lost friendship. The corrected fair copy is dated September 1807 and first publication was in Moore, *Life*. A fellow pupil at *Harrow, probably *Delawarr, engraved his and Byron's names together, but 'afterwards on receiving some real or imagined injury the author destroyed the frail record' (Byron's manuscript note, *CPW* i.389).

'On Southey's Laureateship'

Unfinished poem against *Southey. It was written probably in September 1813, when Southey became Poet Laureate, and first published (with the present title in parentheses) in *CPW*. Hostility focuses, as that of Southey's detractors usually did, on the abandonment of his earlier politics. He has changed from a defender of regicide to the friend of monarchs – or in particular the Prince Regent (*George IV). The two men go together: 'Prince of a party, poet of a sect'. *CPW* iii.427 points out that the form of the poem is close to **ottava rima*.

'On the Bust of Helen by Canova' *see* Albrizzi, Countess Isabella Teotochi

'On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus'

Song in *HM*, written in January 1815. A Jewish captive laments the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 but concludes that 'scattered and scorn'd as thy people may be', their worship of God will go on undeterred. Byron was fascinated by the account of the siege and sack of the city in Josephus' *Jewish Wars*, VI–VII. According to *Nathan* 61 Byron said that 'he had always considered the fall of Jerusalem, as the most remarkable event of all history; "for," (in his own words) "who can behold the entire destruction of that mighty pile; the desolate wanderings of its inhabitants, and compare these positive occurrences, with the distant prophecies which foreran them, and be an infidel?" '

'On the Death of Mr. Fox'

Byron's reply to an 'Illiberal Impromptu' in the *Morning Post* of 26 September 1806. The poem was included in *FP*, *POVO*, *HI* and *POT*. It answers lines in which the death of the *Whig leader Charles James Fox (1749–1806) is said to be lamented by 'Our Nation's foes' who, contrastingly, 'bless the hour' when his antagonist William *Pitt died. Byron argues that if Pitt was generally pitied and honoured, his 'errors' forgotten, then we should certainly mourn Fox, whose death is a loss to all Europe and who was even more of a 'patriot' than Pitt. 'On the Death of Mr. Fox' is an early declaration of allegiance to the liberal Whigs with whom he would later, under Fox's nephew Lord *Holland, consort.

'On the Death of Sir Peter Parker, Bart.'

Commemorative poem published anonymously in the *Morning Chronicle* on 7 October 1814. It was reprinted in *HM*, separated from the rest of the collection. Parker (1785–1814), Byron's first cousin and Margaret *Parker's brother, had commanded the ship *Menelaus* and been killed in August while leading an attack near Baltimore in the Anglo-American War of 1812–15. Byron 'was desired by our relatives to write' the poem. It contrasts the honour and glory of a brave man's death with the unconsolable grief of 'breasts that bleed with thee/In woe'.

'On the Quotation "And my true faith can alter never"' *see* Vaughan, Susan

'On the Star of "The Legion of Honour"'

Napoleonic poem, allegedly 'From the French'. The colours of the tricolour are interpreted as comprising a 'Rainbow of the free'. This remains even when the 'Star of the brave' is fading – with *Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat. The poem was written probably in September 1815 and published in *The Examiner* on 7 April 1816 and in *Poems1816*.

'On this day I complete my thirty-sixth year' *see* 'January 22nd 1824. Messalonghi'

Oriental Tales

Group of verse tales. The name is usually applied to *Giaour*, *Bride*, *Corsair*, *Lara* and *Siege*. *Lara*, although not set, like the other tales, in the Turkish sphere of influence, has close links with *Corsair*. *Parisina*, which takes place in *Italy but involves the same sort of extreme situation, is also often thought of as part of the group.

Byron's youthful orientalist reading was extensive. Relevant material included the Old Testament, the Turkish histories of Knolles and Rycaut, *The Arabian Nights*, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters from *Constantinople, the works of Sir William Jones, the poems of Firdausi, Sadi and Hafiz, George Sale's translation of the Qur'an or at least (Cochran [2006], pp. 9–10) its 'Preliminary Discourse', *Beckford's *Vathek* and d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*. (See Oueijan [1999], pp. 18–31; and Cochran [2006], pp. 61–3, 123–34, 299–302.) Oueijan, Sharafuddin (1994) and others insist that much of the cultural detail of the tales derives also from first-hand experience of the Middle East – landscape, architecture, costume, weapons, the court of *Ali Pasha, the incident which may be reflected in *Giaour*. This is often cited as an explanation for the greater popularity and readability of Byron's eastern tales than those of *Southey or *Moore.

At the time of their publication (1813–16) the Oriental Tales were widely read and on the whole enthusiastically reviewed. Later commentators often saw them as colourful, rather undisciplined early works, inferior to the poems which followed. Byron himself later, in frustration at the poor critical reception of his plays, called his more popular early work 'the exaggerated nonsense which has corrupted the public taste' (*BLJ* ix.161; cp. viii.218). In the 1960s–1970s the tales tended to be seen, following Gleckner (1967) as essentially pessimistic works. For McGann (1968) they centre on the 'Eros-directed life', on 'frustrated love, time and contingency' (p. 162). For Blackstone (1975) the tales are linked by an inconclusive pattern of 'bliss–danger–disaster–rescue–counterperil, Byron's "cynicism" rejecting a happy ending' (p. 116). Many later studies, in response to Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), put the tales in a context either more sympathetic to, or more complicatedly engaged with, the East: *see* e.g. Butler in Beatty and Newey (1988); Cochran (2006); and Leask (1992).

'Oscar of Alva. A Tale'

Ossianic verse narrative. It was written in early 1807 and published in *HI* and *POT*. The mysterious disappearance of the bold warrior Oscar is followed by the supernatural exposure of his brother, Allan, as his killer. Byron notes (*CPW* i.368) that his 'Catastrophe … was suggested by the story of "Jeronymo and Lorenzo", in the first volume of "The Armenian, or Ghost-Seer" [translated from *Schiller]: It also bears some resemblance to a scene in the third act of "Macbeth"' (Banquo's ghost). The setting and such turns of phrase as ‘hills of wind’ (54) and ‘gleaming form’ (250) derive from *Ossian. Local colour is added by words like ‘tartan’ (48, 255), claymore (59), ‘Beltane’ (220) and the repeated ‘Pibroch’ (42, 46, 85, 94), which, as *Brougham delighted in pointing out in the **Edinburgh Review*, Byron mistakenly believed was the bagpipe rather than its music (*RR* ii.835).

Ossian

‘Author’ of poems translated or written (in prose) by James Macpherson (1736–96). They were brought together in *The Works of Ossian* (1765). By Byron’s time there had been much controversy over the provenance and authenticity of the work. The established position today is that ‘Macpherson drew on traditional sources to produce imaginative texts not modelled closely on any single identifiable original’ (Stafford [1996], p. vii.) Byron and many of his contemporaries were attracted to Ossian’s heroic tales of battle and loss, their melancholy and their mists, winds and shadowy supernatural forms. Ossian also contributed to the nostalgia for *Scotland in some of Byron’s early poems. *‘Ossian’s Address to the Sun in “Carthon”’ versifies and expands Macpherson; ‘Oscar of Alva’ and ‘The Death of Calmar and Orla’ are more generally Ossianic. In his notes to the last poem Byron comments that ‘while the Imposture is discovered, the merit of’ Macpherson’s *Ossian* ‘remains undisputed, though not without faults, particularly in some parts, turgid and bombastic diction’ (*CPW* i.375). He owned copies of *Ossian’s Poems* (3 vols, 1803) and *Ossian’s Poems, Gaelic and Latin* (3 vols, 1807) (*Sale Catalogue* 1813, nos 191–2; 1816, nos 248–9).

‘Ossian’s Address to the Sun in “Carthon”’

Couplet rendering and expansion of the last paragraph of Macpherson’s ‘Carthon: a Poem’. Byron’s poem was written in about 1805 and was unpublished until *C*. The blind *Ossian speaks to the sun having felt its warmth on the grave of the hero Carthon. The sun, like Ossian, may be subject to time and ‘dark unlovely Age’ (30). Lines 35–52 are the most substantial extension of ‘Carthon’.

Ottava rima

Stanza form. It was used by *Ariosto and other Italian poets and by Byron in ‘Epistle to Augusta’, *Beppo*, *DJ, Morgante* and *VJ*. In the English version eight

lines of iambic pentameter (eight eleven-syllable lines in Italian) rhyme ab ab ab cc – alternate rhymes followed by a final couplet.
Further reading: Addison (2004); Barton (1992).

Otway, Thomas

(1652–85)
Tragic playwright. His *Venice Preserv'd* (1682), which is mentioned in *CHP* IV.34 and 158, had some influence on *Marino Faliero* (cp. *BLJ* v.203). Both plays deal with conspiracies against the Venetian state.

Ovid

(43 BC–AD 18)
Publius Ovidius Naso, Roman poet. Byron alludes quite often to his *Metamorphoses*, although it is sometimes difficult to know how far references to such figures as Phaeton or Medea are part of the common currency of mythology rather than specifically Ovidian. In *EBSR* 690 and *BLJ* ix.77 he refers to Medea's well-known 'Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor' ('I see and acknowledge the better way, but follow the worse' – *Metamorphoses* VII.20), and returns to 'Ovid's Miss Medea' in *DJ* I.684. Byron is also aware of the *Ars Amatoria*, which makes Ovid 'tutor' of love (*DJ* II.1635); in the context of the young Juan's censored reading, 'Ovid's a rake, as half his verses show him' (*DJ* I.329).

Oxford, Jane Harley, Countess of

(1772–1824)
Byron's lover between autumn 1812 and spring 1813. He meant, he told Lady *Melbourne (*BLJ* ii.233), 'to play off Ly. *O* against' Caroline *Lamb. Lady Oxford was influential among the radical *Whigs. She encouraged Byron to become more closely involved in politics and introduced him to the circle of Princess (later Queen) *Caroline.

P

Painting and sculpture

Byron had an average knowledge of these arts for a man of his class and generation. Michelangelo's *Moses* and Sistine chapel ceiling are acknowledged in *Prophecy* IV.57–64. At Norman Abbey, as a relief from the 'hereditary glories' of the family pictures, there are works by Titian and by such generally approved seventeenth-century artists as Carlo Dolce, Salvator Rosa, Claude, Rembrandt, Caravaggio and Teniers (*DJ* XIII. 537–76). Guido Reni's ceiling painting at Palazzo Rospigliosi in *Rome is admired in *DJ* XIV.313–16 and his 'beauty-breathing pencil' in the first 'Sonnet. To Ginevra'.

Byron liked Titian and Giorgione at Palazzo Manfrini in *Venice in April 1817 (*BLJ* v.213). Indeed he sounds unusually enthusiastic about the 'Portrait of **Ariosto* by *Titian* surpassing all my anticipation of the power of painting – or human expression – it is the poetry of portrait – & the portrait of poetry' (*BLJ* v.213). But probably the painting would have moved him less had he not thought Ariosto was the subject. (Art historians no longer think it is.) He goes on to tell *Murray that he knows nothing of painting and detests it 'unless it reminds me of something I have seen or think it possible to see'. He has seen no picture or statue 'which came within a league of my conception or expectation' but he has seen it exceeded by mountains, seas, rivers, 'two or three women', horses, a lion, a tiger (*BLJ* v.213–14). Painting is therefore 'of all the arts… the most artificial and unnatural'. (Cp. *DJ* II.941–52 on sculptors as 'a race of mere impostors, when all's done –/I've seen much finer women, ripe and real,/Than all the nonsense of their stone ideal' [942–4].) No doubt Byron enjoys playing the philistine to amaze or amuse Murray, but his preference for what he has seen or thinks it 'possible to see' does seem to be fairly consistent – and allows him to engage closely with some sorts of art. At the Manfrini he likes the apparent Ariosto and the women in the paintings who look like modern Italians. In *Bologna he admires the 'superb face' of a kneeling mother by Guido Reni which is 'the image of Lady Ponsonby – who is as beautiful as Thought' (*BLJ* v.216). In *CHP* IV there is intense engagement with the statues of the Dying Gladiator (1252–69; now identified as a Dying Gaul) and Laocoon (1433–40), which portray scenes of easily recognizable emotion. (This interest in sculpture may, however, have a more idealizing source in *Winckelmann.)

See also: **Canova, Antonio**.

'Parenthetical Address, by Dr. Plagiary'

Parody dated 19 October 1812. It was published anonymously in the *Morning Chronicle* on 23 October. Dr Thomas Busby (1754–1838) had entered the competition for an address for the reopening of *Drury Lane theatre. Several days after Byron's *'Address, Spoken at the Opening of Drury-lane Theatre' had first been delivered on 10 October, Busby's son George attempted unsuccessfully to deliver his father's piece, and then one of his own, in the theatre. In Byron's parody lines from Busby are put in inverted commas and interspersed with lines of the author's own; part of the jest is that Byron thus becomes as much of a 'plagiary' as the derivative doctor.

Parisina

Verse tale. Although set in *Italy it is often regarded as the last of the *Oriental Tales. Azo, Marquess of Este (derived from the historical Niccolò III), condemns his illegitimate son, Hugo, to death when he discovers his incestuous liaison with Azo's wife, Parisina. Byron notes (*CPW* iii.491) that 'the greater part' of the poem 'was composed prior to "Lara"' (summer 1814). *CPW* iii.489 suggests that it was put into final form in 1815, since at the turn of 1814–15 (*BLJ* iv.248, 251) Byron was reading *Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*. This includes the account of Ugo and Parisina which is Byron's main acknowledged source. *Parisina* was published with *Siege* on 13 February 1816. The first stanza had been published as 'It is the Hour' in *HM*. A version of the second stanza appeared as 'Francisca' (on the name *see* below) in *N1816*.

The poem has often been seen in the context of Byron's own relationship with Augusta *Leigh and the larger context of his anger at Regency hypocrisy or *'cant'. Azo abandons Hugo's mother with impunity, and condemns Hugo to death for a crime which results in part from his own (257–9). Society in Byron's own time is 'badly corrupt, though full of a canting morality' (*CPW* iii.490). For Watkins (1987) the revelation of Azo's hypocrisy 'at once exposes and challenges ideological assumptions that support political authority' (p. 31). Such issues are given greater urgency and immediacy by the change from narrative to direct speech when Azo passes sentence (198–222) and Hugo eloquently replies (234–317). Parisina's near-silence may indicate the extent to which she is even more of a victim than her lover. Identified only through the two men, she loses both of them for speaking Hugo's name in her sleep (71–92); she is disoriented, no longer lover or wife, and her utterance is reduced to inarticulate shrieks (347, 498) and confused laughter and tears (381). For Blackstone (1975) she is guilty of 'insipidity' and Hugo, who accepts the justice of his sentence, of 'supineness' (p. 126). But for Watkins (1987, p. 136) a hero more human than his predecessors, not 'fixedly in opposition to society', and a more human heroine allow clear focus on 'the alienating effects of prevailing conditions on everyone'. All three characters are 'victims of their world'.

Byron is aware 'that in modern times the delicacy or fastidiousness of the reader may deem such subjects unfit for the purposes of poetry' (*CPW* iii.358). A number of reviewers confirmed this suspicion: for instance 'the sentiments [*Parisina*] endeavours to excite are of the most dreadful character' according to the *Liverpool Review* (March 1816, *RR* iv.1584). But the *Monthly Review* (February 1816, *RR* iv.1769) finds it 'the most equable of all the writer's works', calmer than usual in spite of the violent passions and 'distressing situations'. John *Murray felt 'it is very interesting – pathetic beautiful – do you know I would almost say Moral' (Murray, *Letters* 150). Later E. H. *Coleridge (*C* iii.500) comments on Byron's indifference, not to morality – the *dénouement* of the story is severely moral – but to the moral edification of his readers: 'It does not occur to him to condone or to reprobate the loves of Hugo and Parisina ... The modern reader, without being attracted or repelled by the *motif* of the story, will take pleasure in the sustained energy and sure beauty of the poetic strain.'

The father who takes the bride destined originally for his son (253–6) is a common literary motif with evident Oedipal possibilities. One of the most familiar stories of passionate young lovers destroyed by the woman's husband, however, is that of *Dante's Paolo and Francesca, where Paolo is the husband's brother rather than his son. Parisina seems at first to have been called Francesca or Francisca, either with reference to Dante or (*CPW* iii.479–80) because elements of the poem and of *Siege* (with its Francesca) were originally combined.

Parker, Margaret

(1787?–1802)

Byron's first cousin, one of his early loves. He fell in love with her in *Nottingham in the summer of 1800. In *Detached Thoughts* (*BLJ* ix.40) he says that his 'first dash into poetry' was 'the ebullition of a passion' for her and that his love was returned. He mourned her in 'On the Death of a Young Lady, Cousin to the Author and Very Dear to Him' (*FP*, *POVO*), written presumably in 1802.

Parker, Sir Peter *see* 'On the Death of Sir Peter Parker, Bart.'

Parliamentary speeches *see* ***Frame Work Bill Speech***; ***Presentation of Major Cartwright's Petition***; ***Roman Catholic Claims Speech***

'Parody on Sir William Jones's Translation from Hafiz – "Sweet Maid etc."'

Comic version of a Persian poem on the power of love. It may have been written in about September 1811 (*CPW* i.456) – but could easily be later – and was first published in *CPW*. Jones (1746–94) was the great orientalist, Shams ud-din Muhammad Hāfiz (*c.*1320–90) the great poet and philosopher. The translation had been frequently reprinted since its first appearance in 1771. The original may have mystical implications. Byron's skilled parody opens with the substitution for 'Sweet maid, if thou would'st charm my sight/And bid these arms thy neck infold' with 'Bar Maid, if for this shilling white,/Thou'dst let me love, nor scratch or scold' (1–2). A world of amatory or mystical flowers and jewels, 'liquid ruby', damsels and nymphs, gives way to one of unpaid bills, 'Brown Stout' (25) and beef, pot boys and 'ogling Chambermaids' (13). Hāfiz sings sweetly for his maid in hope to 'please' her while Byron turns 'buffoon' in hope to 'seize' her (41–2).

'Parody Upon "The Little Grey Man" in Lewis' *Tales of Wonder*, A'

Poem from Byron's *Southwell years. The fair copy by Eliza *Pigot, with Byron's corrections – first published in *CPW* – is dated by Byron 30 November 1806. According to Pigot (*CPW* i.358) the poem was 'written by Ld. B upon hearing the report that he had made Miss Bristoe an offer: *Which* report it was shrewdly conjectured she had *herself* raised'. Ann Bristoe (1781?–1832) was involved, with Byron, in the Southwell amateur dramatics of 1806 and is ironically addressed in 'A Valentine'. Henry Bunbury's 'The Little Grey Man' is part of *Tales of Wonder; Written and Collected by M.G. *Lewis, Esq.* (1801). Parochial Southwell replaces Gothic Aix-la-Chapelle as a setting. Byron's Mary Ann sets off to deny (having invented) the rumour about his Lordship's proposal, not to search for her ill-fated lover. While Bunbury's river will go on solemnly telling their story of woe, Byron's 'girls still giggle behind the light fan/At the tale of His Lordship and prim Mary Ann'.

Parry, William

(1773–1859)
Author of *The Last Days of Lord Byron* (1825). He was sent to *Missolonghi by the *London Greek Committee as 'fire master' – officer in charge of explosives. He arrived on 7 February 1824. Byron found him 'a fine rough subject' with a sympathetically robust distaste for the more theoretical and idealistic elements in the committee (*BLJ* xi.108). They got on well together. Parry was often with Byron in his last days. His book is a loyally pro-Byronic account of life in Missolonghi. (It seems [*BLJ* xi.217–18] to have been ghost-written by Thomas Hodgskin.)

Peacock, Thomas Love

(1785–1866)
Prose satirist. In chapter 11 of his *Nightmare Abbey* (1818) Byron is mocked as the self-dramatizing Mr Cypress. One of Peacock's aims in this work, he told P. B. *Shelley on 15 September 1818, was to 'bring to a sort of philosophical focus a few of the morbidities of modern literature'. He found such morbidity in *CHP* IV in particular; many of Mr Cypress's speeches quote or parody it. It seemed to Peacock that, amid the gloom and self-pity of the canto, Byron's political commitment was waning. 'Sir,' says Cypress, 'I have quarrelled with my wife; and a man who has quarrelled with his wife is absolved from all duty to his country. I have written an ode to tell the people as much, and they may take it as they list.'

Boyd (1945), pp. 155–7, considers the possible influence of Peacock's *Melincourt* (1817) on the English cantos of *DJ*.

Peel, (Sir) Robert

(1788–1850)
Politician, a friend of Byron at *Harrow. He played Turnus to Byron's Latinus in an extract from *Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book 11, at Speech Day on 5 July 1804. According to Byron, 'As a Scholar – he was greatly my Superior, – as a declaimer & actor – I was reckoned at least his equal – as a school-boy *out* of School – I was always *in* scrapes – and he *neve*r ... In general information – history – &c. &c. – I think I was *his* superior – as also of most boys of my standing' (*BLJ* ix.43). Peel left Harrow at Christmas 1804. He became chief secretary for Ireland 1812–18 and Home Secretary from 1822, and was later twice Prime Minister. He inherited his father's baronetcy in 1830.

Pellico, Silvio

(1789–1854)
Italian playwright and liberal journalist. He translated *Manfred* and wrote about *CHP*. Byron and *Hobhouse met him in *Milan in 1816, when Byron apparently gave him the impression that he intended to translate his tragedy *Francesca da Rimini* (1815) and promote a production at *Drury Lane; Hobhouse seems to have undertaken the translation alone, and nothing came of the production idea (see Cochran [2002], 17 and 30 October; n. 419). Pellico was arrested by the Austrians for his involvement with the *Carbonari in 1820 and was sentenced to hard labour at the fortress of Spielberg (1822–30). Byron lamented his fate to *Stendhal in a letter of 29 May 1823.

'Peterloo Massacre'

Violent suppression of a public meeting. On 16 August 1819 11 people were killed and 400 wounded at St Peter's Fields, Manchester, when cavalry dispersed a peaceful crowd which had gathered to hear Henry 'Orator' Hunt (1773–1835), the campaigner for parliamentary reform. Byron regarded the deaths as murder – see *DJ* XI.677–8 and unincorporated stanza 75 (*CPW* v.494) – but strongly disapproved of Hunt: 'I do not think the man who would overthrow all laws – should have the benefit of any... [I]f the Manchester Yeomanry had cut down *Hunt only* – they would have done their duty' (*BLJ* vii.81).

Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca)

(1304–74)
Italian poet. In *CHP* IV.262–79 there is an account of Petrarch's tomb and house at Arquà, including references to his 'well-sung woes' and how 'He arose/To raise a language, and his land reclaim/From the dull yoke of her barbaric foes' (265–8). (Byron visited Arquà in September 1817 and September 1819.) Petrarch may be an influence on 'To the Po'. Generally, however, Byron seems to have been little interested in his poems. In frustration after writing two sonnets he claims, 'I detest the Petrarch so much, that I would not be the man even to have obtained his Laura, which the metaphysical, whining dotard never could' (*BLJ* iii.240). Byron rated *Ariosto and *Tasso above Petrarch in *Prophecy* III.107.

Phillips, Thomas *see* Byron, portraits of

‘Pignus Amoris’ (‘As by the fix’d decrees of Heaven’)

Poem about *Edleston – ‘a Friend…/Who loved me for myself alone’ – and the cornelian heart. (*See* **‘Cornelian, The’**). It was probably written in 1807. It was first published, with this title (meaning ‘the pledge [or token] of love’) in *C*.

Pigot, Elizabeth Bridget

(1783–1866)
*Southwell friend and correspondent of Byron. They first met when he came to live in the town in 1804. Her fair copies were used as printer’s copy for many of the poems in *FP*, *POVO*, *HI* and *POT*. Byron addressed several poems to her in 1806, including the two ‘To M.S.G.’ poems and ‘To Miss EP’ (‘Eliza! what fools…’), published in full in *FP* and then, in *POVO*, with lines 17–40 omitted to avoid the offence caused by their flippant biblical references. She wrote and illustrated a manuscript poem, dated 26 March 1807, ‘The Wonderful History of Lord Byron and his Dog’ (Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin). The dog in question was *Boatswain. Humour was clearly a major element in the relationship, which seems not to have been (at least primarily) romantic or sexual – partly because of the five-year difference in their ages. The last-known correspondence is from 1811. After Byron’s death Elizabeth Pigot provided material for *Moore’s life, as did her brother John.
Further reading: Boyes (1988).

Pigot, John Margaret Becher

(1785–1871)
Friend of Byron in *Southwell. He studied medicine at Edinburgh and qualified in April 1807. Like his sister Elizabeth and his uncle Rev. John *Becher, he was often involved with Byron’s early volumes (especially *FP*) as reader or proofreader. Byron addressed to him *‘Reply to Some Verses of J.M.B. Pigot, Esq. on the Cruelty of his Mistress’ and ‘To the Sighing Strephon’.

Pinto, Luigi dal

(d.1820)
Commandant of Papal troops in *Ravenna. He was assassinated near Palazzo Guiccioli on 9 December 1820. Byron heard the shots and had the dead or dying man brought into the house. Dal Pinto may have been killed by Byron's fellow-*Carbonari (*BLJ* vii.249), but he was shocked at the sudden death of this 'brave officer' whom he had often met 'at conversazioni and elsewhere' (*BLJ* vii.246). Byron incorporated the incident in a passage he was already writing on the brute physicality of life. 'Here we are,/And there we go: – but *where*? five bits of lead,/Or three, or two, or one, send very far!' (*DJ* V.305–7).

Pisa

Tuscan city. Between 1 November 1821 and 27 September 1822 Byron lived at Casa or Palazzo Lanfranchi (now Palazzo Toscanelli).
See also: **Masi incident**.
Further reading: Curreli and Johnson (1988).

Pitt, William

(1759–1806)
'Pitt the Younger', Prime Minister 1783–1801 and 1804–06. As head of predominantly *Tory administrations he was politically inimical to Byron. Pitt's 'Gagging Acts' of 1795 are used against him in *VJ* 581–4, but in *Age* 10–20 Pitt and his *Whig rival *Fox are giants of the former age, equal now in death.
See also: **'On the Death of Mr. Fox'**.

Poems On Various Occasions *see* ***Hours of Idleness***

Poems Original and Translated *see* ***Hours of Idleness***

Polidori, Dr John William

(1795–1821)
Author of *The *Vampyre* and Byron's personal physician. He entered Byron's employment early in 1816. According to Polidori's diary John *Murray offered him £500 to keep a journal. (A bowdlerized version of the diary was

eventually published in 1911.) His literary ambitions were generally mocked or treated with indifference by Byron and the *Shelleys. He quarrelled with Byron on a number of occasions and was dismissed in June 1817 for, Byron told *Murray, his 'alacrity of getting into scrapes' and because he was 'too young and heedless' (*BLJ* v.121). Partly from disappointed ambition and partly, probably, because of brain damage resulting from an earlier coach accident, he committed suicide in 1821.

Polidori participated in the ghost-story competition at Villa *Diodati in June 1816, the most famous result of which was Mary *Shelley's *Frankenstein*. His own contribution formed the basis of his novel *Ernestus Berchtold* (1819), whereas *The *Vampyre* (1819) 'was founded upon the ground-work upon which' Byron's contribution – *'Augustus Darvell' – 'was to have been continued' (note to introduction to *Ernestus*). Subsequently, Polidori's note continues, *The Vampyre* was sent to the 'Editor' (the publisher Henry Colburn) by 'some person' who left it 'doubtful … whether it was his lordship's or not'. Colburn published it as Byron's. Byron denied authorship; Polidori acknowledged it in *The Courier* for 5 May 1819. He seems not, as has often been assumed, to have deliberately sought to pass off his own work as Byron's. He was, however, guilty of a degree of plagiarism in the use of the fragment as a 'ground-work'.

See also: **'Epistle from Mr. Murray to Dr. Polidori'**.

Further reading: Macdonald (1991).

Politics, Byron's

Politics were an explicit concern in Byron's poetry throughout his career. In 1812 he became associated with the liberal *Whig circle of Lord *Holland. Through Lady *Oxford, in 1812–13, he also made contact with more radical Whigs including Sir Francis Burdett. He later exempted Burdett, *Hobhouse, *Kinnaird and other radicals of his own class from his anger (e.g. *BLJ* vii.63, 80–1, viii.240) at *Cobbett or Henry 'Orator' Hunt as violent rabble-rousers.

Byron made three speeches in the *House of Lords. (See *Frame Work Bill Speech*, *Roman Catholic Claims Speech* and *Presentation of Major Cartwright's Petition*.) At this period he also wrote such politically engaged poems as 'To the Framers of the Frame Bill' and *'Lines to a Lady Weeping'. His allegiance to party should not, however, be exaggerated; *Medwin, *Conversations* 228, reports him saying, 'I am not made for what you call a politician, and should never have adhered to any party. I should have taken no part in the petty intrigue of cabinets, or the pettier factions and contests for power among parliamentary men.' Sometimes he expresses such general cynicism as in *'Politics in 1813. To Lady Melbourne'. The cynicism responds in part to the failure of the Whig opposition, at this point and for the rest of Byron's life, to change government policy.

Nevertheless Byron continued, long after the end of his active participation in British politics, his assault on the Prince Regent/*George IV, *Castlereagh, *Southey and such *Tory-connected figures. He reacted, from exile, to the climate of repression at home after 1815 typified by *Peterloo and the trial of Queen *Caroline. (He believed – e.g. *BLJ* viii.240 – in the inevitability of an English revolution and republic, but wanted, according to his appendix to *Two Foscari* [*CPW* vi.223], 'the English constitution reformed and not destroyed'. In *DJ* IX.199–200 ('I wish men to be free/ As much from mobs as kings – from you as me'), Byron's personal, satirical and political venom were directed now at the monarchical regimes restored abroad in 1814 and 1815 as well as at the Britain which helped restore them. (*See especially Age*.) *Napoleon he continued often to elevate to mythic status but at the same time blamed for abandoning the ideals of the *French Revolution, as in 'Ode (From the French)'. Byron's involvement with the *Carbonari was an attempt to strike actively at one of the reactionary regimes. In *Italy and *Greece he 'could comfortably address himself to political realities because abroad, in pre-industrial, neo-feudal societies, he could assume his preferred political role as champion of the people without compromising his aristocratic status' (Cronin [2003], p. 38). And whatever the actual complexities of his attitude to the Greeks and their cause, his death while serving it cemented his status as the hero of liberal European endeavours. Similarly, in spite of his belief that democracy is 'an Aristocracy of Blackguards' (*BLJ* viii.107), *DJ* became a popular radical text. (This was facilitated by large-scale production of cheap copies once John *Hunt became Byron's publisher.)

Byron as radical hero or 'poet of the Revolution' is defended passionately by Foot (1988). A different thesis is equally passionately argued by Kelsall (1987), who reads 'Byronic' despair as political frustration. His resistance to despotism is in the Whig tradition, but could not be translated into action because, since the radicalization of the *French Revolution, it had become effectively obsolete: determined pursuit of liberal causes was prevented by the Whig patricians' desire to protect their own property and status. Kelsall therefore maintains that Byron's rhetoric of liberty is empty; even his intervention in Greece had no practical significance. He carries on the old Whig principle of opposition; but (Kelsall [2004], p. 53) 'in poetic utterance, the principle itself becomes liberated from the specifics of time and place, acquiring in Byron's provocative utterance a numinous and transhistorical resonance' – as, for instance, in 'Sonnet on Chillon'.

'Politics in 1813. To Lady Melbourne'

Couplets sent to Lady *Melbourne on 21 September 1813 (*BLJ* iii.117). The reason for contemporary indifference is 'A King who *can't* – a Prince of Wales who *don't* –/Patriots who *shan't*, and Ministers who *won't* –/What matters who are *in* or *out* of place/The *Mad* – the *Bad* – the *Useless* – or the *Base*?' (*CPW* supplies the title.)

Pope, Alexander

(1688–1744)
Poet revered by Byron. He frequently upholds his example – his 'pure strain' which was the basis of good writing in the days when poetry combined 'Sense and Wit' (*EBSR* 103–12) – and was to some extent influenced by him in his satires, most obviously in the *heroic couplets of *EBSR* and *Hints*. He produced two skilful close parodies of Pope in 1810: 'On his Sickness. A Parody' and 'Epitaph from a Sickbed', from the epistles to Bathurst (299–314) and to Cobham (242–7). The poem by Pope to which Byron most often alludes is 'Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot'. Another enthusiasm was for Pope's translation of *Homer, which 'As a Child I first read ... with a rapture which no subsequent work could ever afford' (*Letter to John Murray* in *Prose* 147).

One of Byron's strongest affirmations of Pope's virtues as a poet occurs in his letter to *Murray of 15 September 1817. Most contemporary poets, including Byron himself, 'are upon a wrong revolutionary poetical system – or systems'; 'I took *Moore's poems and my own and some others – and went over them side by side with Pope's – and I was really astonished ... and mortified at the ineffable distance in point of sense – harmony – effect – and even *Imagination* Passion – and *Invention* – between the little Queen Anne's man – and us of the Lower Empire ... [I]f I had to begin again – I would model myself accordingly' (*BLJ* v.265). He develops his defence of Pope at much greater length while disputing with *Bowles in *Letter to John Murray* and **Observations Upon Observations*. And in *Some Observations* there is comprehensive praise for the 'exquisite beauty' (*Prose* 111) of the versification and the powerful imagination it sometimes unjustly obscures.

Yet Byron does not often write like Pope. Barton (1992), p. 14, contrasts Pope's 'standpoint of an embattled but fixed moral and social order' with the Byron who, in *DJ*, 'not only presents a chaotic world, illogical,

contradictory and endlessly changing; his own viewpoint and reactions are similarly unstable'. Adherence to Pope is as much a rallying cry as a coherent principle.
See also: **'Prayer of Nature, The'**; **'Progress of Beauty, The'**.
Further reading: Beatty (2004); England (1975).

Portraits *see* Byron, Portraits of

Portugal

First foreign country visited by Byron (7–17 July 1809). In *CHP* I.201–377 the beauties of Lisbon, *Cintra and 'this delicious land' (208) are praised and contrasted with the allegedly ignoble, cowardly and violent nature of the Portuguese. The country was 'in a state of great disorder' (*BLJ* i.214–15) as a result of the French invasion of 1807. In different versions of a note to *CHP* I.377 he concedes that the inhabitants have 'improved, at least in courage' since 1809 (*CPW* ii.278). Portuguese commentators, however, long continued to register their anger.
Further reading: Sousa (2004).

'Prayer of Nature, The'

Poem modelled on *Pope's 'The Universal Prayer'. It is dated 29 December 1806 in Eliza *Pigot's fair copy; another version was published in *Moore, *Life* and *1831*. The Pope piece (*c*.1715) addresses 'Father of All! in every Age,/ In every Clime ador'd' (17–18) and counsels humility and reasonableness. Byron's poem includes similar emphases but asks more pointedly, 'Shall man confine his Maker's sway/To Gothic domes of mouldering stone?' or 'doom his brother to expire,/Whose soul a different hope supplies[?]' (26–7).

'Present State of Greece, The'

Prose piece written by Byron at *Missolonghi and dated 26 February 1824. It was perhaps originally intended for the **Telegrafo Greco* (*Prose* 501–2). Its burden is that none of the foreign philhellenes have managed to help the Greeks, partly because of their own inexperience and partly because 'The Greeks have been downright Slaves for five centuries, and there is no tyrant like a Slave' (193). But on the whole 'it has been allowed by the Greeks themselves that the strangers have done their duty' (194). Andrew Nicholson feels that it is 'some testimony to [his] equanimity that' amid the difficulties and frustrations of his dealings with Greeks and others at the time, ‘he should have composed so restrained and impartial an account’ (*Prose* 501).

Presentation of Major Cartwright’s Petition

Byron’s third and final speech to the *House of Lords. It was delivered on 1 June 1813 and published on 2 June in the *London Gazette* and the *Morning Chronicle*. Major John Cartwright (1740–1824), a well-known campaigner for parliamentary reform and liberty of speech, was petitioning for the right to petition Parliament. By contrast with the ‘fervent attack’ of the **Roman Catholic Claims Speech*, the *Presentation* is ‘a catena of routine formulae’, ‘utterly cautious and parliamentarian’ (Kelsall [1987], pp. 36–7). Nevertheless Byron was supported only by the notoriously ‘Jacobin’ or pro-revolutionary Charles, Earl Stanhope (1753–1816).

Prisoner of Chillon. A Fable, The

Poem spoken by the prisoner Bonivard. The first draft dates from 30 June–2 July 1816. Additions and corrections are in the fair copies by Mary *Shelley (early July) and Claire *Clairmont (mid-July) and the poem was published in *PCOP* in December. Byron and P. B. *Shelley had visited the castle and dungeons of *Chillon in late June and there learned something of the imprisonment of the Protestant François de Bonivard in the 1530s. Probable sources for *Prisoner* include conversation with Shelley and the gradual death of the imprisoned Ugolino and his sons in *Dante’s *Inferno* XXXIII. Jonathan Wordsworth (1993) suggests a debt to *Coleridge’s *Christabel* in ‘the artful variation of the octosyllabic line’. There is also a strong Wordsworthian element – it was in Switzerland in 1816 that, Byron told Medwin (*Conversations* 194), ‘Shelley…used to dose me with *Wordsworth physic’. Joseph Conder in the *Eclectic Review* for March 1817 praised *Prisoner* as ‘written throughout with exquisite delicacy and pathos, in a tone of feeling absolutely different from the former compositions of the Author’ and resembling ‘the best of Wordsworth’s lyrical ballads’ (*RR* ii.745). Wordsworth (1993) suggests that it is the lack of factual detail which ‘(together with the absence of Shelleyan political indignation) is so effective, and so Wordsworthian’; Byron concentrates on essentials and can invent what he needs, as in the case of Bonivard’s non-historical brothers. (‘Shelleyan political indignation’ did feature in the anti-monarchical lines 389–90, excluded from the published text by *Murray.)

Byron’s approach would have been more ‘factual’ if, his note to the poem suggests, he had known more about ‘the history of Bonnivard’ (*sic*) when he wrote it. He therefore appends an account of the Protestant's courage, faith and public service, from Jean Senebier, *Histoire littéraire de Genève* (1786), i.131–7, and also adds 'Sonnet on Chillon' (July or August 1816), an unambiguous salute to the 'Eternal spirit of the chainless mind!' For Blackstone (1975) the sonnet 'distils in its fourteen lines the essence of *The Prisoner*'s fourteen strophes' (p. 126). But the tenor of *Prisoner* is quite different. Intimations of hope or consolation are continually misleading or short-lived. The bird which seems to promise consolation soon leaves Bonivard 'Lone – as a solitary cloud' (294) – and with none of the Wordsworthian joy of wandering 'lonely as a cloud'. Freedom at last to roam the dungeon is spoilt by the thought that his 'step profaned' his brothers' shallow graves (312–17). Following the death of the brothers 'the whole earth would henceforth be/A wider prison unto me' (322–3), reversing Richard Lovelace's 'To Althæa: From Prison', where 'Stone walls do not a prison make,/Nor iron bars a cage'. When Lovelace's idea of prison as 'an hermitage' is echoed directly at 378 the image becomes one of habituation to, rather than triumph over, habitation. And even the more extended, more visionary-seeming view of the 'small green isle' (344) makes the 'darkness of my dim abode' (360) seem all the worse. Repeatedly 'the Wordsworthian spirit is invoked only to deceive' (Storey [1986], p. 69).

The essence of the poem and its pointless, unredeemable suffering is, for many readers, to be found in Bonivard's abstracted state at 231–50: his sense only of 'vacancy absorbing space,/And fixedness – without a place' (243–4). (Such darkness and stagnancy occur also in the contemporary 'Darkness'.) But for Manning (1978) the prisoner at least achieves a self-control which 'enables him to relate his misfortunes as none of Byron's earlier protagonists can. The moving restraint of his narrative counteracts ... his immobility and tacit admission of defeat' (p. 89).

PCOP sold slowly compared with Byron's most successful poems. In the longer term, however, *Prisoner* became one of his more popular works; Bonivard's clear account of himself was preferred to the more partial and mysterious glimpses of a Conrad or Lara. In 1834 *Delacroix painted the fettered Bonivard stretching towards his brother.

'Progress of Beauty, The'

Fragment in *heroic couplets, dated 18 September 1818. A young woman in the country is 'Eighteen in years, and eager to behold/That lively world of which her letters told.' *Pope, especially in *The Rape of the Lock*, is a strong influence on setting, language and humour.

'Prometheus'

Poem written in July or August 1816 and published in *PCOP*. It is addressed to the Titan who refused to be overcome by the suffering visited on him for having sought 'to render with thy precepts less/The sum of human wretchedness'. Like him, 'Man is in part divine', with the ability similarly to oppose spirit and 'firm will' to his 'own funereal destiny'. Byron had a longstanding interest in *Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, of which he 'was passionately fond as a boy' at *Harrow (*BLJ* v.268).

According to Medwin, *Conversations* 156, more immediate contact with Aeschylus came through P. B. *Shelley who, 'when I was in Switzerland, translated the "Prometheus" to me before I wrote my ode'. Prometheus and the Promethean theme – the meaning and implications of stealing fire or knowledge – were probably discussed by the whole group at Villa *Diodati in the summer of 1816. Mary Shelley began *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus*, in mid-June; Shelley would start work on *Prometheus Unbound* in September 1818. The group probably also discussed the fall of *Napoleon, now metaphorically chained, once a figure of seemingly Promethean aspiration – a subject which already fascinated Byron. Napoleon is compared to Prometheus in *Ode to Napoleon* 136–9 and *Age* 227–30. (Prometheus also features in *Prophecy* IV.11–19.)

'In its own terse fashion,' says O'Neill (2006), p. 107, the poem 'obeys the traditional, tripartite division [of the ode] into strophe, antistrophe and epode'. The 'suffocated lament of the first section' is followed by 'defiant admiration' in the second. The epode adopts a different register and 'builds towards the conferral of abstract status on the Titan as the poet discerns in him a "symbol and a sign/To Mortals of their fate and force" (45–6)'.

Prophecy of Dante, The

Poem in **terza rima*, written in June 1819. Byron sent it to *Murray in March 1820 and it was published, following some pressure by the author, with *Marino Faliero* in April 1821. A second edition appeared in 1821 and a third in 1823.

*Dante speaks of his 'immortal vision' (I.4) and his mistreatment by *Florence, prophesies the despoliation of fair *Italy by foreign invaders, and wonders why Italians will not unite against them. He foresees both the artistic triumphs and the weakness of his compatriots. In particular, he laments, 'how many a phrase/Sublime shall lavish'd be on some small prince' (III.73–4). The attack on flattery perhaps derives from *Alfieri's *Del principe e delle lettere* (Vassallo [1984], p. 38). Finally Dante prophesies that one day Truth will strike the Florentines' eyes 'through many a tear,/And make them own the Prophet in his tomb' (IV.152–3).

Much has been made of Byron's personal identification with the unjustly exiled poet. (Compare his treatment of *Tasso in *Lament*.) But his political aims in writing the poem were at least equally important to him. Clearly, Byron saw the account of past greatness and the pleas for present unity in the context of the expected *Carbonari uprising: on 17 August 1820 he told John *Murray that 'The time for the *Dante* would be now… as Italy is on the Eve of great things' (*BLJ* vii.158); *see also* Medwin, *Conversations* 160.

More broadly, *Prophecy* is a declaration of commitment to Byron's adopted land, its literature and Teresa *Guiccioli, the 'cause', according to the dedication (*CPW* iv.213), of his daring to imitate 'the great Poet-Sire of Italy'. He was impressed by her knowledge of Dante and by 1819 his own reading in the poet was clearly considerable. The Dante of *The Divine Comedy* and of *Prophecy* both use actual history as apparent futurity. (The technique is used also in the classical and biblical sources cited in Byron's preface.) The two works also share an uncompromising belief in the ethical, truth-telling role of the poet. Vassallo (1984), pp. 30–4, argues that Byron was influenced in this direction by Count Giulio Perticari's *Dell'amor patrio di Dante* (1819), which defends Dante's *saeva indignatio* as motivated by love of country rather than vengefulness against his enemies. Byron was probably also influenced by Dante's prose *Epistolae*, especially by the material on Florentine corruption in vi and vii and by his forceful rejection, in ix, of the ignoble terms offered for his return from exile. The presence of Dante's tomb in *Ravenna (noted in the Preface) gave a further spur to reflections on exile and on poets' relations with posterity.

The 'metrical experiment' (Preface) of *terza rima* is another way of expressing devotion to Dante and to 'all that is left [the Italians] as a nation – their literature'. Byron possibly intended to carry the tribute beyond the four published cantos (*BLJ* vi.235, 239, vii.59). He regarded it as 'the best thing I ever wrote if it be not *unintelligible*' (*BLJ* vii.59). There has been surprisingly little discussion of its exploration of the notion of creation both by poets and by those who 'compress'd/The god within them, and rejoin'd the stars/Unlaurell'd upon earth' (IV.4–6).

Further reading: Taylor (1979).

Publishing *see* Hunt, John; Murray, John

Pulci, Luigi

(1432–84)
Florentine poet, 'sire of the half-serious rhyme' (*DJ* IV.43). Byron translated the first canto of his *Morgante* and was influenced by his mixed tones and use of **ottava rima* in *Beppo*, *DJ* and *VJ*. The English versions of Pulci known to him were John Herman Merivale's *Orlando in Roncesvalles* (1814) and *Frere's *Whistlecraft* (1817). Vassallo (1984), pp. 140–65, discusses translators' and commentators' difficulties in assessing the relation between the burlesque and the serious elements in Pulci. Byron manages the balance better than most in his *Morgante*.

Pushkin, Aleksandr Sergeyevich

(1799–1837)
Russian poet. His 'southern poems' of 1820–24, including *A Prisoner in the Caucasus*, clearly reflect the exoticism of Byron's *Oriental Tales. In *Eugene Onegin* (1825–33) the relationship with Byron is more complex. Eugene is portrayed as a rather prosaic version of the Byronic hero: a Muscovite dressed in Harold's cloak (VII.xxiv) who is a keen reader of Byron's tales and possesses a picture of him (VII.xxii, xix) and whose cynicism about love later turns out to be disastrously mistaken. *DJ* is a probable influence on the digressions, interventions by the narrator and conversational facility of the poem. *The Little House at Kolomna* (1830), in **ottava rima*, is inspired by *Beppo*.

Q

Quarterly Review

Review founded and published by John *Murray. It was intended as a *Tory counter to the *Whig **Edinburgh Review*. The first editor (1809–24) was *Gifford. Sir Walter *Scott was a major contributor. Byron's politics were opposed to those of the *Quarterly*, but its approach to literature was on the whole more enlightened than that of the *Edinburgh*. Byron had a great respect for Gifford as satirist and upholder of neoclassical standards. The reviews of Byron's work were generally favourable, he believed, because 'Murray has long prevented "The Quarterly" from abusing me' (reported by Medwin, *Conversations* 170).

'Question and Answer' *see* Rogers, Samuel

Qur'an *see* Islam

R

Radcliffe, Ann

(1764–1823)
*Gothic novelist. Her part in creating the image of *Venice is referred to in *CHP* IV.158: an allusion to *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), volume 2, chapter II. The same passage influences *Marino Faliero* IV.i.23–111.

Ravenna

Italian city in the papal-ruled Romagna. It was Byron's home in June–August 1819 and December 1819–October 1821; Teresa *Guiccioli lived here. Byron resided mostly in an apartment in Palazzo Guiccioli, became involved with the *Carbonari, and wrote *DJ* V, *Marino Faliero, Cain*, *Sardanapalus*, *Two Foscari*, *VJ* and his *Ravenna Journal*.

Byron was keenly aware that Ravenna was *Dante's place of exile and burial (see e.g. *CHP* IV.527–9; preface to *Prophecy* [*CPW* iv.214]; Medwin, *Conversations* 158). He also (*DJ* III.934–5, 941–4) strongly associated the *pineta* or pine-wood by Ravenna with *Boccaccio's tale of Nastagio degli Onesti (*Decameron* V.viii) and its version by Dryden, *Theodore and Honoria*.

Ravenna Journal

Journal kept by Byron in *Ravenna between 4 January and 27 February 1821. An edited version was published in Moore, *Life*. Its main subjects include the planning, likelihood and failure of an intended local revolution by the *Carbonari. To free *Italy 'is a grand object – the very *poetry* of politics' (*BLJ* viii.47). There are references also to Edward Noel *Long, *Dante, the weather, pistol-shooting, a 94-year-old woman, the writing of *Sardanapalus*, indigestion and consequent thoughts on the soul and the body.

Sir Walter *Scott was inspired by reading the *Ravenna Journal*, which *Moore showed him, to keep his own journal. He liked Byron's way of 'throwing aside all pretence to regularity and order and marking down events just as they occurd [*sic*] to recollection' (Scott [1972], p. 1: 20 November 1825).

Religion

Byron had strong religious impulses but struggled to accept doctrine. He was baptized as an Anglican, grew up among Presbyterians and was later on the whole a deist (*see* e.g. *BLJ* i.115). Presbyterianism, and especially the belief in predestination, is often used to explain the 'inner conflict between pride and damnation, good and evil' in his work; 'the *Byronic hero with his tormented conscience and deep sense of sin and damnation mixed with Satanic pride is very much a Calvinist product' (Tom Scott [1983], pp. 20, 27; cp. Eliot [1957], pp. 194–5). Christine Kenyon-Jones in Hopps and Stabler (2006), however, argues that in *Aberdeen Byron was in fact exposed to a moderate Presbyterianism (cp. *DJ* XV.728) which placed little emphasis on predestination and had a tradition of open debate. Later he exaggerated the Calvinist element in his upbringing and his conviction that he was damned, a fallen angel, partly in order to goad Lady *Byron.

In early manhood Byron expressed doubt about the immortality of the soul to *Hodgson (*BLJ* ii.88–9, 98) but later this was one of his stronger convictions (explored most fully in *Detached Thoughts*, *BLJ* ix.45–6). He also believed in religious toleration, but was intolerant of religious hypocrisy (see Blessington, *Conversations* 214–15). He felt strongly that belief cannot be forced; 'It is useless to tell one *not* to *reason* but to *believ*e – you might as well tell a man not to wake but *sleep*' (*BLJ* ix.45). Some of his views are shared with the Socinians (or Unitarians), such as his strong opposition to the idea of eternal punishment (e.g. *VJ* 99–112; *BLJ* ix.45–6) and the atonement (*BLJ* ii.97, where Byron says that Hodgson's God is a tyrant who sends 'an immaculate and injured Being' to die 'for the benefit of some millions of scoundrels, who, after all, seem to be as likely to be damned as ever'). Byron also, on occasion, claimed a sympathetic interest in Roman *Catholicism. Clearly, however, he was too suspicious of dogma to be closely associated with one group or denomination. He feels that certainty is impossible: 'I do not know what to believe – or what to disbelieve – which is the devil – to have no religion at all – all sense & senses are against it – but all belief & much evidence is for it – it is walking in the dark over a rabbit warren – or a garden with steel traps and spring guns' (*BLJ* v.216; cp. ix.76). His is an 'honest and uncomfortable – indeed tormented – agnosticism' (Barton [1992], p. 22).

Difficult questions about the Fall and the justice or otherwise of human suffering are at the heart of *Cain* and *Heaven and Earth*. Belief, scepticism and priestly power feature in *Sardanapalus*. Religious hypocrisy and *'cant'

are satirized in *DJ*, especially through Donna Inez in *DJ* I. Shorter religious pieces include 'The Prayer of Nature', 'Magdalen' and the songs of *HM*.
See also: **Bible**; **Gray, May**; **Islam**; **Kennedy, Dr James**.

'Remember Him, &c.'

Poem of October 1813 reflecting on Byron's relationship with Lady Frances Wedderburn *Webster. He recalls 'that dangerous hour/When neither fell, though both were loved'; though they must part, the sacrifice shows more love than would guilty consummation.

'Remember Thee, Remember Thee!'

Short poem of February 1813 directed against Lady Caroline *Lamb. Following the end of their affair she wrote the words 'Remember me' (very probably quoting *Hamlet* I.v) in Byron's copy of Beckford's *Vathek*. According to Medwin, *Conversations* 218, Byron said, 'Yes! I had cause to remember her; and, in the irritability of the moment, wrote under the two words these two stanzas.' (*Medwin was the first to publish them.) The shameful woman of the poem is '*false*' to her husband and '*fiend*' to Byron.

'Remind me not, remind me not'

A lover remembers 'those belov'd, those vanish'd hours,/When all my soul was given to thee'. Byron's corrected draft is dated 13 August 1808. In *IT* it is addressed to the same person as 'And wilt thou weep when I am low?' and 'There was a time, I need not name'. *CPW* i.390 believes that all three poems are probably to Caroline *Cameron, but this is not certain. 'Remind me not' was addressed in manuscript to an unidentified 'D.D.W.D.G.'.

'Reply to Some Verses of J.M.B. Pigot, Esq. on the Cruelty of his Mistress'

Poem counselling abandonment of a coquette. It is dated 27 October 1806 in *FP*; it is also in *POVO*. The 18-year-old Byron adopts the persona of 'the roving gallant' (Marchand, *Biography* 119). Subsequently the mistress, whose initials were C.B.F., proved more responsive to John *Pigot and Byron wrote 'To the Sighing Strephon' (*FP* and *POVO*), wittily contrasting Pigot's single devotion to his 'quickly reformed coquette' with his own cavalier attitude to his lovers. (The eighth stanza, with its reference to '*something beyond*' kissing, was omitted in *POVO*.) The pastoral name Strephon derives most immediately from *Swift's 'Strephon and Chloe' (1734), where he is again (before marriage, at least) a gullible lover. Pigot's success seems to have been short lived. On 13 January 1807 Byron told him, probably referring to the same woman, that 'your *adorable "Caroline"* is a complete *Jilt*' (*BLJ* i.103).

Restoration comedy

Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century comedy. In his letters Byron often quotes from the plays of Sir John Vanbrugh (sometimes in the form of *Sheridan's rewriting of *The Relapse* as *A Trip to Scarborough*) and George Farquhar. He also mentions William Congreve with respect, but shows less evidence of detailed knowledge of his work. Byron's strongest affirmation of faith in Restoration Comedy comes in a journal entry of 1814, in response to *A Trip to Scarborough*: '*What plays*! what wit! – helas! Congreve and Vanbrugh are your only comedy. Our society is too insipid now for the like copy' (*BLJ* iii.249).

Reviews by Byron

See **Ireland**, **William Henry; Spencer, Hon. William Robert; Wordsworth, William.**

Rhigas, Konstantinos

(*c*.1755–98)
Greek patriot. In Vienna from 1796 he advocated revolution in *Greece. On his way to try to enlist *Napoleon's aid he was arrested by the Austrians in Trieste and handed over to the Turks, who executed him in 1798. His 'War Song' was inspired by the 'Marseillaise'. Byron translated it (*CPW* i.330–2) having heard Andreas Londos, local governor of Vostitza and a future leader in the *Greek War of Independence, talk about Rhigas 'with a thousand passionate exclamations, the tears streaming down his cheeks' in 1809 (*Hobhouse, *Journey to Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey* [1813], ii.586).

Rienzi

(1313–54)
Cola di Rienzo, Tribune of the Roman people. He appears in *CHP* IV.1018–26 as a champion of freedom and the people, 'Redeemer of dark centuries of shame' but 'with reign, alas! too brief'.

Rochdale

Town in Lancashire. Byron inherited land here with his title in 1798, but the leasehold – and with it the valuable right to mine coal – had been sold (illegally) by his predecessor. After many legal difficulties and delays the leasehold was recovered and in November 1823, five months before Byron's death, the estate was sold for £11,225. Byron visited the area only once, in October 1811. He intended to inspect the mines but in the event visited 'a pleasant country seat' nearby, 'left my affairs to my agent … [and] never went within ken of a coalpit' (*BLJ* ii.109).
Further reading: Moore (1974).

Rogers, Samuel

(1763–1855)
Wealthy banker, poet and art-collector. Byron praised 'melodious Rogers' in *EBSR* 803–8. In his journal (*BLJ* iii.220) he placed Rogers, with *Moore and *Campbell, beneath only *Scott among modern poets. Later (*BLJ* v.265), he exempted only Rogers and *Crabbe from the charge of writing 'upon a wrong revolutionary poetical system'.

Byron found Rogers 'a most excellent and unassuming Soul' (*BLJ* ii.129) when they met in November 1811, and was flattered by his praise for his work. The laudatory 'To Samuel Rogers, Esq.' (dated 19 April 1812, published 1816), was written in a copy of the 1810 edition of Rogers's *The Pleasures of Memory* (1792), which was discovered at University College, London, in 2005. Byron dedicated *Giaour* to him in 1813 and published *Lara* with Rogers's *Jacqueline* in 1814. In 1818, however, following reports of Rogers's gossip about him, he attacked him in 'Question and Answer' (and also, if the poem is his – *see CPW* vii.159 – in the ironical 'Sonnet on Samuel Rogers Esq.'). In *Detached Thoughts* he finds Rogers's verse 'all Sentiment and Sago and Sugar – while he himself is a venomous talker' (*BLJ* ix.20).

Roman Catholic Claims Speech

Byron's second parliamentary speech. It was delivered in the *House of Lords on 21 April 1812. He spoke in favour of the motion to set up a committee to consider 'The General Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland', which sought 'an equal participation of the civil rights of the constitution of our country, equally with our fellow-subjects of all other religious persuasions'. (The motion was carried but reform was delayed until after Byron's death.)

He began work on the speech in early February and wrote most of it between 18 March and 10 April (*Prose* 294). It is usually considered a less rhetorically effective piece than the **Frame Work Bill Speech* but *Hobhouse, who attended the debate, said Byron 'kept the House in a roar of laughter' (*Prose* 295).

Roman Catholicism *see* Catholicism

Romanticism

Byron's relation to Romanticism has been much debated. In the twentieth century he was frequently categorized, with *Blake, *Wordsworth, *Coleridge, *Keats and *P. B. Shelley as one of the six canonical Romantic poets. Yet he has also traditionally been seen as standing apart from the other five. He shares with them an intense interest in individual alienation, perception, the process of creation, and the self. But other factors point in a different, more neoclassical direction: his enthusiasm for satire; his ability to 'laugh at any mortal thing' even if ''Tis that I may not weep' (*DJ* IV.25–6); his privileging of fact over the imagination; his championing of *Pope and other Augustans. Clearly – if schematically – some of the work feels more *Augustan and some more Romantic. The first category might include *EBSR*, the second *CHP* III.

Franklin (2007) points out that Byron has sometimes been excluded from the Romantic canon under a narrow, non-sceptical, Wordsworth- and British-dominated definition of 'Romantic'; 'Byron's revolutionary and nationalistic rhetoric continued to epitomize the ideology of Romanticism to European readers' (p. 29). And, even in terms of a more traditional British emphasis, 'his poetry often praises imagination, even if he does not always call it by that name: in the passages on creation in **Childe Harold* III and IV, in the lines on Promethean creativity in *The *Prophecy of Dante*, and, above all, in the ongoing imaginative-creative involvement in **Don Juan*' (Clubbe and Lovell [1983], p. 113).

Rome

Capital of the Papal States. Byron visited Rome between 29 April and 20 May 1817. It is the main setting, and sometimes subject, of *CHP* IV.694–1467. Although Rome appears to be a 'marble wilderness' (710), whose free, triumphant 'men of iron' (794) are dead, it lives again through its literature (734–6) and, by implication, through the art and buildings which survive, including the Coliseum and the Pantheon. (The Coliseum of the poem entered the repertoire of nineteenth-century tourists. Chapter 17 of Nathaniel Hawthorne's

The Marble Faun [1860] includes 'a party of English or Americans, paying the inevitable visit by moonlight, and exalting themselves with raptures that were Byron's, not their own' [Hawthorne (2002), p. 120].) St Peter's is celebrated in *Prophecy* IV.50–6 but in the same poem (II.72–100) the siege of Rome in 1527 is the main example of the decline of *Italy from its earlier greatness. *Deformed* I.ii and II take place during the siege.

Romilly, Sir Samuel

(1757–1818)
Well-known lawyer. Byron had arranged to receive his legal advice on his separation from Lady *Byron in 1816, but he had instead advised her and her mother and therefore could not serve him. Romilly attributed the situation to an embarrassing oversight. Byron's anger, however, was never appeased. *See* his remarks on Romilly's suicide in *BLJ* vi.80–2, 84, 90; *DJ* I.115–20; and *Some Observations* in *Prose* 97.

Roscius *see* Betty, William Henry

Rossini, Gioacchino

(1792–1868)
Composer. He was at the height of his fame and productivity when Byron was in *Italy. According to Hunt (1828) he was Byron's favourite composer: 'He liked his dash and animal spirits' (p. 74). After a late breakfast and some reading, he would lounge about, 'singing an air, generally out of Rossini, and in a swaggering style, though in a voice at once small and veiled' (p. 38). Byron quotes snatches of lines from *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and *La Cenerentola* in his Italian letters to Teresa *Guiccioli (*BLJ* vii.38, 86–7, 196–7). In *Venice in 1818 he found the music in Rossini's *Otello* 'good but lugubrious' and liked the scenery and costumes, but disliked the maltreatment of *Shakespeare's original (*BLJ* vi.18).

Rossini's *Pianto delle muse in morto di Lord Byron* was performed in London in 1824.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques

(1712–78)
Writer and social theorist. He was regarded with suspicion by most English writers of Byron's period as a selfish sensualist whose ideas were a major

cause of the *French Revolution (Duffy [1979], pp. 81–3). At times Byron is keen to distance himself from Rousseau (*BLJ* i.171, viii.148, ix.11–12), and in *CHP* III sees him as a 'self-torturing sophist', one who warred with 'self-sought foes' and whose 'voice' roused up the revolution which overthrew 'good with ill' (725, 752, 768–78). But one of the main emphases in the Rousseau passages is on his love of 'ideal beauty' (740), his ability to wring 'overwhelming eloquence' from woe (727–8) and people the landscape 'with affections' (969) in *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761). For McGann (1976) Rousseau here becomes 'Byron's first *literary* *Byronic hero', with 'all the equivocal attributes of that figure's heroism' (p. 43). Duffy (1979) describes him as a 'mundane vehicle for prophetic powers ... the suffering servant of an energy that destroys himself as well as the ancien régime' (p. 73).

Rousseau's 'ideal beauty' was mediated to Byron by P. B. *Shelley, with whom on 24 June 1816 he visited 'all Rousseau's ground – with the Heloise before me' (*BLJ* v.82) by Lake Léman. (He returned with *Hobhouse in September 1816.) Byron was impressed by 'the force & accuracy of [Rousseau's] descriptions – & the beauty of their reality' (v.82); again, with reference to *Julie*, he observes the 'peculiar adaptation' of the Swiss landscape 'to the persons and events with which it has been peopled' (*CPW* ii.312). To some extent Byron's interest in Rousseau in 1816 is aided not only by Shelley but also by his own habitual love of the factual and verifiable. Briefer references to *Julie* and the *Confessions* (1781–88) continued (e.g. *DJ* VIII.421–3, XIV.600).
Further reading: Soderholm (1999).

Rushton, Robert

(*c*.1795–*c*.1830)
Byron's servant or 'page'. His father was a *Newstead tenant farmer. Rushton travelled with Byron as far as *Gibraltar in 1809 – he was sent home 'because Turkey is in too dangerous a state for boys to enter' (*BLJ* i.222) – and as far as *Switzerland in 1816. The homesick 'little page', with 'guileless bosom' unlike Harold's, is his equivalent in *CHP* I.134–57. Rushton lands with Byron on a rocky shore in George Sanders's painting of 1807–08. (*See* **Byron, Portraits of**.) *MacCarthy* 78 suspects sexual relations between master and servant but there is no firm evidence for this.

Ruskin, John

(1819–1900)
Art critic and social philosopher. His writings, published and unpublished, continually show enthusiastic and detailed knowledge of Byron's work.

According to Ruskin's *Praeterita* his father read most of Byron to him, including *DJ*, starting when he was 12 or 13. (His mother, though puritan in religion, was sensibly 'no more afraid of my turning out a Corsair or a Giaour than a Richard III., or a – Solomon' (Ruskin [1903–12], xxxv.143.) His passionately enthusiastic early *Essay on Literature* (1836, published 1893) ranks Byron second only to *Shakespeare; he 'was overwhelming in his satire, irresistible in the brilliancy of the coruscations of his wit, unequalled in depth of pathos, or in the melancholy of moralizing contemplation' (Ruskin [1903–12], i.373). Here as often later Ruskin defends Byron against charges of immorality. In *Fiction, Fair and Foul* (1880) the distinctive elements of Byron's 'heart' are compassion, indignation, and 'love of the beauty of this world' (xxxiv.330). He 'was the first great Englishman who felt the cruelty of war, and, in its cruelty, the shame' (xxxiv.328). The accuracy of Byron's natural description is part of his emphasis on reality: according to *Praeterita* he was 'a man who spoke only of what he had seen, and known; and spoke without exaggeration, without mystery, without enmity, and without mercy. "That *is* so; make what you will of it!"' (xxxv.149). One reason for the general failure to perceive Byron's moral purpose was the tendency to dwell 'rather on the passionate than the reflective and analytic elements of his intellect' (xiii.144).

Ruskin said that the works by Byron which had influenced him most were *Corsair*, *Bride* and *Two Foscari* (xxxiv.605).

Russia

Setting of *DJ* IX–X. There was early interest in Byron by Russian writers including Vasily Andreevich Zhukhovsky (1783–1852), who translated *Prisoner* in 1821, and Ivan Ivanovich Kozlov (1779–1840), whose version of *Bride* appeared in 1825. (Kozlov also wrote a Byronic verse tale, *The Monk* [1824].) Byron was often valued primarily as a political figure. He was read by the Decembrist attempted revolutionaries of 1825; the *Oriental Tales influenced *Voynarovsky* (1824), by the Decembrist Kondraty Fyodorovich Ryleev (1795–1826), where the main speaker is Mazeppa's nephew. (*See* Diakonova and Vatsuro [2004], p. 339.) The strongest influence of Byron's work in the 1820s–1830s, however, was on *Pushkin and on Mikhail Yurevich Lermontov (1814–41).

Russian translations, especially of the Tales, selections from *CHP*, and shorter pieces, continued to appear. But it was only with the aid of French prose translations that writers like Pushkin could engage with *DJ* and most of Byron's later poems. Later, interest in Byron was encouraged by three Russian versions of the complete works (1864–66, 1894, 1904–05). Byron,

the preferred poet of liberal dissidents in the nineteenth century, was appropriated both by the new authorities after 1917 and by some of the new dissidents. Under both Lenin and Stalin he was 'held up as a revolutionary poet, persecuted by a reactionary government, an exile and a militant in the war for freedom' (Diakonova and Vatsuro [2004], p. 347): an image likely to appeal to victims as well as proponents of the regime. Isaiah Berlin, in *Personal Impressions* (1980), records that Anna Akhmatova (1889–1966) knew *DJ* well enough to recite two cantos of it to him in 1945, 'with intense emotion', as a preface to reading from her own poetry. And it was while confined in Leningrad (St Petersburg) and Siberia that Tatyana Grigorevna Gnedich (1907–76) first worked on her influential 1959 translation of *DJ* (Diakonova and Vatsuro, p. 349).
See also: **Alexander I; Catherine the Great**.

S

Sanders, George *see* **Byron, portraits of**

Sappho

Greek lyric poet. She and her work are synonymous with passionate love in *CHP* II.346–64; and *DJ* II.1636–8, III.690 ('The Isles of Greece'), IV.214. *DJ* III.945–52 is a loose translation and expansion of Sappho, Fragment 104a.

Sardanapalus, a Tragedy

Blank verse drama. Acts I–II were written at intervals between 13 January and May 1821 and Acts III–V rapidly between 13 and 27 May. It was published with *Two Foscari* and *Cain* on 19 December 1821 and issued separately in 1823 and 1829. The principal – if fairly loosely followed – source is Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothecae Historicae*, II.xxiii–xxvii, which Byron read either in translation or in Greek (*CPW* vi.607–8), supplemented by William Mitford's *History of Greece* (1818). In Diodorus, the king – driven to suicide while besieged in Nineveh by rebels – is sensual, selfish, cowardly and bisexual and has his eunuchs and concubines share his final immolation. Byron's most important departure is to make him heterosexual, self-indulgent but self-aware, brave in defeat, and to have him die with Myrrha only. (In *La Mort de Sardanapale* [1827], where the king looks on as naked or scantily clad slaves are slaughtered, *Delacroix comes closer to Diodorus than to Byron. This did not stop the popular identification of the painting with the play.)

Byron endeavours to observe the classical unities of time, place and action. The action proceeds, without distraction, through 'a *Summer's night* about nine hours – or less' (*BLJ* viii.128) and never leaves the 'Hall in the Royal Palace of Nineveh' (*CPW* vi.18). The classical and neoclassical tragedies which influenced *Sardanapalus* most are Seneca's, perhaps *Alfieri's, and *Dryden's *All for Love*, where the meeting between Antony and Octavia in IV.i parallels that between Sardanapalus and Zarina (IV.i.235–416). But *Sardanapalus* also owes much to Dryden's source, *Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, with its opposition between, and combinations of, love and war. The resemblance is clearest in the first two scenes, where a military man, Salemenes, censures his leader's neglect of duty (cp. e.g. *Antony and Cleopatra* I.i.1–13).

The title-character dominates most studies of *Sardanapalus*. In the mid-twentieth century especially, he was often valued very positively. His indolence and voluptuousness could be seen as an acceptable aspect of his commendable pacifism – his rejection of the violence and oppression expected of a scion of the House of Nimrod. (His philosophy of peace is proclaimed at I.ii.262–78 and 348–60; *see also* 402–13. There are strong associations with Jesus as Prince of Peace, as also at II.i.371–2 and III.i.18.) But some commentators, early reviewers among them, see him as self-deluding. Reginald Heber in the *Quarterly Review* (July 1822, *RR* v.2066), for example, says that, slothful rather than benevolent, 'he affects to undervalue the sanguinary renown of his ancestors as an excuse for inattention to the most necessary duties of his rank'. Between these two extremes more recent criticism has tended to find a paradoxical, elusive character in a play full of uncertainties and shifting points of view. He is often compared to Hamlet, like whom he dominates most of the scenes, and like whom he is sometimes a mystery to himself: e.g. IV.i.333–4. The terrifying dream of his ancestors at IV.i.24–181, particularly the rapacious, gender-crossing and incestuous Semiramis, suggests the existence of much darker, less rational passions than those expressed by his waking self.

The king is an extraordinary blend of urbanity and vanity, bravery and casualness. He is unimpressed both by his followers kneeling to him as a god and by the thunder which seems to answer their presumption (III.i.32–6). Just as he seems to be about to turn into a 'manly', warlike figure, he sends for a mirror (III.i.145) – 'natural', Byron notes, 'in an effeminate character' (*BLJ* viii.128). The notion of an effeminate fighter is one of many factors which work to question gendered assumptions in the play; 'the king fights as he revels' (III.i.213). Even his death is not an unambiguous and all-closing *Liebestod*: there is much room for debate about exactly how it will 'lesson ages' (V.i.441). In fact, as Byron suggested to Murray (*BLJ* viii.155), he is 'almost a comic character' – such is the disjunction between the man and his situation. Sometimes the language adds to this impression. For Corbett (1992) it has a 'cool, understated texture, nearer to the prose of Congreve and Shaw than to Shakespeare's verse' (p. 364).

Sardanapalus is personally and politically relevant to Byron and has even been seen, in his changeability and contradictions, as a self-portrait. In *Ravenna as he wrote the first acts he was waiting for the *Carbonari to rise in arms against the Austrians. The prospect of action – the life recommended by Sardanapalus' critics – contrasted with what Byron perceived, in some moods, to be his own life of habitual indolence. Such thoughts can only have been increased by the desultoriness of the would-be revolutionaries' activities (*BLJ* viii.32, 33).

Looking back, as often, to his marriage, Byron makes the wronged Queen Zarina in IV.i.235–416 an idealized, loyally forgiving version of his wife. She has resonances too of Queen *Caroline (in spite of the obvious differences in character). This association was present for contemporary readers also in the opening words of the play, 'He hath wrong'd his queen.' 'He' (Sardanapalus), accordingly, sometimes corresponds to *George IV in his extravagance and self-indulgence, most obviously at his first entrance, with 'Let the pavilion over the Euphrates/Be garlanded, and lit, and furnish'd forth/For an especial banquet' (I.ii.1–3). There is an inescapable reference to George's luxurious, and aptly oriental, *Brighton Pavilion. Byron's denial of such references at *BLJ* viii.126–7 is clearly disingenuous: an opportunity to say that, since Sardanapalus is not only voluptuous but also '*brave*' and '*amiable*', he cannot correspond to 'any living monarch'. *Sardanapalus* also asks controversial questions about the religion which props up monarchical régimes; Byron develops Diodorus' contrast between the scheming priest Beleses and the more straightforward rebel leader Arbaces. The king expresses his religious scepticism at II.i.249–70.

Myrrha is probably the most discussed female character in Byron's dramas. At the instigation of Teresa *Guiccioli he had decided to 'put more love into "Sardanapalus" than I intended' (*BLJ* viii.26). Partly in consequence, one tradition identifies Myrrha with Teresa Guiccioli. Myrrha is, however, more complicated than a mere 'love interest'. Her references, right up to the last scene, to her Ionian or Greek identity, loyalties and religion, speak against so simple a role. As a Greek – tyrannized over by Assyria or, in 1821, *Turkey – a slave and a woman she reminds us of the sort of oppression Sardanapalus opposes. Yet her pride in cultural difference also asserts her independence; she is willing to criticize and counsel her lover, and makes her own choice to die with him. That she eventually joins in the fighting is perhaps another assertion of independence – several reviews censured it as unfeminine. Like her lover's 'effeminate' bravery, it refuses the stereotype.

Byron told *Murray that *Sardanapalus* was 'expressly written *not* for the theatre' (*BLJ* viii.129). Nevertheless it later had some success on stage. At *Drury Lane in 1834 *Macready shortened the play, made Sardanapalus and Myrrha rather less complicated, more conventional lovers, and removed most of the references to religion. Most productions relied on, and were dominated by, spectacular scenic effects. Both Charles Kean's version (Princess'

Theatre, 1853–54) and Charles Calvert's (various provincial houses and the Duke's Theatre, 1875–78) drew for their sets on Sir Austen Layard's excavations at Nineveh. There were nineteenth-century productions also in *America, *France and *Germany. A production at Yale in 1990, directed by Murray Biggs, was unusually faithful to the original text.
Further reading: Howell (1982); Kelsall (1992); Wolfson (1991).

Satire

Works by Byron classed as satires or containing satirical elements include *EBSR*, *Hints*, *Waltz*, *Beppo*, *VJ*, *DJ* and *Age*. His main targets are *cant, self-delusion and tyranny. Among earlier satirists Byron learnt from are *Horace, *Juvenal, *Dryden, *Swift, *Pope and *Churchill. But, particularly in his later work, he 'broke with *Augustan satire and its confident dogmatizing' by 'removing the foundation of moral absolutes from his characters' (Beaty [1985], p. 198).
Further reading: Dyer (1997).

'Saul'

Song in *HM*, written in February 1815. The source is I Samuel 28:7–20. At Saul's request the Witch of Endor summons the spirit of the prophet Samuel, who tells him that he and his sons will perish in the coming battle. This was one of Byron's favourite biblical episodes: he thought it 'the finest and most finished witch-scene that ever was written or conceived' (Kennedy [1830], p. 154).

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von

(1759–1805)
German poet and playwright. Byron read his work in English and French translation. Karl Moor in Schiller's *Die Räuber* (*The Robbers*, 1781) has often been suggested as a fore-runner of the *Byronic hero. Byron also knew *Fiesco* (1783), which is a probable influence on *Marino Faliero*; the plays set in the Thirty Years' War (e.g. *Wallenstein*, 1799) are a possible influence on *Werner*. By 1807 Byron had also read Schiller's history of the Thirty Years' War (*Prose* 4) and his *Der Geisterseher* (1789), translated by W. Bender as *The Armenian, or the Ghost-Seer* (1800), which 'took a great hold of me when a boy ... – & I never walked down St Mark's by moonlight without thinking of it & – "at nine o' clock he died!" ' (*BLJ* v.203).

Schumann, Robert

(1810–56)
Romantic composer. He set German translations of 'My Soul is Dark' (*Myrthen*, 1840) and of 'Jephtha's Daughter', 'Sun of the Sleepless!' and 'Thy Days Are Done' (*Drei Gesänge*, 1851). His more substantial and powerful Byron work is the overture and incidental music for *Manfred* (composed 1848, performed 1852). Manfred speaks (or declaims) while the spirits sing. The addition of a requiem chorus softens the ending.
Further reading: Alice Levine in Robinson (1982).

Scotland

Country of Byron's mother. Byron lived in Scotland as a child, between 1789 and 1798. He never returned, but was proud to be 'half a Scot by birth, and bred/A whole one' (*DJ* X.135–6). He was said to retain traces of a Scottish accent (*see* Marchand, *Biography* 1168); Tom Scott (1983) experimentally renders several passages of Byron into Scots, including the opening of *Beppo*. His memories were associated with his home, *Aberdeen (*BLJ* viii.107–8), and especially with time spent in the country near Braemar in 1795 or 1796. The landscape is celebrated in 'Lachin Y Gair'. Scottish history – the sadness and romance of the Jacobites' defeat at Culloden in 1746 – features there and in 'Golice Macbane'. In *CHP* III.226–34 clansmen still fight with 'fierce native daring' to 'The war-note of Lochiel'. His interest in Scottish history, speech, customs and character was maintained by his later enthusiasm for Walter *Scott's Waverley novels, which began to appear in 1814. Late instances of Byron's ideal Scotland occur in *DJ* X.129–52 and in *Island*, where he talks of the emotional power of memories of Scottish landscape (II.280–97) and where the Hebridean Torquil is 'the blue-eyed northern child/Of isles more known to man, but scarce less wild' than those of Polynesia (II.163–4).

Yet Byron was also capable of the anti-Scottish satire of *EBSR* (provoked by the unfavourable review of *HI* in the **Edinburgh Review*) and *Curse* (directed at the Scot Lord Elgin). Andrew Rutherford (1982) posits this as the second of three stages in Byron's response to Scotland: a 'selected, glamorized, romantic' version of his Scottish childhood in the early lyrics; angry, indiscriminate attacks in the early satires; mature response, helped by Scott's novels, in *DJ* X. There (*DJ X*.145–52) Byron explains that in *EBSR*, 'When juvenile and curly,' he 'railed at Scots to shew my wrath and wit', but 'such sallies' cannot extinguish 'young feelings fresh and early'.

Another element in Byron's Scottishness is his Presbyterian heritage. Eliot (1957) links 'his delight in posing as a damned creature' to this background (pp. 194–5); *see further*: Tom Scott (1983).
Further reading: Beatty (2003); Calder (1989).

Scott, John

(1784–1821)
Journalist who attacked Byron vigorously during the separation scandal. He had coincided with him at *Aberdeen Grammar School. As editor of the *Champion* in April 1816 he printed *'Fare Thee Well!' and *'A Sketch from Private Life', characterizing them as 'an appeal to the public' designed 'to throw the blame…on the weak and defenceless party', Lady *Byron. In *Observations Upon Observations* Byron describes his reconciliation with Scott in Venice early in 1819 (*Prose*, pp. 171–2). Byron contributed £30 to the subscription for his widow after he was killed in a duel, arising from his censure of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, in February 1821.

Scott, Sir Walter

(1771–1832)
Scottish poet and novelist, created baronet in 1820. *EBSR* ridicules Scott for his fantastical poems and as 'Apollo's venal son' (153–88), but acknowledges his superiority to most poets of the day (911–48). Later Byron praised him as 'the Ariosto of the North' (*CHP* IV.359), 'the superlative of my comparative' (*DJ* XV.468), and 'certainly the most wonderful writer of the day' whether as poet or novelist (*BLJ* viii.23). As poets Scott and Byron were often compared; Byron heard of a debate on their relative merits at a London debating society in March 1814 (*BLJ* iii.250).

Byron first read Scott's poems, he says, while at *Cambridge (*BLJ* vii.45). The vogue for verse romances, which Byron and *Murray would later exploit, began with Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805). His characters, especially the eponymous hero of *Marmion* (1808), may have contributed something to the *Byronic hero. Scott's use of tetrameter – his 'triumph over the fatal facility of the octosyllabic verse' (dedication to *Corsair*, *CPW* iii.149) – provided a precedent for several of the *Oriental Tales. In November 1813 Byron placed Scott at the top of his 'triangular "Gradus ad Parnassum"' as 'undoubtedly the Monarch of Parnassus' (*BLJ* iii.219–20), the appellation he used also when inscribing a copy of *Giaour* to him in January 1815.

The poets' reconciliation, brokered by *Murray, had begun in June 1812 with Byron's flattering report of the Prince Regent's (*George IV's) enthusiasm for Scott's poems. In return Scott praised *Childe Harold* I–II and Byron apologized for *EBSR* (*BLJ* ii.182). The poets met for the first time on 7 April 1815. Scott later told Thomas Moore that 'I found Lord Byron in the highest degree courteous, and even kind. We met for an hour or two almost daily, in Mr Murray's drawing-room ... Our sentiments agreed a good deal, except upon the subjects of religion and politics, upon neither of which I was inclined to believe that Lord Byron entertained very fixed opinions' (Moore, *Life* i.616). (Scott was a *Tory who wrote for the **Quarterly Review*. Byron stressed to *Stendhal (*BLJ* x.189) that Scott was '*perfectly sincere*' in his politics.) They shared an interest in history and they admired each other's apparently 'unpoetical' manner – the 'realistic and sceptical attitude which formed one aspect' of both (P. H. Scott [1989], pp. 60–1). They did not meet again after the summer of 1815, but the friendship continued with Scott's brave, discerning and largely favourable review of *CHP* III in the *Quarterly* (dated October 1816, published February 1817) at a time when Byron was generally reviled, following his separation crisis. Even more bravely, in 1821, Scott accepted the dedication of the highly controversial *Cain*.

From the beginning Byron was an avid and appreciative reader of the Waverley novels (which Scott embarked on partly because his fame and sales as a poet had been dented by Byron's). His response to the first of the novels, *Waverley*, soon after its publication in July 1814, indicates the qualities he continued to admire. 'I like it as much as I hate ... all the feminine trash of the last four months' – he specifies work by *Edgeworth, Fanny Burney and Sydney Owenson – and 'besides – it is all easy to me – because I have been in Scotland so much ... and feel at home with the people lowland & Gael' (*BLJ* iv.146). Byron read and often reread each novel. He realized at once that Scott must be the author of these anonymous works, and alluded to them often and easily in his letters. (He shows a particular relish for the characters' Scots speech and expressions.) In April 1823 alone he refers in passing to *The Antiquary*, *Heart of Midlothian* and *Guy Mannering* (*BLJ* x.143, 146, 149). At the end of December 1823, just before leaving *Cephalonia for *Missolonghi, he kept at his first reading of *Quentin Durward* to the point of rudeness (*MacCarthy* 485). 'Scotch Fielding, as well as great English poet – wonderful man!' Byron had called him after reading the conclusion of *Tales of My Landlord* (Third Series) 'for the fiftieth time' (*BLJ* viii.13).

After Byron's death Scott continued to read and think about his poems. 'He wrote from impulse never from effort and therefore I have always reckond

[*sic*] *Burns and Byron the most genuine poetical geniuses of my time and a half century before me' (Scott [1972], p. 82: 9 February 1826).
Further reading: Nicholson (2003a).

Segati, Marianna

(fl.1816–19)
Byron's Venetian lover of 1816–18. She was a draper's wife. At Palazzo Mocenigo she coincided with, and was then replaced by, Margherita *Cogni.

Seville

Spanish city visited by Byron in late July 1809. It is the setting of *DJ* I, 'a pleasant city,/Famous for oranges and women' (57–8).

Sgricci, Tommaso

(1789–1836)
Improvvisatore. He specialized in improvising classical tragedies. Byron saw him perform in *Milan in October 1816 (*BLJ* v.119, 124–5). He expressed little enthusiasm then, but according to Medwin, *Conversations* 138, later said that 'Sgricci is not only a fine poet, but a fine actor.' In *Venice in March 1820 Byron reported to *Hobhouse that Sgricci was 'a celebrated Sodomite a character by no means so much respected in *Italy as it should be; but they laugh instead of burning' (*BLJ* vii.51).

The Count in *Beppo* 257–8 'patroniz'd the Improvisatori,/Nay, could himself extemporize some stanzas'. Byron's own style in *Beppo* and *DJ* has often been compared to that of the *improvvisatore*. Medwin, *Conversations* 265, having watched Byron write, says that he 'seems to be able to resume the thread of his subject at all times, and to weave it of an equal texture. Such talent is that of an *improvisatore*.'

Shakespeare, William

(1564–1616)
Playwright and poet. Byron often professed not to share the widespread veneration of his 'plays so doating,/Which many people pass for wits by quoting' (*DJ* VII.167–8). While *Pope deserves the highest praise, Shakespeare exhibits 'the grossest of faults' (*BLJ* viii.200). He 'had no invention as to

stories, none whatever' (*BLJ* iv.84). But it is difficult to take such remarks very seriously given that much of Byron's work is steeped in Shakespeare. Lady *Blessington said that 'I have rarely met with a person more conversant with the works of Shakespeare' (Blessington, *Conversations* 203); she concluded that Byron's motive for denigrating him was a 'wish of vexing or astonishing the English' (178). A deeper desire may have been to avoid becoming too closely identified with the author he and his contemporaries so easily fell into imitating.

Macbeth is the Shakespeare play most often referred to in the poems and letters, followed by *Hamlet*, *Henry IV* Part One and *Othello*. Unusually, Byron also shows knowledge of such less popular plays as *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Timon of Athens*. In fact the only play he does not mention is *The Comedy of Errors* (Barton [2004], p. 229). Allusions vary from the casual to the developed and often combine or juxtapose elements from more than one play, as in the transition from Hotspur (*1 Henry IV* I.iii.201–2) to Lear (*King Lear* IV.vi.187) when the rage of Gulbeyaz is described in *DJ* V.1083–7. The preparation for the Siege of *Ismail (*DJ* VII. 681–8) follows a hint of the 'hum' of armies the night before Agincourt from *Henry V* (IV, prologue 5) with a group of ominous darkness references from *Macbeth* I.v.50–3. In *'January 22nd 1824. Messalonghi' there are echoes of *Macbeth* V.iii.22–3, *Othello* III.iii.349–54 and *Hamlet* V.ii.396–402: Byron's 'valediction echoes those of his three favourite Shakespearean tragic heroes' (Bate [1986], p. 246). Briefer comments in letters also demonstrate how deeply Byron had assimilated Shakespeare and to what useful effect he could put him. Anne Barton (2004), p. 231, cites the 'Oh for breath to utter' (*1 Henry IV* II.iv.246) which ends a list of examples of 'scorching and drenching' in *BLJ* vi.207.

In the theatre Byron admired the Shakespeare performances of actors including *Siddons and *Kean. In 1815 he wrote *'Epilogue to *The Merchant of Venice* Intended for a Private Theatrical' and in 1822 thought about putting on a production of *Othello*. (*See* **Drama and theatre**. Earlier, before his pursuit of Lady Frances *Webster, he had mentally cast her, her jealous husband and himself in the play: 'I shall have some comic Iagoism with our little Othello – I should have no chance with his Desdemona myself' [*BLJ* iii.117].) Although his own plays aspired to neoclassical, unShakespearean unity – in this context he calls Shakespeare 'the *worst* of models – though the most extraordinary of writers' (*BLJ* viii.152) – he could not easily escape his own experiences as reader and viewer. The language and preoccupations of *Marino Faliero* often come from *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar* and there are many echoes even in the more classical *Two Foscari*. Bate (1986) sees the borrowings in these plays as passive, while *Sardanapalus* is a more successful 'active reworking' of *Antony and Cleopatra* (p. 236). But Byron's final escape from Shakespeare, for Bate, was to write in **ottava rima*: he thus 'avoided rivalry' and 'was able to recapture the Shakespearean virtues of variety, vitality, and magnanimity without having to worry about the weight of Shakespearean language' (pp. 239–40).

Byron's continuing attraction and resistance to Shakespeare are indicated in *DJ* by the unresolved choice between Adeline, who 'was weak enough to deem Pope a great poet' (XVI.423) and Aurora, who 'Was more Shakespearian, if I do not err./The worlds beyond this world's perplexing waste/Had more of her existence, for in her/There was a depth of feeling to embrace/Thoughts, boundless, deep, but silent too as Space' (XVI.428–32). 'Byron is both the heir of the eighteenth century satirists and a Romantic Shakespearean who aspires to the ideal and the infinite' (Bate [1986], p. 245; cp. Barton [2004], p. 235).

'She walks in beauty, like the night'

Byron's best-known lyric poem. It was probably written on 12 June 1814 (*BLJ* iv.124n.), the day after Byron saw Anne Horton Wilmot (1784–1871), his cousin Robert Wilmot's wife, 'in mourning, with dark spangles on her dress' (*1832*, x.75). (McLachlan [1990], pp. 24–6, explores the possibility that the poem was written in April 1814.) First publication was in *N1815* and *HM*. Byron's draft, first printed in 1973, has some interesting variants. The 'cloudless climes and starry skies' of l.2 were originally 'softer climes and summer skies' and there was an unfinished fourth stanza in which 'Light were the sin in loving her/For fixing there its purer thought/The wildest heart would cease to err' (*CPW* iii.289).

For Galt (1830) 'She walks' is 'a perfect example...of [Byron's] bodiless admiration, and objectless enthusiasm'; 'all is vague and passionless, save in the delicious rhythm of the verse, and in pure voluptuousness' (pp. 15, 16). Approval was more usual by the twentieth century, when most of the 57 musical settings counted by Alice Levine in Robinson (1982), p. 179, were composed – more than for any other poem by Byron. Shilstone (1988) sees the piece as representative of *HM*: in the half-light 'art strikes a tentative balance between the tragic world and man's quest for permanence' (p. 111). For Blackstone (1975) it has a 'religious tone: this is a species of catharsis through beauty' (p. 154). Bone (2000) suggests that most readers have misread the poem, failing to notice that 'the unambiguous expression of moral certainty' in the third stanza supersedes the earlier Romantic and romantic indefiniteness (p. 23).

Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft

(1797–1851)
Author of *Frankenstei*n. She was introduced to Byron by her stepsister Claire *Clairmont in April 1816. She, her lover P. B. *Shelley (they were married on 30 December 1816) and Clairmont spent much of June–August 1816 living near Byron in *Switzerland. In June the group, including *Polidori, were involved in the conversations and ghost-story competition from which *Frankenstein* developed ('a wonderful work,' Byron told *Murray [*BLJ* vi.126], 'for a Girl' of under nineteen). Mary Shelley next saw Byron in *Venice in September 1818, when she read *CHP* IV before visiting the Venetian sites it describes. Between November 1821 and April 1822 the Shelleys and Byron were in *Pisa together. Following P. B. Shelley's death in July she moved to *Genoa, where, in 1822–23, she often saw Byron before his departure for *Greece. There was tension between them in June 1823, fomented, it seems, by Leigh *Hunt, who showed letters to her in which Byron had spoken disparagingly of her and her husband. Byron had offered to pay for her journey back to England but now she refused; subsequently Byron tried to provide the money secretly through Hunt (Seymour [2000], pp. 324–5; possibly Hunt kept the money himself). Nevertheless she was deeply saddened by news of the death of the 'dear capricious fascinating Albe' (Shelley [1987], ii.478). ('Albe' or 'Albé' is probably a playful rendering of 'LB' for Lord Byron. For this and other possible explanations *see* Shelley [1987], i.137–8 n. 3.) Subsequently she helped preserve and define his memory by assisting *Moore in his biographical researches. She recounted her memories to Moore, worked to extract letters from Byron's correspondents, and wrote down what she could remember of the burned *Memoirs, which she had read probably in 1818.

Mary Shelley was responsive to Byron's physical and conversational charm (e.g. Shelley [1987], ii.439–40.) She was also a keen reader of his work and produced for him fair-copies of poems including *Ode on Venice* and *Mazeppa* in 1818 and *Werner* in 1822. In 1822–23 Byron employed her to copy *DJ* VI–XVI. (Her copies of these works, which were used as printer's copy for the first editions, are extant, apart from *DJ* IX–XVI. Her copies of *CHP* III, *Prisoner*, *Francesca* and 'To the Po' also survive.) Her changes to punctuation were usually accepted by Byron, as were a few minor alterations in phrasing. Occasionally in *DJ* she attempts to tone down references she thinks too explicit – replacing 'breast' with 'heart', for example, in VI.119, 533 and 694. Sometimes she leaves a blank rather than write material she considers unacceptable. She omits the reference to *Catherine the Great as 'greatest of all sovereigns and whores' (VI.735–6) and the 'old damsels…deflowered by different grenadiers' (VIII.1039–40). *See further*: Cochran (1996).

Evidently Byron-like figures occur in several of Mary Shelley's novels, most obviously Lord Raymond in *The Last Man* (1826). Raymond is an eloquent speaker, a lover, a man of action who dies in battle in Greece and is contrasted with the compassionate idealist Adrian, evidently a version of P. B. Shelley. (Byron's 'Darkness' is among probable sources or analogues for the Last Man situation.) Castruccio in *Valperga* (1823) and the title-character in *Lodore* (1835) also have Byronic elements.

Shelley, Percy Bysshe

(1792–1822)
Poet engaged in a close literary relationship with Byron. They first met by Lake Léman on 27 May 1816 and spent much time together, including a tour of the lake (22–30 June), between then and the end of August. They next met in the autumn of 1818 in *Venice and then for two weeks in *Ravenna in August 1821, and were both in *Pisa from November 1821 to April 1822. Finally they saw each other in Pisa a few days before Shelley drowned, on 8 July, in the boat Byron had named (to Shelley's annoyance) *Don Juan*.

Byron's involvement with Claire *Clairmont, Mary *Shelley's stepsister, was the initial reason the poets met. Shelley had already, however, read much of Byron's work – certainly *POT*, *EBSR* and *Lara*, and probably the other *Oriental Tales and *CHP* I–II (Robinson [1976], pp. 241–4) – and Byron had read Shelley's *Queen Mab*. Their conversations at Villa *Diodati and on the lake extended the awareness they already had of each other's very different philosophies: Byron's pessimism or scepticism, Shelley's meliorism and idealism (Franklin [2000], p. 96). They disagreed also over religion: the atheist Shelley would have liked to 'eradicate from [Byron's] great mind the delusions of Christianity, which in spite of his reason, seem perpetually to recur' (letter to Horace Smith, 11 April 1822, in Shelley [1964], ii.412). In 1816 *Wordsworth and *Rousseau were among their most important topics of discussion. *CHP* III shows signs of how successfully Shelley 'dosed' him with 'Wordsworth physic' (Medwin, *Conversations* 194). The Clarens stanzas (878–976), added in late June 1816, suggest Byron moving also towards a Shelleyan 'faith in the existence of Love as a metaphysical power' (Robinson [1976], p. 25).

The influence seems, however, to have been fairly short lived. In Shelley's *Julian and Maddalo*, based partly on a very long conversation at Palazzo

Mocenigo on 22–23 August 1818, Count Maddalo presents Byronic scepticism and fatalism while the speaker, Julian, is a Shelleyan idealist arguing 'against despondency'. ('You talk Utopia,' Maddalo tells him.) Robinson ([1976], p. 113) sees Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* in a similar context, as aiming 'to liberate Byron from his vision of man's enslavement'. On at least one occasion, when he read *DJ* V, Shelley felt that his 'earnest exhortations' had been effective: this work, he told Mary Shelley in August 1821, 'fulfills in a certain degree what I have long preached of producing something wholly new & relative to the age' (Shelley [1964], ii.323). He also admired *Cain* and *Prophecy*. (Some of Shelley's later poetry is arguably affected by Byron's. He experiments with **ottava rima* in 'The Witch of Atlas' [1820], for instance, and with satire in works including 'Peter Bell the Third' [1819].) Personally, however, their relationship began to become more complicated. They disagreed over the merits of *Keats; by making Byron 'The Pilgrim of Eternity', the foremost mourner in 'Adonais', Shelley tried to prompt a more generous response. They were involved in awkward negotiations about the setting-up of *The *Liberal* and sometimes near to quarrelling about Byron's treatment of Claire Clairmont and her daughter Allegra *Byron. In February 1822 Byron failed to pay Shelley the £1,000 they had wagered on which of them would first come into his inheritance (from Shelley's father or Byron's mother-in-law; *see* Jones [1951], pp. 119, 130). But the principal cause of tension was Shelley's increasing sense of inadequacy as a poet compared with Byron: 'I despair of rivalling Lord Byron ... and there is no other with whom it is worth contending' (Shelley [1964], ii.323). (*See also*: 'Sonnet to Byron': 'If I esteemed you less, Envy would kill/Pleasure ... ') By March 1822 he was calling his relationship with Byron a 'detested intimacy', 'intolerable', in letters to Clairmont and Leigh *Hunt (Shelley [1964], ii.399, 393).

Byron seems to have sensed little of Shelley's frustration with him. He assured *Moore that Shelley is 'the *least* selfish and the mildest of men', although 'With his speculative opinions I have nothing in common, nor desire to have' (*BLJ* ix.119). And after his death in July 1822 Byron told *Murray, 'You are all brutally mistaken about Shelley who was without exception – the *best* and least selfish man I ever knew. – I never knew one who was not a beast in comparison' (*BLJ* ix.189–90). Byron was one of the executors of Shelley's will. He attended his cremation in August 1822 but swam out to the **Bolivar* early in the proceedings.

Byron and Shelley have sometimes been associated as 'second-generation' Romantics, for their liberal politics, or for their lack of Keatsian verbal density. More often they have been opposed to each other as examples of

this-worldly and other-worldly, fashionable and intellectual, pragmatic (or pessimistic) and idealistic.
Further reading: Brewer (1994).

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley

(1751–1816)
Playwright, theatre-manager and *Whig politician. Byron quotes Sheridan's comedies frequently in his letters, especially *The Rivals* (1775). He calls on him to reform the stage with 'One classic drama' in *EBSR* 584–5. Later he credited him (*BLJ* iii.239) with writing 'the *best* comedy' (*The School for Scandal*, 1777), 'the best farce' (*The Critic*, 1779), 'and the best Address (Monologue on Garrick [1779]), and, to crown all, he delivered the very best Oration (the famous Begum Speech [1787]) ever conceived or heard in this country'. Byron knew him well in the last few years of his life, which were dominated by drink and money problems. *Detached Thoughts* includes a series of Sheridan anecdotes, mostly affectionate and amusing (*BLJ* ix.13, 14–16, 17–18, 32, 48). Byron saw him as a man after his own spirit – an enemy of *'cant' – and a surviving embodiment of honest eighteenth-century values.
See also: '**Monody on the Death of the Right Honourable R.B. Sheridan**'.

Siddons, Sarah

(1755–1831)
Tragic actress, particularly known for her Lady Macbeth. Byron saw her play in December 1811 (*BLJ* ii.147) and perhaps earlier; she retired from the stage in 1812. Medwin records Byron as saying that she is 'the *beau idéal* of an actress…When I read Lady Macbeth's part, I have Mrs Siddons before me, and imagination even supplies her voice, whose tones were superhuman, and power over the heart supernatural' (Medwin, *Conversations* 138 and n.) He praises her also in *EBSR* 587, *'Address, Spoken at the Opening of Drury-lane Theatre', *BLJ* ix.31, and an addendum to the preface to *Marino Faliero* (*CPW* iv.563). For a less respectful reference to 'Mother Siddons' in *Macbeth*, influenced by the fact that she was a friend of Lady *Byron and her family, *see BLJ* vi.23 and xi.197.

Siege of Corinth, The

Verse narrative, one of the *Oriental Tales. It was written mostly between January and November 1815 but begun in some form as early as 1812. (*CPW* iii.480 suggests that *Siege* 191–338 was composed in autumn to winter 1812; *see further* iii.476–81.) It was published with *Parisina* in an edition of 6,000 copies on 13 February 1816. In April Byron accepted £1,050 for the copyrights from *Murray, having earlier refused the money and asked for it to be divided between *Godwin, S. T. *Coleridge and *Maturin. There were two further editions in 1816. In a plot loosely modelled on the events of 1715, the renegade Alp leads Turkish forces against Corinth. He loves Francesca, daughter of the Venetian governor, Minotti. During a final interview with Francesca or her ghost (*see below*) Alp refuses to spare Corinth. He is killed in the fighting and Minotti blows up himself, the remaining defenders and their assailants.

Blood has been shed (*Siege* 13–25) since time immemorial by Greeks, Persians and others whose actions affront the beauty and spirituality of the setting (e.g. 202–6). *Greece, whose landscape speaks of its ancient liberty, is as unfree as a century earlier. *Venice, at least where Alp is concerned, has belied its 'ancient civic boast – "the Free"' (85), in spite of the temporary 'freedom' it has bestowed on Greece (105). Minotti's immolation of Turk and Venetian, scattering them indistinguishably 'Scorched and shrivelled' (988, 996) is obviously not the simple heroic gesture readers may have anticipated. In the church vaults 'throughout the siege, had been/The Christians' chiefest magazine' (936–7) and the loving Madonna 'Painted in heavenly hues above,/With eyes of light and looks of love' (905–6) shines above Minotti, about to commit his deed. His 'aged eye' (915) is set against her loving eyes and the 'boy-God on her knee'; Minotti was the enemy of his own child's youthful love and soon he will dismember those on whom 'each nursing mother smiled' (999). There is no suggestion that Turkish conduct is particularly better; the destruction unleashed by human beings is on an apocalyptic scale, disrupting nature, panicking the beasts (1012–33). The battle, as in *Macbeth* I.i., has been 'lost and won' (1034).

Discussion of *Siege* has focused mainly on the encounter between Alp and Francesca (487–629). Usually she has been accepted as a ghost. Manning (1978), however, suggests that their interview is 'not an actual occurrence but…a projection of [Alp's] doubts and hopes' (p. 56). (Byron calls her 'an apparition or wraith', *BLJ* iv.322.) Franklin (1992) argues that Francesca 'appears to Alp as he perceives her: the object of his quest for both freedom and love' (p. 70). But the reader, unlike the hero, 'becomes aware that she is a cipher' who 'articulates the constricting ideology of Christianity which has killed her *doppelgänge*r – the live girl'.

Alp himself partakes of the alienation of the *Byronic hero but is sketched more economically than usual, focused more closely on the particular situation of the siege. For the *Augustan Review* (April 1816, *RR* i.62) 'he is a wretch whose fierce and revengeful spirit is not redeemed by any softer traits of character. The same may be said of Francesca.' The narration – for many readers clear and, for the siege itself, exciting – also failed to please several contemporary reviewers, who disliked the simplicity of the plot, the 'insipidity and absurdity of the fable' (*Critical Review*, February 1816, *RR* ii.644). The passage most often singled out for censure and disgust was the 'carnival' of corpse-eating dogs and wolf (409–33). *Gifford crossed out 411–33 in a manuscript copy in January 1817 (see *CPW* iii.479).

The main source for *Siege* is the summary account, given in the Advertisement, from *A Compleat History of the Turks* (anonymous, 1719), III.151. Byron makes the accidental explosion there intentional, and invents the story of Alp and Francesca. The apparition of Francesca was influenced by a similar figure in *Goethe's *Die Braut von Korinth*, known to Byron through Mme de *Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (Franklin [1988], pp. 307–10). The windless night and first sight of a bright lady in *Coleridge's *Christabel*, I.45–54, 60, is a possible influence on the similar features of *Siege* 476–87; in a letter to Coleridge (*BLJ* iv.321–2) and a note printed with the poem (*CPW* iii.486) Byron expresses anxiety not to be thought to be plagiarizing. Another text referred to in Byron's notes (*CPW* iii.486) is *Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), which he credits for Francesca's ultimatum to Alp (598–605) to spare Corinth and return to the fold before the cloud has passed the moon. Finally, it is conceivable that Byron heard traditional oral accounts of the siege in Greece, perhaps when he visited Corinth itself in July 1810.

The forty-five lines printed from *1832* onwards as the opening of the poem (*CPW* iii.356–7) 'represent either a new beginning for the original tale or the start of a new poem in October 1813' (*CPW* iii.480; *see BLJ* iv.337–8). The free wandering and mixed creeds (18–21) of the 'gallant company' contrast with the trapped Corinth and sectarian division of the poem proper.
Further reading: McColl (2006).

Sismondi, Jean-Charles-Léonard Simonde de

(1773–1842)
Swiss liberal historian. He was the author of *L'Histoire des républiques italiennes du Moyen-Age* (1809–18) and *De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe* (1813). In *Corsair* Byron draws on Sismondi's presentation of the 'turning-point in Italian history', when despots began to replace republics, to figure the contemporary political situation (*CPW* iii.445). The *Histoire* also provides one of the main sources for *Two Foscari*.
See also: **Ginguené, Pierre Louis**.

‘Sketch from Private Life, A’

Poem attacking Mary Anne *Clermont, Lady *Byron’s confidante. The first draft was written on 30 March 1816, with additions over the next few days. Fifty copies were printed for private distribution in early April. The poem was published, without permission, in *The Champion* on 14 April, where it was bracketed with *‘Fare Thee Well’ as ‘Lord Byron’s Poems On His Own Domestic Circumstances’. Both poems were further pirated before the first authorized publication in *1819*. The aggressive ‘Sketch’, lacking the subtleties and possible ambiguities of ‘Fare Thee Well’, swelled the tide of feeling against Byron during the separation crisis.

‘It is a dreadful picture –’, declared *Gifford to *Murray; ‘Its powers are unquestionable – but can any human being deserve such a delineation? … I lament bitterly to see a great mind run to seed, & waste itself in such growth’ (undated note in Murray, *Letters* 159–60).

Smith, Constance Spencer

(*c*.1784–?)

Woman with whom Byron fell in love in *Malta in September 1809. She was the wife of the British minister in Stuttgart, daughter of the Austrian ambassador in Istanbul, and fascinating to Byron partly because ‘her life has been … so fertile in remarkable incidents, that in a romance they would appear improbable’ (*BLJ* i.224). He recalled his love as unusually ‘violent’ (*BLJ* ii.198) and came close to fighting a duel on her behalf, but his passion soon cooled when he left Malta – the subject of ‘Written at Athens. January 16th, 1810’ (‘The spell is broke, the charm is flown!’). He feared that his enthusiasm might revive when he saw her again in Malta in 1811, but ‘got the better’ of it, according to his later account for Lady *Melbourne; Mrs Spencer Smith was ‘not at all in love, but very able to persuade me that she was so, & sure that I should make a most *convenient* & complaisant fellow traveller’ (*BLJ* ii.199).

She is the Florence of *CHP* II.266 – though Harold responds less warmly than Byron – and is addressed in ‘To Florence’, ‘Written in an Album’, ‘Stanzas Composed October 11th 1809 … in a thunder-storm’ and ‘Stanzas Written in passing the Ambracian Gulph, November 14th, 1809’.

Smith, James and Horatio (Horace)

(1775–1839); (1779–1849)

Authors of *Rejected Addresses: or the New Theatrum Poetarum* (1812). This is a series of parodies of poets of the day, inspired by the rejection of all the entries to the *Drury Lane competition for a suitable address to be delivered at the reopening of the theatre. The Smiths imagine an address by each poet, including Byron, whose real *'Address, Spoken at the Opening of Drury-lane Theatre' was used instead of the entries. In 'Cui Bono?' the author of *CHP* I–II, 'Viewing with scorn and hate the nonsense of the Nine [Muses]', gives a melancholy account of the futility of theatre and of life in general. This is one of the more convincing, and amusing, parodies of Byron's style and attitude.

Smollett, Tobias

(1721–71)
Novelist. Byron knew his work well. There are passing references to *Roderick Random* (*BLJ* iv.256, vi.96) and *Peregrine Pickle* (v.73). Byron had a particular fondness for the remark by Mrs Winifred Jenkins in *Humphrey Clinker*, 'he has done the handsome thing by me' (*BLJ* iv.156, v.253, viii.237). Smollett is one of the authors whose example, Byron believes, refutes or puts into perspective the alleged immorality and obscenity of *DJ* (*BLJ* vi.91, 94, 234, 253, x.68, 98; *DJ* IV.779).

'So We'll Go No More A Roving'

Lyric written in late February 1817. It forms part of a letter to Thomas *Moore of 28 February (*BLJ* v.176) and was first published in Moore, *Life*. Composition followed the end of Carnival in *Venice. At the closing masked ball at the Fenice theatre and at the 'ridottos, etc., etc.' Byron 'did not dissipate much upon the whole, yet I find "the sword wearing out the scabbard," though I have but just turned the corner of twenty-nine' (*BLJ* v.176). Lines 1–4 and 11–12 adapt the refrain of the eighteenth-century Scottish ballad 'The Jolly Beggar': 'We'll go no more a roving, a roving in the night,/We'll go no more a roving, let the moon shine so bright.' 'So We'll Go No More A Roving' became one of Byron's most popular short poems. W. B. Yeats told Stephen Spender that for him it was 'pure poetry, and the measure for poetry in his own work', epitomizing the 'magic' which he felt would be lost if he wrote free verse (Spender [1974], p. 37).

'Soliloquy of a Bard in the Country, in an Imitation of Littleton's Soliloquy of a Beauty'

Poem responding to criticism of *FP*. Eliza *Pigot's fair copy, dated December 1806, was published in *C*. Byron's rough draft was first published in *CPW*.

'Soliloquy of a Beauty in the Country' was collected in *The Works of George, Lord Lyttleton*, ed. George Ayscough, 3rd edition (1776), vol. 3, pp. 73–5. For Lyttleton's speaker 'Ah, what avails it to be young and fair?' if one is marooned in the country; for Byron's 'what avails it thus to waste my time,/To roll in Epic, or to rave in Rhyme?' (7–8) if his work is to be unfairly censured by 'ancient Virgins', country squires and the like. At the end of the poem Byron associates himself with the enemy-beset *Pope, *Gray and *Dryden.

'Some Account of the Life and Writings of the late George Russell of A – by Henry Ferguson'

Byron's incomplete biography of a fictitious *Aberdeen schoolfriend, dated December 1821. It is 'an elaborate skit on the art of biography, or more probably autobiography' (*Prose* 495). Sources include the 'Ensign Odoherty' satires by Thomas Hamilton and others, published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from February 1818 (*Prose* 496).

Some Observations upon an Article in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine

Prose work by Byron, concerned mainly with defending *Pope and attacking the 'Lake Poets' and *Keats. Most of it was written during 15–29 March 1820 in response to 'Remarks on Don Juan' in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (August 1819, *RR* i.143–9). Byron believed the author to be John Wilson but it was either John Gibson Lockhart or several *Blackwood's* authors combined. The *Observations* came close to publication several times but was held back partly on the advice of *Hobhouse and later of P. B. *Shelley (*Prose* 359–60), mainly it seems because Byron's avowedly unusual amount of self-justification was likely to alienate readers.

Much of the *Blackwood's* piece is taken up with censure of Byron's personal morality and especially his treatment of his wife and alleged portrayal of her as Donna Inez in *DJ* I. In the first part of *Observations* he refutes a charge of selfishness, protests at the continued identification of characters in his poems with himself, and describes the ostracism and enforced exile he has suffered as a result of his marital difficulties. But the main assault is on *Southey, *Wordsworth and others involved in the epidemic of 'absurd and systematic depreciation of Pope' which is 'the great cause of the present deplorable state of English Poetry' (*Prose* 104). Some of the same themes would be taken up in the controversy with *Bowles: *see Letter to John Murray* and *Observations Upon Observations*.

Observations reads at times, with its pillorying of contemporary poets, like a later prose version of *EBSR*. Andrew Nicholson in Bone (2004), however, draws attention to the 'gracious and courteous' conclusion which follows once Byron 'has written himself back into a good humour' (pp. 204–5).

'Some Recollections of my Acquaintance with Madame de Staël'

Unfinished prose piece, dated 4 August 1821. It was conceived partly as a pre-emptive attack on Mme de *Staël's companion August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845), who, Byron had heard, was 'making a fierce book against *me*' (*BLJ* viii.166). He also describes the way Staël 'harangued – she lectured – She preached English politics' to English politicians as soon as she arrived in England (*Prose* 185).

'Song' ('Breeze of the night! in gentler sighs')

Poem asking the wind not to wake 'Sweet Fanny'. It was written in *Brighton, dated 23 July 1808, and first published in *C*. The poem may be associated with Caroline *Cameron (*CPW* i.390). But since Byron said on 20 July that he had 'parted with' her (*BLJ* i.167), it was possibly inspired by another lover. Equally it could have been composed before 20 July and copied on 23 July, or could be retrospective.

'Song' ('Fill the goblet again! For I never before')

Drinking song in *IT*. *CPW* i.419 suggests a date of late 1808 or early 1809.

'Song' ('Maid of Athens, ere we part') *see* 'Maid of Athens, ere we part'

'Song' ('When I rov'd, a young Highlander')

Poem remembering *Scotland and Mary *Duff. It was written in 1807 or 1808 and published in *POT*. In youth the speaker wandered the mountains and experienced pure innocent love for Mary. When he left his 'bleak home', 'splendour ... rais'd, but embitter'd my lot'.

'Song for the Luddites' ('As the Liberty lads o'er the sea')

Song in a letter to *Moore (24 December 1816, *BLJ* v.149). It was first published in Moore, *Life*. The Luddites will '*die* fighting, or *live* free,/And down with all kings but King Ludd!' (4–5). (The name derived from an individual, Ned Lud or Captain Lud.) Abroad, writing 'impromptu' verses (*CPW* iv.461), and more than four years after his more detailed engagement with Nottinghamshire Luddites, Byron can afford to express more radical sentiments than in the *Frame Work Bill Speech* and 'An Ode to the Framers of the Frame Bill'. But the sentiments seem less unequivocally radical in the often far from serious context of the letter to Moore.

'Song of Saul Before His Last Battle'

Song in *HM*, written in early 1815. In the source, I Samuel 31, the already defeated Saul calls on his armour-bearer to kill him. Byron transfers this incident to before the battle and allows Saul to express more developed bravery and defiance in the face of imminent death. Byron told *Nathan that *Napoleon 'would have ranked higher in future history' if he, like Saul, had 'fallen on his sword' (*Nathan* 40). Nathan's setting provides a 'martial introduction and incremental march rhythms' (Burwick and Douglass [1988], p. 19).

Sonnet

Poetic form occasionally used by Byron. In December 1813, after the two sonnets 'To Genevra' he claimed that sonnets 'are the most puling, petrifying, stupidly platonic compositions' (*BLJ* iii.240). Nevertheless he later wrote several more, of which 'Sonnet on Chillon' has usually been judged the most successful. Other examples include a sonnet to Lake Léman ('*Rousseau – *Voltaire – our *Gibbon – and de *Staël'), the dedication to *Prophecy*, and 'To the Prince Regent'.

'Sonnet. To Genevra'

Title of each of two *sonnets written on 17–18 December 1813. They were first published in *Corsair*(2). The speaker contemplates Genevra's thoughtful paleness, her 'wan lustre'. The mood of the poems is, like the subject, pensive, contemplative; they sound like responses to paintings, and in the first sonnet there is a comparison with Guido Reni's Magdalen. The poems are intended for, or inspired by, Lady Frances *Webster, and *CPW* iii.430 feels that 'the title is a sly allusion' to their relationship since Genevra, as in *Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* V, is the equivalent of Guenevere. Byron's Genevra, however, has 'nought Remorse can claim – nor Virtue scorn' (14).

'Sonnet on Chillon' *see* ***Prisoner of Chillon. A Fable, The***

Sotheby, William

(1757–1833)
Author and translator. He is briefly praised in *EBSR* 818 but disparaged in *Beppo* 575 ('No bustling Botherbys ... '), *The Blues* (again as Botherby), *DJ* I.1641–2, and 'Italy, or *not* Corinna' (*Prose* 86 – 'Mr. Solemnboy'). Byron first met him in London in November 1811 (*BLJ* ii.128, 129); he summed him up in *Detached Thoughts* as 'a good man – rhymes well (if not wisely) but ... a bore' (*BLJ* ix.29). In September 1815 his tragedy *Ivan*, recommended by Byron, had been accepted by *Drury Lane but was not, in the event, performed (see *BLJ* ix.35).

Souliotes *see* Suliotes

Sounion

Greek promontory and temple, about forty-five miles from Athens. Byron went to Sounion, then usually known as Cape Colonna, in January and December 1810 and described it as 'Colonna's cliff', in *CHP* II.810–13. (The Colonna passage in William Falconer's *The Shipwreck* [1762] may have inspired the visits as well as influencing the description.) On the second visit Byron and his party narrowly escaped being attacked by Mainote pirates, he told *Hobhouse (*BLJ* ii.30–1).

Southcott, Joanna

(1750–1814)
Leader of her own religious sect from 1801. At the end of her life she and her followers believed that she was pregnant with Shiloh, a new Messiah, but she was actually suffering from dropsy. Byron regards her principally as a figure of fun: e.g. *BLJ* iv.164, 167; *DJ* preface (*CPW* v.81), III.852, XI.666. He used 'Shiloh' as a name for P. B. *Shelley.

Southey, Robert

(1774–1843)
Poet Laureate from 1813, a major target of Byron's satire. *EBSR* 202–34 concerns his overproduction of epics ('A Bard may chaunt too often, and too long'). Later Byron attacked Southey frequently for his move from youthful

radicalism to support (purely self-serving, his enemies maintained) for the *Tory establishment. His mediocrity as a poet presented further material for ridicule, and Byron's more personal anger was fuelled by the mistaken belief that Southey had spread the rumour that Byron was involved in a 'league of incest' at Villa *Diodati (*BLJ* vi.76; *Prose* 100, 374–5). He was also infuriated by Southey's remarks about 'the Satanic school' in the preface to his *A Vision of Judgment* (1821). This 'arrogant scribbler of all work' (appendix to *Two Foscari*, *CPW* vi.225) becomes a main butt of the satire of *VJ* (a work which, in the long term, did much to dent Southey's reputation as a poet). In *DJ* he and his fellow 'Lakers' are attacked in the dedication and preface (*CPW* v.84–5) and through the 'sad trimmer' of a poet (III.649) who sings 'The Isles of Greece'.

Byron also wrote, but did not publish, attacks on Southey in 'On Southey's Laureateship' (1813), *Some Observations* (1820) and *BLJ* ix.95–100. He wanted to fight a duel with Southey to avenge what he saw as personal insults to himself and his friends in Southey's letter to *The Courier* of 5 January 1822. *Kinnaird, however, did not pass on the challenge entrusted to him.

Southwell

Town in Nottinghamshire (traditionally pronounced 'Suth'l'). Byron lived here at Burgage Manor with his mother, when not away at school or university or in *London, between 1803 and 1807. (The house has survived.) Southwell was a quiet clerical town with about 3,000 inhabitants, dominated by the Minster; at times Byron found life very dull (e.g. *BLJ* i.47). But he cultivated close friendships with the *Pigot family, whose house across Burgage Green he often visited, sometimes in order to escape after his periodical fallings-out with his mother. Elizabeth and John Pigot and their uncle Rev. *Becher took an active interest in the composition and production of Byron's first volumes of verse, beginning with *FP*. In Southwell he was also involved in flirtations or affairs with several young women including Julia *Leacroft and Anne *Houson. In October 1806 he directed and took leading roles in amateur 'theatricals' in the Leacrofts' dining-parlour (Boyes [1988], p. 29): *see* **Drama and theatre**.

Respectable Southwell society enraged Byron by its censorious reaction to such poems as 'To Mary', resulting in his destruction of all but four copies of *FP*. In a letter to Elizabeth Pigot of 30 June 1807 he calls Southwell, partly in earnest, 'your *cursed*, *detestable* & *abhorred* abode of *Scandal*, *antiquated virginity*, & universal *Infamy*' (*BLJ* i.123).
Further reading: Pratt (1948).

Souvaroff *see* Suwarrow

Spain

Byron and *Hobhouse travelled across Spain in the summer of 1809. Between 23 July and 3 August they rode via Zafra and Monesterio to *Seville, Jerez de la Frontera and *Cadiz. From *Gibraltar they visited Algeciras. The version of this journey in *CHP* I is concerned with the effects of the Napoleonic annexation of Spain in 1808, including the battles of *Talavera and Albuera; blood-lust further demonstrated in a bull-fight; and the beauty of women in 'lovely Spain! renown'd, romantic land!' (387). (Byron also enthuses about Spanish women and their costume in *BLJ* i.220 and *DJ* II.37–56.) Saglia (1996), p. 61, sees Spain as introducing 'the poet's imagination to the Orient'. Byron's conception of Spain, and especially of the importance of honour, was also influenced by his reading of authors including Lope de Vega, Calderón and *Cervantes. *DJ* I is set in Seville.

Byron's poems were already much translated and discussed in Spain before his death, although a complete translation did not appear until 1844. On the whole, liberals applauded his *Romanticism, while it was execrated by conservative, Catholic elements, especially during such periods of conservative political ascendancy as the absolutist rule of Ferdinand VII in 1823–33. (As Byron had seen it in *Age* 334, Spain continued to be persecuted by 'The bigot monarch and the butcher priest'.) The poet most affected by Byron, sufficiently to be known as 'the Spanish Byron', was José de Espronceda (1808–42). He was influenced by Byronic melancholy but also by the humour and irony of *DJ*, most clearly in *El estudiante de Salamanca* (1840).

See also: **'Very Mournful Ballad on the Siege and Conquest of Alhama, A'**.
Further reading: Cardwell (2004a).

Speeches

Byron spoke three times in the *House of Lords. *See Frame Work Bill Speech*, *Roman Catholic Claims Speech* and *Presentation of Major Cartwright's Petition*.

'Spell is broke, the charm is flown!, The' *see* Smith, Constance Spencer

Spencer, Hon. William Robert

(1770–1834)
Author of poems reviewed by Byron in the *Monthly Review* lxvii (January 1812). They are, for the most part, 'sparkling, shining, fashionable trifles' (*Prose* 14).

Spenser, Edmund

(1552–99)
English poet. Byron refers to him mainly in the context of the *Spenserian stanza. Writing to Leigh *Hunt in 1814 he brackets Spenser with *Shakespeare and *Milton as 'very Tuscan' in opposition to the inferior French school (*BLJ* iv.50). Hunt (1828), however, claims that 'Spenser he could not read; at least he said so ... Spenser was too much out of the world, and he too much in it' (pp. 45–6). Perhaps in keeping with this contrast, in *DJ* VII Byron will sing 'Fierce loves and faithless wars' (57) rather than the more traditionally 'Fierce warres and faithfull loves' of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (Proem i.9).

Cecil Y. Lang (1985) argues that the Bower of Bliss in *The Faerie Queene* II xii underlies the Russian episode in *DJ* IX–X.

Spenserian stanza

Stanzaic form, devised by *Spenser and used by Byron in *CHP*. The nine lines rhyme ababbcbcc. The first eight lines are in iambic pentameter; the last, one foot longer, is iambic hexameter. In the preface to *CHP* I–II Byron quotes James Beattie's view that the 'stanza of Spenser ... admits of every variety' (*CPW* ii.4). (It was used by Beattie in *The Minstrel* [1771, 1774] and by James Thomson in *The Castle of Indolence* [1748].) But Barton (1992) comments that Byron seems 'less than comfortable' with the form, often allowing 'a most un-Spenserian enjambment between stanzas ... By Canto IV, the practice had become endemic' and the special quality of this canto 'derives in part from the opposition set up between its essentially centripetal Spenserian stanzas and the onward rush of Byron's thought' (pp. 15–16).

Staël-Holstein, Anne-Louise-Germaine, Baronne de

(1766–1817)
Swiss novelist and writer on comparative literature. Her opposition to *Napoleon led him to banish her from Paris in 1803. ('She was fool enough still

to resist him', according to an unincorporated stanza [*CPW* v.662] into *DJ*.) Byron knew her in London in 1813–14 and visited her at Coppet on Lake Léman several times in 1816. When he first met Staël her volubility told against her, as did his bias against 'blues' (bluestockings), and perhaps his jealousy on 'waking up to find someone else as famous as he was' (Wilkes [1999], p. 5). She 'writes octavos, and *talks* folios' (*BLJ* iii.207). Byron also believed, or claimed to believe, that she had forsaken her earlier politics to become both a *Tory and a Methodist (*BLJ* iii.66; 'The Devil's Drive' 195–6). Nevertheless he acknowledges her, when referring to the analogy between painting and music in her *De l'Allemagne* (1813), as 'the first female writer of this, perhaps, of any age' (note to *Bride* I.179; *CPW* iii.436). In *Switzerland he formed a more favourable impression of the woman to whom he paid public tribute, after her death, in a note to *CHP* IV.478 (*CPW* ii.235–6) for her 'singular capacity' and her virtues as a mother, a friend and 'the charitable patroness of all distress'.

The work by Staël which Byron knew best was her novel *Corinne; ou l'Italie* (1807). It provided some of the details and sentiments for his descriptions of *Rome in *CHP* IV, including the moonlit Coliseum, the Pantheon and St Peter's (*CHP* IV.1144–1305, 1306–23, 1369–1431; *Corinne* XV.iv, IV.ii, IV.iii). The ocean of *Corinne* I.iv clearly influences that of *CHP* IV.1603–20. (Franklin [2000], p. 113, proposes that *CHP* 'may have been originally conceived as a masculine response to the Romantic feminism' of Staël's novel.) *Corinne* XVIII.v, on the difference between the sexes in love, may (*CPW* v.680) be the source of Donna Julia's reflections in *DJ* I.1545–52.

Byron's knowledge of German literature, including his first awareness of *Goethe, came principally from *De l'Allemagne* or the translation, *Germany* (1813). Its treatment of the deliberate breaks of decorum in *Faust* are, McGann (2002), pp. 184, 200 n. 2, suggests, important for an understanding of *Manfred* and *DJ*. It was probably also important, with *Corinne* (both books discuss extensively the difference between north and south), for Byron's cosmopolitanism. Wilkes (1999) argues that the English cantos of *DJ* are in part an ironic response to Staël's idealized representation of English society in *Considérations sur la Révolution française* (1818).
See also: '**Some Recollections of my Acquaintance with Madame de Staël**'.

Staffordshire figures *see* Byromania

Stanhope, Hon. Leicester

(1784–1862)
Army officer and representative of the *London Greek Committee. He was with Byron in *Cephalonia and *Missolonghi, which he left in February

1824 to go to *Athens. Like *Bowring and *Blaquiere he was a follower of Jeremy Bentham. Byron was often irritated by Stanhope's idealism. He believed strongly that the battle for *Greece could be won through the dissemination of republican ideas; through the printing-press, education and health-care. Byron told Bowring that Stanhope had come to Greece with 'some high-flown notions of the sixth form at *Harrow or Eton, & c.; but Colonel *Napier and I set him to rights on those points' (*BLJ* xi.83). His *Greece in 1823 and 1824* was published in 1824. He later became Earl of Harrington.
See also: ***Hellenica Chronica***.

'Stanzas' ('And thou art dead, as young and fair') *see* Thyrza poems

'Stanzas' ('Away, away, ye notes of woe') *see* Thyrza poems

'Stanzas' ('Could Love for ever')

Ballad written on 1 December 1819. It recommends the swift breaking-off of love before it wanes or cloys. Byron believed at the time that circumstances would force him to give up Teresa *Guiccioli, who had gone back from *Venice to *Ravenna with her husband. The poem parodies John Philpot *Curran's 'The Deserter's Lament' (*CPW* iv.506).

'Stanzas' ('I would I were a careless child')

Poem of late 1807 or early 1808, published in *POT*. Once the speaker roamed free in the Highlands (cp. 'Lochin Y Gair'; 'Song' ['When I rov'd, a young Highlander']). Now the world, companions' 'boist'rous Joy' and woman bring no content; instead 'My breast requires the sullen glen' and he longs, with the dove of Psalms 55.6, to fly away and be at rest.

'Stanzas' ('If sometimes in the haunts of men') *see* Thyrza poems

'Stanzas Composed October 11th 1809…in a thunder-storm'

Poem in *CHP*(1). Lost in a storm in the Pindus mountains of *Albania, the poet thinks of 'Sweet Florence' (36) – Constance Spencer *Smith.

'Stanzas for Music' ('I speak not – I trace not – I breathe not thy name')

Poem of May 1814 intended for Augusta *Leigh. It concerns the guilt, joy and inevitability of a relationship in which 'We repent – we abjure – we will break from our chain;/We must part – we must fly to – unite it again'. Byron sent the stanzas to *Moore, who had asked for a poem he could set to music, as 'an experiment, which has cost me something more than trouble' (*BLJ* iv.114). It was first published in *N1827–9*. Earlier Byron had asked *Nathan to date the poem 'more than two years previously to his marriage' (*Nathan* 65–6) – to a time, in other words, before his main involvements with both his wife and his sister.

'Stanzas for Music' ('There be none of Beauty's daughters')

Poem written by late March 1816 and published in *Poems1816*. The 'sweet voice' of the woman is 'like music on the waters'. *CPW* iii.493 follows the tradition that Claire *Clairmont is the addressee, partly because she could sing well. John Clubbe (1985), p. 474, suggests that Augusta *Leigh is intended. Chestek (1988) puts forward a fairly convincing case for Ada *Byron, which would date the poem probably between her birth on 10 December 1815 and the last time her father saw her a month later. The 'voice' is 'not necessarily a singing voice'; the stilling, lulling and dreaming recall 'the deep and untroubled sleep of an infant' and the rhythm suggests 'a kind of smooth, rocking motion' (pp. 87–8). (Chestek cites evidence of Byron's 'kindness and concern' for the newborn baby from Moore [1977], pp. 18–19.) But of course these 'Stanzas for Music' may have been inspired by an encounter as casual as was the case for 'She walks in beauty' – or by some remembered phrase, image or tune.

Alice Levine in Robinson (1982), p. 179, notes the existence of 55 nineteenth- and twentieth-century musical settings of the poem.

'Stanzas for Music' ('There's not a joy the world can give')

Poem on the loss of the ability to feel. 'Then the mortal coldness of the soul like death itself comes down;/It cannot feel for others' woes, it dare not dream its own' (9–10). Byron wrote the poem in mid-February 1815 (*CPW* iii.463) and sent it to Thomas *Moore, with the option of his setting it to music, on 2 March. Byron was working on *HM* and was thus particularly aware of musical possibilities. In the event it was set by Sir John Stevenson and published as a song-sheet later in the year. A revised version, without music, was included in *Poems1816*.

Byron's comments on the poem are contained in two further letters to Moore. On 8 March 1815 he explained that the stanzas started from thoughts on 'the death of poor *Dorset – and the recollection of what I…ought to have felt now, but could not'. He also claims to hope that 'they will pass as an imitation of your style' (*BLJ* iv.279) – that is, the style of Moore's *Irish Melodies*. On 8 March 1816 he says that he rather piques himself on the lines 'as being the truest, though the most melancholy, I ever wrote' (*BLJ* v.45). He wanted the poem to 'acquire a suggestive application to the melancholy events of his marriage separation' (*CPW* iii.463).

'Stanzas to [Augusta]'

Poem of July 1816, first published in *PCOP*. It is evidently addressed to Augusta *Leigh. 'Though human, thou didst not deceive me,/Though woman, thou didst not forsake' (25–6).

'Stanzas to Jessy'

Early love poem. The speaker is indissolubly connected with all aspects of the beloved. The stanzas were first published in *Monthly Literary Recreations* (July 1807). In the unauthorized *Fare Thee Well…With Other Poems* (1816) they were wrongly stated to have been addressed to Lady *Byron 'a few months before their separation'; the intention was no doubt to point up Byron's changeable or deceiving nature. Marchand, *Biography* 129, believes that *Edleston is the one addressed.

'Stanzas to [Mrs. Musters] on Leaving England'

Poem in *IT* addressed to Mary *Chaworth (Mrs Musters). Loving unrequited, the speaker must 'from this land be gone' (5). The poem was probably composed when Byron was waiting to sail from Falmouth in late June 1809. 'Because I cannot love but one', concluding four of the stanzas, is a rather archaic way of saying, 'Because I *can* love but one' (6, 12, 24, 36). 'I've tried another's fetters too' (55) probably refers either to Caroline *Cameron or to one of the women with whom Byron was involved in *Southwell, who included Julia *Leacroft and Anne *Houson.

'Stanzas Written in passing the Ambracian Gulph, November 14th, 1809'

Poem connected with Constance Spencer *Smith ('Sweet Florence'). On 12 November (*BLJ* i.229) Byron passed the site of the sea battle of Actium (31 BC), in which Anthony lost the world for Cleopatra; the poet 'cannot lose a world for thee,/But would not lose thee for a world!' The stanzas were first published in *CHP*(1).

'Stanzas Written on the Road Between Florence and Pisa' ('Oh! talk not to me of a name great in story ... ')

Lines written on 6 November 1821, sent to *Moore on 12 December, and published in Moore, *Life*. 'The days of our Youth, are the days of our Glory.' The tone and sentiments are in the tradition of *Moore's *Irish Melodies*. Lady *Blessington's parody begins 'Oh! talk not to me of the charms of youth's dimples,/There's surely more sentiment centr'd in wrinkles' (Blessington, *Conversations* 149).

Stendhal (Henri Beyle)

(1783–1842)
French novelist. He and Byron knew each other in *Milan in 1816, although less intimately than Stendhal subsequently claimed. Byron was probably interested by his stories about *Napoleon (Cochran [2002], 23 and 28 October 1816). Stendhal writes about Byron and *Romanticism in works including *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817* (1817), *Racine et Shakespeare* (1823) – both of which Byron read (*BLJ* x.189) – and 'Lord Byron en Italie' (1830). Octave de Malivert in Stendhal's novel *Armance* (1827) has been seen as an alienated Childe Harold figure; Peter Cochran (2004), pp. 57–8, feels further that 'Stendhal puts him in a socially satirical context derived from *DJ*.' Cochran posits also a connection between *DJ* and satirical elements in *Le Rouge et le noir* (1831). Epigraphs from *DJ* I and XIII are used in *Le Rouge et le noir* I.viii, x, xi, xvi and II.xvii, xxvi, xxx.

Sterne, Laurence

(1713–68)
Author of *Tristram Shandy* (1759–67). The digressive, tone-shifting Shandean manner influenced *DJ*. 'You must not mind occasional rambling', Byron

told *Kinnaird, 'I mean it for a poetical T Shandy – or *Montaigne's Essays with a story for a hinge' (*BLJ* x.150). Byron also knew Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1767), which he alludes to in *DJ* IV.868.

Stoppard, Tom *see* Byron in drama

Stothard, Thomas *see* Illustrations of Byron's work

Stowe, Harriet Beecher

(1811–96)
American defender of Lady *Byron. She was well known as the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) when she met the poet's widow in 1856. In 'The True Story of Lady Byron's Life' (1869), expanded as *Lady Byron Vindicated* (1870), she stirred controversy by making public Lady Byron's allegation of incest between Byron and Augusta *Leigh (see Chew [1924], pp. 278–83). Stowe was in part reacting to the saintly version of Byron presented in Teresa *Guiccioli's recently published recollections.

Suliotes

Ethnic group in north-western *Greece. They were famously independent. *Ali Pasha had conquered them in 1803 only after ten years of trying and the mass suicide of Suliote women. (This incident was interpreted by philhellenes as a return to the heroism of the ancient Greeks, although the Suliotes were generally regarded as Albanians.) The Suliotes' long defiance of Ali is celebrated in *CHP* II.421–3 and note (*CPW* ii.195), their hospitality and again their bravery in II.604–12 and 649–92.

Fired by idealism about Suliote bravery and integrity, in *Missolonghi Byron paid and commanded 500 Suliote soldiers. He disbanded most of them in February 1824 having found them dishonest, riven by faction and reluctant to engage in military action.

Byron wrote a 'War Song of the Suliotes' (*Hobhouse's title; first published in *C*) in January 1824. They are saluted also in 'The Isles of Greece' (*DJ* III.761–6).

'Sun of the Sleepless!'

Song in *HM*, written first as part of 'Harmodia' in September 1814. The melancholy moon is addressed; 'So gleams the past, the light of other days,/ ... Distinct, but distant – clear – but, oh how cold!' (5–8).

Suwarrow

Count Alexander Vasilievich Suvorov (1729–1800). He was Russian commander at the siege of *Ismail. In *DJ* VII he is a formidable but sometimes buffoonish figure (433–40). His unhesitating commitment to bloodshed makes him 'the greatest Chief/That ever peopled hell with heroes slain,/Or plunged a province or a realm in grief' (538–40). *See also*: *DJ* VIII.1057–75.

Swift, Jonathan

(1667–1745)

Satirist. Byron quite often refers to Swift's work or stories about his life. He quotes his 'motto "Vive la Bagatelle!"' (*Hints* 342; *BLJ* viii.33) and insultingly refers to *Hobhouse 'speaking upon a dinner table – like Grildrig [Gulliver's name among the giants of Brobdingnag] to his Majesty' (*BLJ* xi.168; *see Gulliver's Travels* Part II, Chapter 6). He replies to objections to the 'indelicacy' of *DJ* that Swift is much more indelicate (*BLJ* vi.125); in *Hints* 393–7 he had absolved him for 'The dirty language, and the noisome jest' which 'we now detest' – 'Peace to Swift's faults, his Wit hath made them pass.' According to *Trelawny, Byron said, 'Swift beats us all hollow; his rhymes are wonderful' (Trelawny [1858], p. 31). By 1816 (*Sale Catalogue* 1816, no. 283) Byron owned Walter *Scott's edition of Swift (13 vols, 1814). England (1975) argues that much of *DJ* is in the tradition of Swiftian burlesque rather than the Augustanism of *Pope.

Swimming

One of Byron's strongest and personally most significant enthusiasms. It is often seen as a way of compensating for his lameness on land. He and his fellow undergraduate *Long dived in the Cam for 'plates, eggs, and even shillings' (*BLJ* viii.24). He swam three miles along the Thames from Lambeth in August 1807, across the Tagus from old Lisbon to Belem Castle in July 1809, from the Lido and up the length of the Grand Canal in June 1818, and out to his yacht the *Bolivar* during P. B. *Shelley's cremation in August 1822. Most famously, he swam from Sestos to Abydos, in imitation of the mythical Leander, on 3 May 1810. In 'Written After Swimming from Sestos to Abydos' (9 May) Leander 'swam for Love, as I for Glory' and in consequence 'he was drown'd, and I've the ague' (16–20). The incident features also in *DJ* II.838–40 and is described in some detail to *Murray in a letter of 21 February 1821 (*BLJ* viii.80–3; published in the *Monthly Magazine*, April 1821, and *The*

Traveller, 3 April 1821). Swimming and diving figure as a memory and image of lost freedom in *Two Foscari* I.i.104–21. Neuha's strong underwater swimming is a sign of her freedom and resourcefulness in *Island* IV.105–16.

Swinburne, Algernon Charles

(1837–1909)
Poet and critic. He wrote an enthusiastic preface to *A Selection of the Works of Lord Byron* (1866), praising especially the 'sincerity and strength' of his later work. An extreme reaction against Byron was provoked, however, when *Arnold ranked him above *Coleridge and *Shelley. Swinburne's 'Wordsworth and Byron', in the *Nineteenth Century* 15 (1884), is an angry denunciation of Byron for lack of imagination, falseness, and having no ear for verse.

Switzerland

Country where Byron lived, mainly at Villa *Diodati, in May–October 1816. He visited *Chillon, Clarens, Mme de *Staël at Coppet, and the Bernese Oberland. In Switzerland he wrote *Prisoner*, most of *CHP* III and the *Alpine Journal. Byron told *Moore in September 1821 that it was 'a curst selfish, swinish country of brutes, placed in the most romantic region of the world. I never could bear the inhabitants, and still less their English visitors' (*BLJ* viii.214). He disliked the gossip or 'infamous calumny' (*BLJ* viii.174–5) of both groups.
Further reading: Giddey (2004).

T

Taaffe, John

(?1787–1862)
Irish expatriate who knew Byron in *Pisa in 1821–22. Byron persuaded *Murray to publish Taaffe's *A Comment on the Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri* (1822). He judged the commentary 'really valuable', but was prompted mainly by the rather amusing desperation of this 'very good natured man' to see himself in print (*BLJ* ix.90).

Talavera, Battle of

Victory, 70 miles from Madrid, of British and Spanish forces over French (27–28 July 1809). As Byron says (*BLJ* i.221) it was a partial victory, with heavy British losses. In *CHP* I.414–58 Talavera prompts reflections on the blood vainly spilt on both sides for ambition rather than honour. The point is reinforced, at 459–67, by the even bloodier battle of Albuera (5 May 1811), a more decisive British victory over the French.

'Tale of Calil, The'

Unfinished satirical story, written in 1816. Leigh *Hunt's 'Account of the Remarkable Rise and Downfall of the Late Great Khan of Tartary' (*Examiner*, January 1816) is a source of inspiration (*Prose* 324–5). In 'Calil' too the setting is ostensibly eastern – the rebellion of Samarcand when faced with Tamerlane's unreasonable demands – but (as in Hunt) the satirical targets are more local. Calil the faithless ambassador may be intended to recall *Talleyrand (*Prose* 325–6) and the tyrant *Napoleon or *Louis XVIII. At a time of heavy taxation there is evident relevance in such impositions as 'a tax on Respiration' from which will be exempted 'those who do not choose to respire' (*Prose* 54). The year after *Waterloo the futility of war is another topic of contemporary relevance: the people of Samarcand senselessly rejoice after a 'victory' 'had put some three and thirty thousand persons into mourning' and rebel partly under the influence of the ensuing communal hangover. Soon they cannot remember what they are fighting about (54–5).

Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de

(1754–1838)
French statesman who served Louis XVI, the Directoire and *Napoleon, and *Louis XVIII. He represented *France at the Congress of Vienna in 1814. In 'A Letter on the State of French Affairs' (dated 29 July 1815 but unpublished until *P*) Byron fiercely attacked him as 'the renegade from all religions – the betrayer of every trust – the traitor to every government – the Arch Apostle of all apostasy' (*Prose* 51).

Tasso, Torquato

(1544–95)
Epic poet. His imprisonment in *Ferrara by 'The miserable despot' Alfonso II features in *CHP* IV.316–53. The tradition that he was being punished for his love for Alfonso's sister, Leonora, is developed in *Lament*. *Prophecy* III.119–58 reflects further on this poor reward for the 'meek man' who (in *Gerusalemme Liberata*) poured 'his soul out o'er Jerusalem'.

Tebelene

Albanian town visited by Byron in mid-October 1809. Here he met *Ali Pasha, whose birthplace and temporary headquarters it was. *See CHP* II.492–587.

Telegrafo Greco

Italian-language newspaper. It was printed in *Missolonghi (March–December 1824) and initially financed by Byron. He installed Pietro *Gamba as editor and intended it to be more generally accessible, and less propagandist, than the **Hellenica Chronica*.

Tennyson, Alfred, Lord

(1809–92)
Poet sometimes influenced by Byron. In youth Tennyson was 'an enormous admirer of Byron, so much so that I got a surfeit of him'. Later, he decided that 'Byron's merits [unlike Wordsworth's] are on the surface' and 'would say that "Byron is not an artist or a thinker, or a creator in the higher sense, but a strong personality: he is endlessly clever, and is now unduly depreciated"' (Tennyson [1897], ii. 69, 287). Occasional echoes continued in his

poems. Elfenbein (1995) argues that in *Maud* (1855), departing from his usually un-Byronic manner, ‘Tennyson relocates the violence of Byron’s Turkish Tales on English soil’ (p. 196).

Tepelene *see* Tebelene

Terza rima

Stanzaic form used by *Dante. Three-line interlinked sections rhyme aba, bcb, cdc, ded and so on. It is used by Byron in *Prophecy* and *Francesca*. Medwin, *Conversations* 159, records him as saying that ‘*Terza Rima* does not seem to suit the genius of English poetry – it is certainly uncalculated for a work of any length in our language, however, it may do for a short ode’.

Thackeray, William Makepeace

(1811–63)
Novelist, journalist and illustrator. In general he associates Byron and the Regency era with insincerity. In *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (1846), where pretensions are often comically deflated, ‘that man *never* wrote from his heart. He got up rapture and enthusiasm with an eye to the public’ (Chapter 5). Pogson, in *The Snobs of England* (1846–47; as *The Book of Snobs,* 1848), is ‘given to understand’ by *DJ* that ‘making love was a very correct healthy thing’.

Theatre *see* Drama and theatre

‘There be none of Beauty’s daughters’ *see* ‘Stanzas for Music’ (‘There be none of Beauty’s daughters’)

‘There is no more for me to hope’ *see* Vaughan, Susan

‘There was a time, I need not name’

Poem of rejected love. The addressee no longer loves the speaker but it is a consolingly ‘glorious thought to me…/Whate’er thou art, or e’er shalt be,/ Thou hast been dearly, solely mine’ (21–4). Byron’s corrected draft is dated 10 June 1808 and the poem was first published in *IT*. The original manuscript title was ‘To G.J.F.S.D’: George John Frederick Sackville, (Duke of) *Dorset. (*CPW* i.390 takes this as a reference to George John, Earl of *Delawarr.)

Thermopylae

Battle (480 BC) between the Greeks and the Persians. Leonidas' small Spartan force died defending the pass of Thermopylae against overwhelming odds. Byron on several occasions uses the 'proud charnel of Thermopylae' (*Ode on Venice*) as an example of noble sacrifice for one's country: e.g. *Island* III.56, IV.259–60; and *'The Isles of Greece' (*DJ* III.730). In *CHP* II.697–701 the Spartans' free spirit contrasts with the modern Greeks' 'bondage'.

'They Say That Hope Is Happiness'

Lines probably written in late 1814. They were first published in *N1827–9*. According to *Nathan* 71 Byron burned one copy because *Kinnaird disliked it, but gave *Nathan another. The poem explores the paradoxical relationship between hope and memory – a familiar pairing especially since the success of *Rogers's *The Pleasures of Memory* (1792) and *Campbell's *The Pleasures of Hope* (1799). Finally 'it is delusion all': the future cheats us, 'Nor can we be what we recall,/Nor dare we think on what we are' (9–12).

Thorvaldsen, Bertel *see* Byron, portraits of

'Thoughts Suggested by a College Examination'

*Cambridge satire, written in 1806 and included in *FP*, *POVO*, *HI* and *POT*. (Oral) examinees are tested on useless mathematical and classical knowledge but know nothing of their own country's history, laws or literature. Standards of declamation are poor. Those who succeed continue their ignorance, tediousness, religious bigotry and political time-serving 'in Granta's [Cambridge's] sluggish shade' (50). As a nobleman Byron himself was exempt from examinations.

Thurlow, Edward Hovell-Thurlow, Lord

(1781–1829)
Poet ridiculed by Byron. Moore, *Life* i.395, records that when *Moore and Byron were dining with *Rogers, Byron was repeatedly overcome with laughter when trying to read out Thurlow's 'On the Poem of Mr. Rogers, "An Epistle to a Friend" '. Probably in June 1813 Byron sent Moore 'On Lord Thurlow's Poems' and 'To Lord Thurlow'. In *Life* he printed these exposures of Thurlow's 'damn'd nonsense', omitting the victim's name and two sections (now lost) of the first poem.

'Thy Days Are Done'

David's tribute to the dead Saul in *HM*. Ashton (1972), p. 142, suggests that it is intended as an elegy for Byron's cousin Sir Peter Parker, who died in August 1814; Burwick and Douglass (1988), p. 19, find this improbable because Parker, unlike the Saul of the song, brought home no victories. ('On the Death of Sir Peter Parker, Bart.', a much more elegiac piece, emphasizes his valour and his heroic death, not victory.) If anyone other than Saul is involved, it seems more likely to be *Napoleon. Some readers no doubt interpreted in this context 'The deeds he did, the fields he won,/The freedom he restored!' (5–6). Napoleon's first abdication was in April 1814. 'Thy Days Are Done' was probably written in late 1814 or early 1815.

Thyrza poems

Group of poems written in response to the death of John *Edleston. 'To Thyrza' ('Without a stone to mark the spot') dates from October 1811. It was published in the first edition of *CHP* I–II with two related poems probably of December 1811: 'Stanzas' ('Away, away, ye notes of woe!') and 'To Thyrza' ('One struggle more, and I am free'). 'Euthanasia', 'Stanzas' ('If sometimes in the haunts of men') and 'Stanzas' ('And thou art dead, as young and fair') were published in the second edition of *CHP* I–II. 'Edleston', written in Latin and unpublished until 1974, is a more directly passionate expression of grief, strongly influenced by *Catullus. Here the sex of the addressee is clearly male; 'Thyrza' in the other poems was long accepted as female and McGann suggests (*CPW* i.457) that they lament not only Edleston but 'a series of lost loves and friends'. The published poems were often transcribed in women's commonplace-books of the time (St Clair [2004], p. 228). The name 'Thyrza' comes from Solomon Gessner's *The Death of Abel* (1758).

Tita *see* Falcieri, Giovanni Battista (Tita)

'To – ' ('Oh! Had my Fate been join'd with thine')

Poem inspired by a picture of Mary *Chaworth. 'To – ' (later known as 'To a Lady') was composed in 1806 or 1807 and published in *HI*. If Byron's and Chaworth's 'Fate' had been 'join'd', he might have retained his purity of heart.

'To –' ('Oh! Well I know your subtle Sex')

Poem of 1807 against unresponsive women. They have souls ('and dark ones too') but seemingly no hearts. The piece belongs to Byron's period of flirtations and involvement with various women in *Southwell. It was first published in *C*.

'To a Beautiful Quaker'

Poem addressed to a young woman. According to Byron's manuscript note (*CPW* i.380) he saw her when he visited Harrogate in September 1806. The poem appeared in *FP*, *POVO* and *HI*. The silent, memorable figure contrasts with most of the women in the early collections (especially *FP* and *POVO*). The emphasis on silence, the 'flattering falsehood' of the tongue, the eyes as 'soul's interpreters', perhaps allude to Quaker tradition, although there is an overlap with the conventional language of love poetry.

Cochran, *Fugitive Pieces* 41, doubts the Harrogate story and points to a source in the play Byron was about to act in, John Allingham's *The Weathercock*. Tristram Fickle, played by Byron, encounters Variella disguised as a Quaker and immediately falls for her; she looks 'a thousand times better in that simple dress than she did in all her frippery'.

'To a Knot of Ungenerous Critics'

Poem in defence of *FP*. Byron's fair copy is dated 1 December 1806. A version was published in *C*. The critics are led by a 'portly Female' who, 'impelled by private pique', condemns the whole volume on the basis of one (unspecified) poem. 'To a Knot' attempts to match *Pope's tone of reasoned exasperation in 'Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot' (1735); Byron's 'To break "Such flies upon the wheel"' (82) echoes Pope's line 308: 'Who breaks a Butterfly upon a Wheel?'

'To a Lady, Who Presented to the Author a Lock of Hair…'

Couplets probably written in 1805 and printed in *FP* and *POVO*. There are, it is wittily suggested, better places to meet than an English garden in December. Byron's note in *POVO* (*CPW* i.379) rejects identification of the lady with a 'damsel' who is evidently Julia *Leacroft, perhaps in an attempt to avoid further difficulties with her family. Marchand, *Portrait* 41, cites lines 11–14, beginning 'Why should you weep, like Lydia Languish,/And fret with self-created anguish', as an example of the 'boisterous sophistication' which leavens 'the mawkishness of the sentimental poems' in *FP*. (Lydia Languish bemoans her various misfortunes in *Sheridan's *The Rivals*, I.ii.)

'To a Youthful Friend'

Poem in *IT*. Byron's corrected draft is dated 20 August 1808. The piece was at first, in manuscript, called 'To Sir W.D. on his using the expression "Soyez bien constant en Amitie" '. Sir W. D. is very probably Byron's *Harrow friend Sir James Wynne de la Bathe (1792–1828). Innocent young friendship is contrasted with the changeableness and corruption of adult years. The inconstant friend glides from 'fair to fair' in fashionable circles.

'To an Oak in the Garden of Newstead Abbey…'

Poem dated 15 March 1807 and first published in full in *1832*. The author contemplates the oak he once planted – since when 'A stranger has dwelt in the hall of my sire' (10) – and sentimentally laments its neglect by the uncaring tenant of *Newstead (Lord *Grey de Ruthyn). If the oak recovers it may shelter the rightful lord's grave, which his descendants will honour.

'To [Augusta]' ('When all around grew drear and dark')

Poem to Augusta *Leigh. It was written on about 12 April 1816 (two days before their farewell meeting) and first published in *Poems1816*. She alone has given unwavering love and support in a time of crisis – the problems and hostility generated by the collapse of Byron's marriage. Lady Caroline *Lamb, having seen these 'beautiful verses' at *Murray's, told Byron that 'I think they will prove your ruin' if published (*BLJ* v.68n.).

Augusta Leigh's presence in *Poems1816* is evidently intended to contrast with that of the Lady *Byron of 'Fare Thee Well!' She contrasts too, if less starkly, with *Napoleon, whom Byron sees to some extent as letting him down. 'To [Augusta]' shares pronounced imagery of light and darkness with many of the 1816 poems.

'To Belshazzar' *see* 'Vision of Belshazzar'

'To Caroline'

Title of four early poems about love. The first ('Think'st thou, I saw thy beauteous eyes') was written in 1805 and included in *FP* (as 'To –') and

POVO. It concerns lovers fated to part, whose 'only *hope*, is to *forget*'. The second ('You say you love, and yet your eye'), conjecturally dated 1806 in *CPW* i.377 and printed in *FP*, addresses a physically unresponsive lover. It was presumably one of the 'too warmly drawn' pieces ('Answer to Some Elegant Verses') dropped after *FP*. The third 'To Caroline' ('Oh! when shall the grave hide forever my sorrow?') of 1805 (in *FP* as 'To –'; *POVO*) again concerns lovers who must part – who in this case, it seems, have been forced to part. The fourth ('When I hear you express an affection so warm'), also written in 1805 (untitled in *FP*; *POVO*), is a *carpe diem* poem. *CPW* i.378 thinks the third poem is 'probably associated' with Mary *Chaworth and the fourth perhaps addressed to the same person as 'To Mary'.

'To E –' *see* Edleston, John

'To Emma'

Poem remembering scenes associated with Mary *Chaworth. It is dated 1805 (*FP*, as 'To Maria – '; *POVO*). In 'an imaginary dramatization' (*CPW* i.377) of Byron's parting from the beloved, he revisits scenes at her home, Annesley Hall.

'To ENL Esq.'

Lines to Byron's friend *Long. They were composed in April 1807 and published in *HI* and *POT*. The poet seeks consolation for the 'sequester'd' *Southwell, where 'all around in slumber lie' (1–2), in memories of *Harrow ('Ida') and *Cambridge ('Granta'). Lines 59–70 introduce figures whose identity is partly explained in Byron's note probably intended for Long (*BLJ* i.116); *CPW* i.376 is surely right that Byron is joking when he says that 'E' is 'a West Indian married to a *Creole*' and 'Caroline' is Mary *Chaworth's mother-in-law.

'To Florence'

Poem concerning Constance Spencer *Smith. Byron's draft is dated 17 September 1809. Publication was in *CHP*(1). The poem includes a general picture of Spencer Smith's dangerous and romantic earlier adventures (29–32), as detailed in *BLJ* i.224. The speaker parts from 'Florence', 'Whom but to see is to admire,/And, oh! forgive the word – to love' (19–20).

'To Harriet' *see* 'To Marion'

'To Ianthe'

Poem prefaced to the seventh edition of *CHP* I–II in 1814. It is addressed to Lady Charlotte Harley, later Bacon (1801–80), daughter of the Countess of *Oxford. The girl's innocence, youth and beauty contrast with the world-weariness of Byron and Harold and, more generally, with the theme of the decline of civilization in *CHP*. The name 'Ianthe' may derive from Walter Savage Landor's Ianthe love poems of 1806 (Erdman and Worrall [1991], p. 11).

'To Lady Caroline Lamb' ('Go – triumph securely') *see* Lamb, Lady Caroline

'To Lady Caroline Lamb' ('Yet fain would I resist the spell')

Short poem of Spring 1812. Byron responds to Lady Caroline *Lamb's gift of a golden neck chain. The piece was published in the *Mirror of Literature* on 6 May 1826.

'To Marion'

Couplets of genial reproach. They were fair-copied on 10 January 1807 and published in *HI* and *POT*. Elizabeth *Pigot explains that the poem (originally 'To Harriet') was addressed 'to Harriet Maltby, afterward Mrs. Nichols', who had been advised, when meeting Byron, to be '"*cold*, *silent*, and *reserved* to him"... quite foreign to her *usual* manner, which was gay, lively, and full of flirtation' (*CPW* i.368). Byron works variations on the theme 'Frowns become not one so fair' (4). The same person is probably addressed in the poem first published in *C* as 'To Harriet' ('Harriet! To see such Circumspection'). There, she behaves perhaps more in character, since she writes incautiously.

'To Mary'

Poem with explicit sexual elements. Byron wrote it perhaps in August 1806 (*CPW* i.378) and it was 'probably inspired by his experiences in *London' (Marchand, *Portrait* 41). It was the poem which gave particular offence in *Southwell, causing Byron's suppression of *FP*; 'To Mary' is omitted by editors until *CPW*. The offensive ingredients include references to the speaker and Mary having had more than one lover and to the delight of seeing 'each other panting, dying,/In love's *extatic posture* lying' (46–7). In August 1806 Byron told John *Pigot (*BLJ* i.97) that he wanted the poem printed separately since it was '*improper* for the perusal of Ladies, of course none of the females of your family must see' it. Clearly he changed his mind and allowed into *FP* 'that *unlucky* poem' which 'has been the Cause of some Animadversion from *Ladies in years*', one of whom pronounced him 'a *most profligate Sinner*, in short a "*young *Moore*" ' (to Pigot, *BLJ* i.103).

'To Miss H[ouson] An ancient Virgin who tormented the Author to write something on her *sweet* self'

Poem of November 1806, addressed to Anne *Houson. It was first published in 1948. The theme of age and youth connects the poem loosely to *Southey's more solemn treatment in 'The Old Man's Comforts, and how he procured them' (1799), where the old man is Father William. Byron's 'Spinster so sage' was in fact three years younger than him.

'To Mr. Murray' ('For Orford and for Waldegrave')

Verses first published in Moore, *Life*. Byron included very similar versions in letters to *Murray on 23 August 1821 (used by Moore) and *Kinnaird on 27 August (*BLJ* viii.187, 191). Like the earlier 'To Mr. Murray' ('Strahan – Tonson – Lintot of the times'), the poem parodies the form and refrain of *Cowper's 'My Mary'.

Murray had offered 2,000 guineas for *DJ* III–V, *Sardanapalus* and *Two Foscari* (Murray, *Letters* 411). Byron wanted more (*BLJ* viii.185–92) and complains here at the amounts disbursed for *Memoirs of the Reign of George II* (1822), by the Earl of Orford (Horace *Walpole), and *Memoirs, from 1754 to 1758* (1821), by James, Earl Waldegrave. In November 1821 Murray and Byron agreed on 2,500 guineas for the works proposed plus *Cain*.

'To Mr. Murray' ('Strahan – Tonson – Lintot of the times')

Humorous celebration of *Murray and his publishing list. It is part of a letter sent on 11 April 1818 (*BLJ* vi.29). The publisher, as modern equivalent of the earlier booksellers of the opening line, deems 'most divine' Maria Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery* (1806) and the works of Byron. Octosyllabic triplets followed by the refrain 'My Murray' parody *Cowper's serious poem 'My Mary' (1793).

'To Mr. Murray' ('To hook the Reader – you – John Murray')

Brief humorous verses doubting the saleability of some of *Murray's recent publications. They include Henry Gally Knight's *Ilderim, a Syrian Tale* (1816) and Margaret Holcroft's *Margaret of Anjou* (1816). The piece was part of a letter to Murray of 25 March 1817 (*BLJ* v.194) and was first published in Moore, *Life*.

'To My Dear Mary Anne'

Manuscript poem of late 1804, addressed to Mary *Chaworth. It protests a passionate friendship beyond love. First publication was in the *Galignani edition of 1831.

'To My Son'

Poem of 1807, first published in Moore, *Life*. The speaker will proudly acknowledge his illegitimate son: 'Why, let the world unfeeling frown,/ Must I fond Nature's claim disown?' Moore, *Life* i.104, thinks it unlikely that 'a poem, so full of natural tenderness' was 'indebted for its origin to imagination alone'. Yet attempts to identify the child have proved unavailing. *CPW* i.389 points out that 1807 is too early for it to be *Lucy's.

'To Romance'

Poem of 1807, published in *HI* and *POT*. The speaker has been a votary of Romance, innocently taking every nymph for a goddess and expecting loyalty from every friend. Reluctantly, he must leave 'thy realms for those of Truth' (8).

'To Samuel Rogers, Esq.' *see* Rogers, Samuel

'To the Countess of Blessington' ('You have asked for a Verse…')

Poem written in May 1823. It was first published in *Annales romantiques* for 1827–28. Byron tells Lady *Blessington that his feelings have run dry and he can no longer do her justice in verse; 'my heart is as grey as my head' (12). On the whole the tone is one of courtly regret. Nevertheless the figure aged by experience rather than years in verse 4 retains some trace of the *Byronic hero.

'To the Duke of D[orset]' *see* Dorset, George Sackville, 4th Duke of

'To the Earl of [Clare]'

Poem of July–August 1807, published in *POT*. It expresses longing for the time of Byron's close relationship with John Fitzgibbon, Earl of *Clare, at *Harrow. Now, while Clare has entered fashionable society, the poet wastes 'on love my time' or vents 'my reveries in rhyme' (37–8). This leads to a digression on poetry and Thomas *Moore's recent 'dire Reviewers' (47); 'My Muse admires digression' (72).

'To the Editor of the *British Review*'

Satirical letter by Byron, purportedly the work of 'Wortley Clutterbuck'. It was written on 22–23 August 1819 in response to the *British Review* 14 (August 1819), pp. 266–8, where the editor William Roberts (1767–1849) solemnly denied the claim of *DJ* I.1672 that 'I've bribed my grandmother's review – the British' for a favourable review. Byron's piece was intended for immediate publication by John *Murray but did not appear until its inclusion, with minor changes, in *The *Liberal* 1 (1821) as 'Letter to the Editor of "My Grandmother's Review"'. Roberts's ponderous literalism is mocked; 'Clutterbuck' dismantles his illogical statements and explains, po-faced, that Byron cannot be the author of the anonymous *DJ* not only because 'as a British peer and a British poet – it would be impracticable for him to have recourse to such facetious fiction' but because 'his Lordship has no Grandmother'. Robertsian obtuseness and 'prolixity' combine with a bluff, unstoppable, 'take my advice' manner and comic digressions to reproduce what Andrew Nicholson calls 'the polyphony of *Don Juan* ... at once familiar and facetious, jocular and social' (Nicholson [2004], p. 199).

Nicholson in *Prose* 348 describes the letter as 'Swiftian' and there is an allusion (p. 84) to *Swift's *Bickerstaff Papers*. But in Bone (2004), pp. 197–200, Nicholson argues that it is much more like *Pope in its genial, conversational tone and the delight in letting folly expose itself more through language than through counter-argument.

'To the Po. June 2nd 1819'

Poem about love and Teresa *Guiccioli. It was first published in Medwin's *Conversations* in 1824 in an unreliable text deriving from Byron's draft of

June 1819. His revised fair copy of April 1820 remained unpublished until *CPW*. In *CPW* iv.497–9 McGann convincingly explains that the references to the Po – puzzling since Teresa Guiccioli was actually in *Ravenna – result from Byron's mistaken belief that she was with her husband at Ca' Zen by the mouth of the river.

'To the Po' dates from a very early stage of the relationship when, frustratingly, the lovers were kept apart by 'the distractions of a various lot/ Ah! various as the climates of our birth!' (39–40). It works variations on the river as mirror or image of the passions and, a little less conventionally, suggests the agony of trying not to love again, of the heart that 'pants to be unmoved' (52). (The poem was originally written, Byron told *Hobhouse in June 1820 (*BLJ* vii.115), 'in *red-hot Earnest*'.) *Petrarch is perhaps a general influence, encouraged by Teresa Guiccioli's enthusiasm for the *Rime*; Vassallo (1984), pp. 40–1, suggests in particular *Rime* ccviii.

'To the Prince Regent –'

*Sonnet 'On the Repeal of the Bill of Attainder Against Ld E[dward] *Fitzgerald'. The poem was written in August 1819, the month after the repeal of the bill. It bestows unusual praise on the future *George IV. First publication was in Moore, *Life*.

'To the Rev. J.T. Becher' *see* Becher, Rev. John Thomas

'To the Sighing Strephon' *see* 'Reply to Some Verses of J.M.B. Pigot, Esq. on the Cruelty of his Mistress'

'To Thomas Moore' ('My boat is on the shore')

Lines associated with Byron's departure from England in 1816. They were sent in a letter to *Moore on 10 July 1817. The first stanza was written 'fifteen moons ago' (*BLJ* v.251) – in April 1816. The poem was first published in 1818, under Moore's auspices, as 'My Boat Is On The Shore', with music by Henry Bishop.

'To Thomas Moore' ('Oh you, who in all names')

Fragment of a verse epistle to *Moore, sent on 19 May 1813. His versatility as lyricist and satirist is saluted in anapaestic verse like that of the epistles in Moore's own *Intercepted Letters; or, The Twopenny Post-Bag* (1813) (Vail [2001], p. 58). The piece was first published in Moore, *Life* i.401, with the explanatory title 'To Thomas Moore. Written the Evening Before his Visit to Mr. Leigh *Hunt in Cold Bath Fields Prison'. Hunt's imprisonment (actually at Horsemonger Lane) was a rallying-point for liberal *Whigs like Byron and Moore.

'To Those Ladies Who Have So Kindly Defended the Author From the Attacks of Unprovoked Malignity'

Defence of *FP*. It was written probably in November or December 1806 and unpublished until 1952. Byron thanks the 'ladies' who have supported him, doubtless including Elizabeth *Pigot, and casts scorn on the idea that his poems could corrupt anyone.
See also: '**To a Knot of Ungenerous Critics**'.

'To Thyrza' *see* Thyrza poems

'To Time'

Poem of 1812 or 1813, published in *CHP*(7). Time has deprived the speaker of 'All that I lov'd' (12). There is one 'scene' – death – which 'even thou canst not deform' (33). 'To Time' 'seems to generalize the melancholy sentiments of poems of that period, for example, the *Thyrza poems' (*CPW* iii.390). *CPW* also notes the 'recurrent echo' of *Macbeth* V.v.19f. ('Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow…').

'To Woman'

Early poem on female inconstancy. It was written in 1805 or 1806 and included in *FP*, *POVO*, *HI* and *POT*. There are clear echoes of Thomas *Moore's 'Inconstancy' (*CPW* i.366) in *Poetical Works of the Late Thomas Little esq.* (1801).

Tories

Political grouping. In general they supported royal authority and the Church and opposed parliamentary reform and the extension of civil and religious liberties. Tory administrations held power in Britain for most of Byron's adult life. Whether or not they used the term themselves, *Castlereagh,

*Wellington, *Southey and other targets of Byron's satire were generally considered to be Tories.
See also: **Pitt, William; Whigs**.

'Translation From the Romaic. I Wander Near That Fount of Waters'

Epirote song translated by Byron in April 1815. The 'fount' is the Castalian spring and so 'the speaker's "love" ' can be interpreted as 'the poetic Muse, or (in the political context) the ancient spirit of Greek freedom' (*CPW* iii.458).

'Translation of the Famous Greek War Song … by Riga' *see* Rhigas, Konstantinos

Trelawny, Edward John

(1792–1881)
Adventurer and biographer. In January 1822, at the invitation of Edward *Williams, he came to *Pisa and became intimate with Byron and the *Shelleys. According to Guiccioli (2005), Byron said on meeting Trelawny that he was a man who had tried to realize the type of his Corsair since his youth; he 'keeps the poem under his pillow' (p. 367). Certainly Trelawny looked and sounded the part: six-feet tall with dark, flowing locks and moustache; full of stories of exotic and piratical experiences. He found Byron disappointingly unlike the heroes of the *Oriental Tales; Byron liked him but saw his tall stories for what they were and regarded him as 'a colourful appendage to the Byron entourage' (St Clair [1977], p. 65).

Trelawny organized the building of Byron's ship the **Bolivar* and Shelley's *Don Juan*, and the cremation of Shelley and Williams. He sailed to *Cephalonia with Byron but, frustrated by his failure to move on immediately, departed for the Greek mainland on 6 September 1823. He became a follower of the fighter Odysseas Androutsos. Trelawny arrived in *Missolonghi just after Byron's death; he inspected the body, wanting to find the cause of Byron's lameness, but left contradictory reports about which leg was affected. He remained in Greece until he was badly wounded in an assassination attempt in 1825.

Trelawny published *Adventures of a Younger Son* (1831), which enhanced his image as a piratical, romantic character. His *Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron* (1858) was revised as *Records of Shelley, Byron and the Author* (1878). A main emphasis of these works is the contrast between an unworldly, idealistic, sincere Shelley and a proud, often indolent, indecisive Byron who usually conceals his true feelings. Much about him can be explained as a reaction to his ‘deformity’. Fact is mixed inextricably with fiction or at least exaggeration; nevertheless, many of Trelawny’s stories clearly have a basis in truth and have been found useful by later biographers.

Troy

Presumed site of the city of *Homer’s *Iliad*. In April 1810 Byron visited the Troad and found that ‘all the remains of Troy are the tombs of her destroyers’ – ‘barrows supposed to contain the carcases’ of Achilles and other Greek warriors (*BLJ* i.236, 238). He remembers the scene in *DJ* IV.601–24: here its desolation is suited to Juan’s situation after his separation from Haidée. On a ship within view of ‘many a hero’s grave’ he finds himself a slave; heroism is usually viewed with ambivalence in *DJ* and the Greek heroes ‘if living still would slay us’ – or enslave us, perhaps.

Byron was angered by any suggestion that Troy and the Trojan war were purely legendary (e.g. *BLJ* viii.21–2). In *DJ* IV.807–8: ‘I’ve stood upon Achilles’ tomb,/And heard Troy doubted; time will doubt of Rome.’

Turkey

Byron visited the Turkish or Ottoman Empire in 1809–11. He was in Turkey itself between March and July 1810. Although he regarded *Greece as subject to Turkish tyranny, and was later prepared to fight for its independence, he felt considerable respect for Turkish customs and history. His ‘Additional note, on the Turks’ for *CHP* II (*CPW* ii.209–11) finds them sociable, notable for financial probity and at least as educated, and practising as much religious toleration, as other nations. In *Missolonghi he rescued and protected Turkish captives including a nine-year-old girl, Hatadje, daughter of Hussain Aga, and her mother (Marchand, *Biography* 1160–1, 1165, 1183–5).
See also: **Constantinople**; **Oriental Tales**.
Further reading: Demata (2004).

Turkish Tales *see* Oriental Tales

Turner, Joseph Mallord William

(1775–1851)
Painter responsive to Byron’s sense of mood and place, especially in *CHP*. Turner’s first and best-known response to *CHP*, *The Field of *Waterloo*, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1818, accompanied by an adapted version

of III.244–52. Other oils inspired by lines adapted from *CHP* include *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage – Italy* (1832; IV.28–36), *Modern Rome – Campo Vaccino* (1839; IV.235–43) and *Venice, the Bridge of Sighs* (1840; IV.1–9). More widely influential were the many plates and vignettes after Turner in William and Edward *Finden's *Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord Byron* (1832–33) and *1832*.
Further reading: Brown (1992).

Two Foscari, an Historical Tragedy, The

Blank verse drama. It was composed between 12 June and mid-July 1821 and published with *Sardanapalus* and *Cain* on 19 December. 'The name is a dactyl "Fōscărĭ"' (*BLJ* viii.152). Like *Marino Faliero* it is set in a *Venice where the all-encompassing power of the state is pitted against individual freedom, including that of the Doge. Doge Francis Foscari, suppressing his personal feelings, must preside over the torture of his son. His daughter-in-law, Marina, can speak out against both the Doge and his enemies only because, as a woman, she has no position in the state and cannot change its decrees. (She can simply be ignored, as at II.i.319–22.) Loredano can use the apparent impersonality of the state to mask and obtain his vengeance on the Foscari.

Byron's main sources, which he appended to the play, are in Pierre Darù's *Histoire de la République de Venise* (1819) and *Sismondi's *Histoire des républiques italiennes du Moyen-Age* (1809–18). These provided the main story, the substance of the Doge's speeches in Act V, and the idea of Loredano's hereditary hatred. Loredano's accounts book is from Darù (*CPW* vi.213–14) and the death of the Doge when he hears the bell sound for the election of his successor is from Sismondi (*CPW* vi.221; cp. Darù, vi.217). The clear, concentrated action of *Two Foscari* is in part a consequence of reliance on these coherent narratives rather than the more loosely organized Venetian chronicles drawn on for *Marino Faliero*. (Marin Sanudo's chronicle was a main source for Darù and Sismondi as for Byron in *Marino*.)

Two Foscari is in some ways Byron's most classical play. The close adherence to unity of place helps to make the ducal palace/prison (the two seem, as in *CHP* IV.2, to be interchangeable) a claustrophobic image of the impossibility of escaping the pervasive power of the state. The torture itself is off-stage, concentrating attention on the dialogue, although the effect on Jacopo Foscari remains clear. The anticipated grand theatrical ending, with the deposed Doge staggering down the Giants' Staircase with Marina, does not take place – again there is no exit from the palace. Instead, the last word goes to a cool killer '*writing upon his tablets*' that the debt is paid. (Loredano is a killer at least indirectly; directly if there is poison in the goblet of V.i.291–300.) Byron believes that he is writing drama 'opposite to the English drama ... The Simplicity of plot is intentional ... as also the compression of the Speeches in the more severe situations. – What I seek to show in "the Foscari's" is the *suppressed* passions – rather than the rant of the present day' (*BLJ* viii.218).

Partly because of the simple plot and relatively spare language, some commentators feel that *Two Foscari* is better suited to production than most of Byron's dramatic works. The characters are more distinctive than those in **Marino Faliero*, where the focus is very much on Faliero. Here even the title suggests a different focus, indicating Jacopo's importance to his father. (In a sense, however, the Doge is himself 'two Foscari', one the public figure he tries to remain, inflexibly loyal to the state, and the other the man who cannot, in the end, suppress his paternal feelings. The antithesis is emphasized by the epigraph from *Sheridan's *The Critic*: the 'father' and the 'governor'.) Marina has often, and Loredano sometimes, been found as interesting as the Doge. The character of Marina is Byron's main addition to his sources. Her interruptions and insistence, her quickness in retort and conviction in argument, create much of the dramatic tension. She opposes personal and family sentiment to the obsession of the state with itself ('To me my husband and my children were/Country and home'), nature's law to civic law (V.i.96–7; II.i.419–20). She exposes the way a male-dominated oligarchy uses women and children (III.i.388–95) and does it forcefully enough to have made some contemporary reviewers anxious (see Franklin [1992], pp. 191–2). Loredano, implacable, legalistic, ingenious in his 'modes of vengeance, nay, poetical,/A very Ovid in the art of *hating*' (V.i.134–6), has some resemblances to Shylock and Iago. In his cool, unbroken belief in his own rightness, he may also remind one of Octavius Caesar in *Antony and Cleopatra*. (In spite of Byron's expressed desire to write non-Shakespearean plays, there are many such echoes in situation and phrasing.) Only occasionally – at V.i.156–9, for example – does Loredano let the intensity of his hatred show through the mask. He is both a dangerous individual and the personification of a corrupt, controlling oligarchy.

Two Foscari has rarely been staged. *Macready adapted it and took the title-role at Covent Garden in 1838. Verdi's operatic version, *I due Foscari* (1844) has proved more popular. Charles Calvert used some of Verdi's music in his 1865 Manchester version of the play. Like Nugent Monck's Norwich production of 1951, it was heavily cut. The full play was performed by the York Cooperative Players, directed by Edward Taylor, in 1974 (Howell [1982], pp. 138–41, 190–3).

Further reading: Barton (1975); Corbett (1988).

U

United States of America *see* **America**

V

‘Valentine, A’

Comic verse rejection of an ‘aged Valentine’. It is evidently directed at Ann Bristoe (see **‘Parody Upon “The Little Grey Man” in Lewis’ *Tales of Wonder*, A’**). It was clearly intended to amuse members of Byron’s *Southwell circle including Elizabeth *Pigot. The poem was probably written around 14 February 1807. It was first published in *CPW*.

Vampires

Supernatural beings, associated or identified with Byron in popular tradition. Sources for this include the alienated, mysterious nature of the *Byronic hero; the vampire passage in *Giaour* 755–86; ‘Augustus Darvell’; and, particularly, *Polidori’s much-reprinted *The *Vampyre*, which was persistently misattributed to Byron. Lord Ruthven, Polidori’s vampire, is a clearly Byronic figure. Later treatments of Byron the vampire include Tom Holland’s novel *The Vampyre: Being the True Pilgrimage of George Gordon, Sixth Lord Byron* (1995).

Vampyre; a Tale, The

Short novel by John *Polidori, wrongly attributed to Byron. It was published in 1819 and based partly on Byron’s ‘Augustus Darvell’. There are some clear similarities. Lord Ruthven, like Darvell, is presented as an alienated Byronic figure: he ‘gazed upon the mirth around him, as if he could not participate therein’ (Polidori [1819], p. 27). Ruthven is accompanied on his travels by the young and innocent Aubrey, an equivalent for the unnamed narrator in ‘Augustus’, and in both works the older man insists that the younger swear to conceal his death. (The ‘beautiful and delicate’ [p. 39] Ianthe – one of the *vampire Ruthven’s victims – derives partly from ‘To Ianthe’ in *CHP* [*CPW* ii.6–8].) According to Polidori’s summary in *Ernestus Berchtold* (*see* ‘Augustus Darvell’) Byron’s story would have continued much as *The Vampyre* does, with the young man’s sister falling victim to the vampire. But as it stands ‘Augustus’ seems a more subtly suggestive piece. Augustus, not yet revealed as anything as crude as a blood-sucking vampire, is more mysterious than the wicked Ruthven, who sinks ‘laughing upon his pillow' (p. 55) as he dies (or apparently dies). Polidori's tale was sensational enough for it to enjoy (helped somewhat by repeated attribution to Byron) considerable success: five editions by the end of 1819 followed by French, German and other translations and a prosperous career for stage versions.

Lord Ruthven's name is taken from the Byron-figure in Lady Caroline *Lamb's *Glenarvon*. *The Vampyre*, like Lamb's novel, has been seen as an act of revenge for Byron's failure to appreciate the author. In this reading Polidori figures himself as the innocent Aubrey.

Further reading: Macdonald (1991).

Vaughan, Susan

(*c*.1792/94–1813)

Byron's Welsh servant at *Newstead from autumn 1811. He was sexually involved with her by January 1812 and dismissed her at the end of that month having discovered that she had been unfaithful to him with Robert *Rushton. Then or soon afterwards he wrote several poems concerning the betrayal of 'true faith': 'There is no more for me to hope', 'On the Quotation "And my true faith can alter never" ', and 'Again deceived! again betrayed!'. 'From the Turkish', on the same theme, may also be part of this group (McGann, *CPW* iii.390). Vaughan may have emigrated in 1813 (*MacCarthy* 154).

Venice

Italian city and former independent republic. The republic, founded in the early Middle Ages, ended in 1797 and periods of French and Austrian rule followed. Austrian rule was reasserted in 1814. Byron lived mainly in Venice between 10 November 1816 and 17 April 1817, 28 May 1817 and 1 June 1819, and early October and 21 December 1819. (He also lived intermittently at Villa *Foscarini, La Mira, on the mainland a few miles from Venice.) During his time in Venice he participated in carnival, attended the *conversazioni* of Countesses *Albrizzi and *Benzon, studied *Armenian, rode on the Lido, swam the length of the Grand Canal (*see* **Swimming**), engaged in many casual sexual relationships (*BLJ* vi.66) and had more established relationships with Marianna *Segati and Margherita *Cogni. (For an account of his eventual reaction against dissipation *see* Medwin, *Conversations* 72.) He also met Teresa *Guiccioli. Works written in, or mostly in, Venice include the later parts of *Manfred*, *CHP* IV, *Beppo* and *DJ* I–II.

Physical beauty is one emphasis of Byron's Venice – the 'sea Cybele, fresh from ocean' (*CHP* IV.10), with its reflected stars and 'sea-girt palaces' of marble and 'the dash/Phosphoric of the oar, or rapid twinkle/Of the far lights of skimming gondolas' (*Marino Faliero*, IV.i.68–70, 76–8, 96–8). History and literature have conditioned this response to the place which 'has always been (next to the East) the greenest island of my imagination' (*BLJ* v.129): '*Otway, *Radcliffe, *Schiller, *Shakespeare's art,/Had stamp'd her image in me' (*CHP* IV.158–9); 'Every thing about Venice is, or was, extraordinary – her aspect is like a dream, and her history is like a romance' (preface to *Marino Faliero*). It is a place of mythic importance – a meeting-point of east and west (*see* Kelsall [1998]); a site of lost but, at least in *CHP* IV, imaginatively reclaimable freedom. (The comedic freedom of carnival Venice is celebrated in *Beppo*.)

More melancholy or negative elements are also usually present. (Byron's combination of wonder and melancholy contributed to subsequent versions of Venice, including those of *Turner and Henry James.) The 'evident decay' of the 'greenest island' would perhaps disappoint others, 'But I have been familiar with ruins too long to dislike desolation' (*BLJ* v.129); 'I like the gloomy gaiety of their gondolas – and the silence of their canals' (*BLJ* v.132). The personal and metaphysical sense of being torn and bleeding (*CHP* IV.89) leads into the lament for fallen Venice (91–135). Even in its days of glory 'A palace and a prison' (2) were often interchangeable. Faliero's last speech prophesies the degeneration of Venice and curses this 'Gehenna of the waters! thou sea Sodom!' (*Marino Faliero* V.iii.99). Jacopo Foscari's beloved city (*Two Foscari* I.i.94–130), to exile from which he prefers death, is also the home of torture, oppression, nightmare secrecy, 'unknown dooms, and sudden executions' (II.i. 299–311).

Venice past and present also figure Britain, the Albion which, as 'Ocean queen', should not 'Abandon Ocean's children' to Austrian tyranny; 'in the fall/Of Venice think of thine' (*CHP* IV.151–3). Comparison between the two island nations was traditional, and the lot of Venice is 'shameful' (150) to the nations of post-Napoleonic Europe more generally.

See also: **'Venice. A Fragment'**; **'Venice. An Ode'**.

Further reading: Tanner (1992).

'Venice. A Fragment'

Unfinished poem dated 16 December 1816. The ducal palace and prisons and St Mark's are sketched, anticipating *CHP* IV.

'Venice. An Ode'

Poem of July 1818, published with *Mazeppa* in June 1819. *Venice has declined from its former glory; its sons 'only murmur in their sleep' (7) and 'creep/…through their sapping streets' (12–13). Their failure to resist the occupation of their country (by the French and then the Austrians) leads into an account of the decline of freedom in the world more generally. Only the 'vigorous offspring' of *America are 'nursed in the devotion/Of Freedom' while the sons of other lands 'must bow them at a monarch's motion' (134–40). For the sentiments on Venice cp. *CHP* IV.

Verdi, Giuseppe

(1813–1901)
Italian composer. He wrote two Byron-derived operas, *I due Foscari* (1844) and *Il corsaro* (1848).

Verona

Italian city. In early November 1816 Byron liked the Roman amphitheatre – 'beats even *Greece' – and the Scaliger tombs but was particularly interested by the so-called tomb of *Shakespeare's Juliet (*BLJ* v.126). Although aware that the story of Romeo and Juliet is a legend, he was delighted that the Veronese 'seem tenacious to a degree, insisting on the fact'. In keeping with his usual hatred of 'things *all fiction*' (*BLJ* v.203), he found the decayed cemetery 'very appropriate to the legend, being blighted as their love', and 'brought away a few pieces of the granite, to give to my daughter and my nieces' (*BLJ* v.126).

For the Congress of Verona (1822) *see* ***Age of Bronze, The***.

'Verses, Written in Compliance with a Lady's Request to Contribute to her Album'

Poem probably by Byron. It was published in *The Casket, a Miscellany Consisting of Unpublished Poems* (1829). 'The date [1808?] is pure conjecture, but the style is early Byron' in the opinion of *CPW* i.390. His authorship is made more likely by the fact that his friend *Hodgson edited the miscellany.

The piece would be suitable for a real album: it is itself concerned with 'a book,/…Where all who came a pencil took,/And wrote, perhaps, a word or two' (1–4). Innocence keeps the book and various other personifications harmlessly contribute until the 'blooming boy', Pleasure, spills his 'honey'd goblet' over the white pages. This sort of poem (usually without the hints of sexual explicitness here) is often included in such annual publications of the 1820s and 1830s as *The Keepsake*, directed principally at women readers and based on the idea of the album.

'Very Mournful Ballad on the Siege and Conquest of Alhama, A'

Translation of a Spanish *romance*, worked on in December 1816 and January 1817. It was published with *CHP* IV in April 1818. The *Romance de Alhama* had already been translated into English several times. The fortress of Alhama was captured by the forces of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella in February 1482, towards the end of their Christian reconquest. Saglia (1996), pp. 95–110, studies Byron's transformation of Spanish *romance* into ballad and argues that the *Spain of the poem is an 'allegorical transposition' of the country under the despotic rule of Ferdinand VII or of Britain under a conservative regime (p. 108).

Villa Diodati *see* Diodati, Villa

Virgil

(70–19 BC)
Publius Vergilius Maro, Roman poet. At *Harrow on Speech Day, 5 July 1804, Byron recited King Latinus' part from the *Aeneid* XI. He did not always, however, appreciate 'that harmonious plagiary and miserable flatterer, whose cursed hexameters were drilled into me at Harrow' (*BLJ* v.211).

*'The Episode of Nisus and Euryalus' is a version of the story in the *Aeneid*, Book IX. In refusing to moderate his opinions in *CHP* I–II he claims 'high authority for my Errors … for even the *Aeneid* was a *political* poem & written for a *political* purpose' (to *Murray, *BLJ* ii.90–1).

'Vision of Belshazzar'

Song in *HM*, written in February 1815. As in Daniel 5, King Belshazzar holds a great feast using precious vessels from the Temple in Jerusalem. Only the prophet Daniel can interpret to Belshazzar the words of promised retribution which 'The fingers of a hand' write on the wall. *Nathan set the piece with 'alternating melodies of oriental opulence and sombre gravity'

(Burwick and Douglass [1988], p. 23). 'To Belshazzar' (written in February 1815 as an alternative poem for inclusion in *HM*; published 1831) treats the same incident but with more evident reference to the future *George IV.

Vision of Judgement, The

*Satire in **ottava rima*. It was composed mainly between 20 September and 4 October 1821. (It was begun, but left aside, on 7 May.) It was intended for publication by *Murray but he hesitated to publish so controversial a work. After Byron had explored several other options it was included, anonymously, in the first number of *The *Liberal* in October 1822. The Preface, justifying the treatment of *Southey and *George III in the poem, appeared in a second edition in January 1823. For textual problems *see Cochran, VJ* 3.

VJ is a response to, and partial parody of, Southey's *A Vision of Judgement* (April 1821) – a loyal apotheosis of George III, who had died in 1820 – and its preface, where Southey attacks Byron and 'the Satanic school'. The earlier poem provides the main situation of heavenly judgement of the king after statements from witnesses. (*Wilkes and *Junius appear in both poems.) The poet's first-person prominence and pompous tone feed Southey's inflated self-estimate in *VJ*. (Asmodeus has carried him off because [706–8], presumptuously, 'he anticipates' the angels' present business 'And scribbles as if head clerk to the Fates'.) The dull unrhymed hexameters of *A Vision* are characterized in *VJ* as 'gouty feet' and 'spavin'd dactyls' (720–1) and trumped by Byron's 'signature *ottava rima*, patterned and pattered in briskly rhymed iambic pentameters' (Wolfson [2004], p. 175). Finally, Southey's poem – only a few lines and these too tedious, by implication, actually to quote – spreads panic and confusion through heaven. Only this, not George's great merits or their enumeration by his Laureate, allows him to slip into heaven (846).

The poem is allegedly by 'Quevedo Redivivus' and the satirical *Sueños* or 'visions' of Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), the first of which concerns the Last Judgement, perhaps had some influence on it. Other influences include: the Younger Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, where the gods debate the suitability of the Emperor Claudius to enter heaven; *Milton's *Paradise Lost* with its debating angels and use of Satan and Michael (fierce opposites there at VI.250–334, however, in contrast with their polite relations in 'neutral space' in *VJ* 249–56, 273–80); and *Pope's *The Dunciad*, where Cibber, an earlier Poet Laureate, is satirized with comparable zest. *Sheridan's Mr Puff in *The Critic* (1779) has some similarities with the opportunist Southey of *VJ*.

Peterfreund (1979) finds some more immediate sources in contemporary politics, convincingly identifying Michael as Lord Eldon (the Lord Chancellor), Peter as the Earl of Harrowby (President of the Council 1815–27), and Asmodeus as William Smith, MP, Southey's accuser when his embarrassingly radical early play *Wat Tyler* was published in 1817. These correspondences do not, of course, exclude other sources for the characters. The plain-speaking St Peter probably owes no more to Harrowby than to the long tradition of popular tales and jokes in which he grants or refuses admission at the gates of heaven. The political context is never far away – Byron told *Moore he was putting Southey's apotheosis of the king 'in a *Whig point of view' (*BLJ* viii.229). But in a heaven where 'the angels all are *Tories' (208) and Wilkes asks, 'Saint Peter, may I count upon your vote?' (536), there must be some suspicion of absurdity in the earthly politics which change so little even at heaven's gate.

From the 1960s it became the received opinion that *VJ* was Byron's most powerful satire outside *DJ*. For some indeed, it is his masterpiece. Critics have frequently compared it with the contemporary *DJ* for its ease of manner, mastery of **ottava rima* and satirical precision. Familiar features include: a talkative, satirical and disingenuous narrator (e.g. 97–120); self-referential verse ('I am doubtful of the grammar/Of the last phrase, which makes the stanza stammer', 455–6); digression or apparent digression (e.g. the comment on costumes 'From Eve's fig-leaf down to the petticoat,/Almost as scanty, of days less remote', 527–8). Many have contrasted such flexibility of approach with the more frontal assault of *EBSR*. In such discussions the distinguishing features of *VJ* are genial humour and lack of malevolence. George, whatever his past deeds, now seems more muddled than villainous. Even the Southey of the poem is a memorable, irrepressible comic character, not the more dully objectionable target of Byron's prose attacks. Instead of berating Southey for his 'Satanic school' comment, he provides an 'ironic rejoinder' by writing himself into the poem as Satan (Peterfreund [1979], p. 277).

Jones (1981) finds in *VJ* 'a trenchancy, an unerring sense of purpose, and an abundance of good humour' (p. 19). The first two qualities are as important as the third; Byron characterized his poem to *Hobhouse as 'in my finest ferocious Caravaggio style' (*BLJ* viii.240). Early responses were mostly less positive. The *Literary Register* for October 1822, for instance, declared the poem 'the most profligate and outrageous insult that was ever yet offered to the serious opinions of the majority of mankind' (*RR* iv.1545). In such a climate of hostility the publisher, John *Hunt, was found guilty in January 1824 of defamation of monarchs and the monarchy. Byron paid the legal

fees and later in 1824 his estate paid Hunt's £100 fine. Junius' *Letter 35*, aptly for his role in the poem, had been prosecuted in similar fashion.
Further reading: *Cochran*.

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet)

(1694–1778)
French *philosophe*. Byron refers often to his work, especially *Candide* (1759) (e.g. *DJ* V.241–2; *BLJ* ii.98, iv.139, 144, v.168, 248, ix.24). Orel (1973) sees a resemblance between Juan and the innocent Candide (p. 147). More generally, although Byron complains about Voltaire's inaccurate citations (*BLJ* v.199, 215–16) and flattery of *Catherine the Great (*DJ* IX.182), he acclaims him as 'that great and unequalled genius – the universal Voltaire' (note to *DJ* V.1175–6 [*CPW* v.713]). He sympathizes with him as one of the victims of 'outcry' by the Church (*BLJ* ix.100) and lists him, when defending *DJ*, among the enemies of *cant and prudery (*BLJ* vi.77, 91; cp. preface to *DJ* VI–VIII; *CPW* v.296). He enjoys his sense of humour (*BLJ* v.199–200, 215). The relative frequency of Voltaire references in *DJ* results probably from Byron's purchase of the 92-volume *Oeuvres complètes* (1785–89) in March 1817 (*BLJ* v.199). His best-known treatment of Voltaire, however, is *CHP* III.986–94, written after a visit to his home at Ferney in August 1816. Here Byron talks of his 'fire and fickleness' and characterizes him as a protean 'Historian, bard, philosopher, combined' but gifted most in ridicule, whether directed at fools or thrones.

Byron may have read Voltaire's tragedy *Sémiramis* when working on *Sardanapalus* (*see CPW* vi.621–2; and Murray, *Letters* 226–7).
See also: ***Mazeppa***.

W

Walpole, Horace (Earl of Orford)

(1717–97)
*Gothic novelist and man of letters. In the preface to **Marino Faliero* Byron says that Walpole has been underrated: besides his 'incomparable letters' and *The Castle of Otranto* (1765), he is 'the author of the Mysterious Mother [1768], a tragedy of the highest order, and not a puling love-play ... and [is] surely worthy of a higher place than any living writer' (*CPW* iv.305). The title-character in *Manfred* probably takes his name from the main character in *The Castle of Otranto*.

Waltz: an Apostrophic Hymn By Horace Hornem, Esq.

Satire written in October 1812 and published in April 1813. The poem is supposed to be spoken by Horace Hornem, a country gentleman in the tradition of *Restoration comedy and *Fielding who, when he comes to town, is at first horrified to see his wife waltzing but soon becomes an enthusiastic convert.

Waltz is sometimes seen as an unsuccessful attempt to imitate the playfulness of *Moore's satires. Byron writes convincingly as Hornem in the introductory prose 'To the Publisher' but in the poem seems undecided whether to let the speaker's absurd praise of the dance speak for itself or to intervene more directly: 'Voluptuous Waltz! and dare I thus blaspheme?/Thy bard forgot thy praises were his theme' (248–9). (At times the zestfulness of the satire – its dance – seems more celebratory than critical.) Beaty (1985) argues that 'the more involved [Hornem] becomes with his subject, the more he becomes, ironically, the butt of his own satire' (p. 69).

The waltz is attacked partly for permitting lascivious closeness between dancers and partly as a German import. The enthusiasm for waltzing of the princes of the house of Hanover conveniently combined these two aspects and gave the opportunity for the Gillray-like caricature (194–5) of a lady's hand grasping, in the dance, 'as much/As princely paunches offer to her touch'. The attack comes in the wake of the Regent's desertion of his *Whig allies (*see* 'Lines To a Lady Weeping'). For fear of prosecution it could not aim too openly at politics rather than dancing, and was printed without either Byron's or *Murray's name.

Among possible sources is a poem on lascivious waltzing by *Sheridan. *Moore says he 'once heard Sheridan repeat' it (*1832–33* ix.139; the poem is otherwise unrecorded) and Byron may have heard him too. As Beaty ([1985], p. 67) notes, Byron wrote *Waltz* in the fashionable spa of *Cheltenham, where there would have been plentiful opportunities to watch waltzing. His physical impairment is another factor which has been seen as influencing his dislike of the dance.

Washington, George

(1732–99)
General in the American War of Independence and first President of the United States of *America. In *DJ* VIII.34–40 he is the hero of a just fight for freedom which is to be distinguished from most other wars. He figures in *Age* as 'tyrant-tamer' (388) and virtuous contrast to *Napoleon (234, 249).

Waterloo, Battle of

Final defeat, on 18 June 1815, of *Napoleon Bonaparte by British and Prussian forces under *Wellington and Blücher. Byron visited the battlefield on 4 May 1816 and sent some 'spoils' as souvenirs for *Murray (*BLJ* v.169; Murray, *Letters* Plate 11). In *CHP* III.145–315 Waterloo restores reactionary power, provides retribution for Napoleonic ambition and, above all, wastes lives – 'Rider and horse, – friend, foe, – in one red burial blent!' (252). There is nothing of the celebratory element of the Waterloo poems of *Southey and *Wordsworth and, mentioned implicitly at III.253, Walter *Scott's *The Field of Waterloo*. Byron returns to 'the crowning carnage, Waterloo' in *VJ* 38–40. *See also*: **Howard, Hon. Frederick**.

Webster, Lady Frances Wedderburn

(1793–1837)
Subject of a series of letters to Lady *Melbourne. She was the daughter of the Earl of Mountnorris and the wife of Byron's friend James Wedderburn Webster. In October 1813 Byron stayed with Lady Frances and her husband at Aston Hall in Yorkshire. Partly provoked by Wedderburn Webster's boastful womanizing and threats about what he would do if a man approached his wife, Byron spent two weeks pursuing her. For a time she seemed to encourage him but in the end he 'spared her' (*BLJ* iii.146); 'I do detest everything which is not perfectly mutual' (iii.151).

Byron's commentary to Lady Melbourne has the makings of a novel but seems more experimental or provisional – as he writes, he does not know how and when his tale will end. Frequently his account is cast as fiction: Webster is 'the *Marito*' of farce or fabliau, of a 'perfect comedy' in which his 'entrance…during the letter scene' reminds Byron of Arthur Murphy's play *The Way to Keep Him* (*BLJ* iii.135, 136). There are references also to works by David Garrick, *Fielding and *Sterne. Byron at once improvizes, observes and reacts to the plot, relishing theatrical moments of near-discovery. The female lead, in his character sketch (iii.142–3), is 'very handsome – & very gentle though sometimes decisive – fearfully romantic…no dashing nor desperate talker – but never…saying a silly thing…good tempered…and jealous as *myself*', and with 'an unassuming and sweet voice & very soft manner'.

Correspondence continued into late autumn 1813 (see *BLJ* iii.171, 173–4), with Byron still wondering how the 'comedy' was to end. Probably in December he sent *Murray (*BLJ* iii.186–7) the song 'Thou art not false, but thou art fickle' (published in *CHP*[7]), which is evidently about Frances Webster. Very probably also connected with her and written in December was 'Farewell! If Ever Fondest Prayer' (*Corsair*[2]), concluding 'I only know we loved in vain –/I only feel – Farewell! – Farewell!' In 1815 she was said to have been involved in an adulterous relationship with *Wellington in Brussels and Paris. Later, the Websters having separated, Wedderburn Webster (now Sir James) sought Byron's help in obtaining a reconciliation.
See also: **'Bramblebear and Lady Penelope'**; **'Remember Him, &c.'**; **'Sonnet. To Genevra'**; **'When We Two Parted'**.

'Well! thou art happy…'

Lines addressed to Mary *Chaworth-Musters. Byron's corrected draft is dated 2 November 1808 and the poem was first published in *IT* and then *CHP*(2). The speaker will not 'repine' while the former beloved, now a wife and mother, is 'blest', but 'near thee I can never stay;/My heart would soon again be thine' (18–20). Byron gives a related, if more rueful, account of the visit which inspired the poem in *BLJ* i.173–4.

Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of

(1769–1852)
Victor of the battles of *Talavera and *Waterloo. To Byron and to many liberals he represented the triumph of the reactionary. Byron's most sustained assault on Wellington is in *DJ* IX.1–80, where he is the bloody proponent of

unjust war, over-rewarded, the restorer of tyrants. (The passage was written for *DJ* III in 1819, but Byron suppressed it until IX in 1823.) In *Age* 534–5, where Wellington is attacked as British representative at the Congress of *Verona, his 'eagle beak so curled' is the 'nose, the hook where he suspends the world'.
Further reading: *MSYRB* xi.

'Were My Bosom As False As Thou Deem'st It To Be'

Song in *HM*, written in February 1815. Jews are defended against Christian bias. It was generally received, however, as a love song, Burwick and Douglass (1988) argue, because of the 'light-hearted tones' of *Nathan's 1815 setting (p. 25). These were replaced by 'gloomy ones' in his 1829 version but Burwick and Douglass suggest that the original 'light lilt which carries the defiant message suits well that blithe and mocking Byronic persona who turns the accusations of "false" back upon his accusers' (p. 25).

Werner, a Tragedy

Blank verse drama. Byron wrote a draft of Act I in 1815 but was interrupted by the collapse of his marriage – 'Lady Byron's farce' (*BLJ* viii.237). Having failed to obtain this early draft (*CPW* vi.698–713) from among his papers in England he wrote a new version of the first act, with the rest of the play, in December 1821–January 1822. Byron wanted the work to be published with *Heaven and Earth*. After several changes of plan it was published alone by *Murray in November 1822. There was a second issue in 1823.

The drama opens with Werner on his way to claim his inheritance as Count Siegendorf. His rejection by his late father is one of the factors which have encouraged a powerful kinsman, Stralenheim, to attempt to seize the inheritance. Stralenheim happens to arrive at the decaying palace on the remote '*northern Frontier of Silesia*', where Werner has been delayed by illness and where he has been reunited, after eight years, with his son Ulric. Stralenheim recognizes his rival but is murdered before he can move against him. The last two acts occur in Siegendorf, where Werner has now taken up his inheritance. It is revealed, to Werner's horror, that Ulric was the murderer. Ulric leaves to return to the marauding Black Bands whom he leads. Werner is left with only the grave to look forward to: 'The race of Siegendorf is past!' (V.ii. 66).

The 'characters, plan, and even the language, of many parts of this story' (*CPW* vi.384) fairly closely follow Harriet Lee's 'The German's Tale, or Kruitzner' in *The Canterbury Tales*, volume IV (1801; part of the larger work by Harriet and Sophia Lee). As Byron notes in the preface he added one character, Ida. He also combined several of Lee's minor figures in the comic Intendant Idenstein, whose puns, colloquial remarks – 'not exactly' (II.i.198) or 'I can't say I did' (III.i.312) – and venality help distance *Werner* from Byron's neoclassical tragedies *Marino Faliero*, *Sardanapalus* and *Two Foscari*. He also developed the character of the honest Hungarian, Gabor, and rendered the murder more shocking by making Ulric apparently more heroic than Lee's Conrad. Finally, Byron places greater emphasis on the historical background of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). The crimes and intended crimes of the play are seen at times as part of the more general trampling of the laws described by Ulric at III.iv.132–6. There are other references to the violent activities of the opposing armies and Black Bands during and after 'the late long intestine wars' (IV.i.68; cp. e.g. II.i.138–44, II.ii.372–8, IV.i.272–5 and 301–2, V.ii.48–52). It is a world in which only might, gold or feudal privilege (see I.i.698–731, II.i.323–6) have any authority. *CPW* vi.696 suggests *Schiller's plays set in the Thirty Years' War, and his 1793 history of the war, as influences on Byron's use of such material.

Byron wrote the original first act during his involvement with *Drury Lane theatre. He maintained that *Werner*, like all his plays, was not meant for performance (*CPW* vi.385), but in 1815 he may have intended otherwise; certainly he uses many of the conventions of plays popular in the theatre of the period. (Arguably in 1821–22 he wished to demonstrate his mastery of this kind of drama as well as the neoclassical closet drama.) There is, as already noted, some broad humour. There is much by way of 'Mysterious/ And long engender'd circumstances' (II.ii.342–3). There are *Gothic settings including the hall and chamber of the decaying palace and its secret passage or (III.i.94) 'Gothic labyrinth of unknown windings'. And there are melodramatic moments like the end of the play, where Ulric abruptly reveals to the trusting Ida that he killed her father, she '*falls senseless*', and Josephine '*stands speechless with horror*'. The inheritance theme is also common on the contemporary stage – 'Familiar feuds and vain recriminations' (V.i.469), fathers and sons divided, Ida's usefulness to others simply as her father's daughter.

Such features, together with a considerable amount of cutting, helped *Macready to make Werner his most successful Byron role. He first played the part in the provinces and at Drury Lane in 1830 and was last seen in it in 1851. Macready's version of the text adds the arrest of Ulric and death of Werner and removes some of the historical references. Samuel Phelps was popular as Werner in productions between 1844 and 1878; Sir Henry Irving gave one famous performance in 1887; and there were a number of successful American productions. Yet partly because of the theatrical elements, Byron's *Werner* has attracted little favourable notice. The prickly, tormented Werner is clearly the most interesting character. His relationship with Josephine, important at the beginning, fails to develop much in the rest of the play, but the marginalization of both female characters serves to emphasize the dominance of men and masculine values. The climactic confrontation between Werner and his son is weakened by Ulric's unconvincing attempt to justify the murder on the grounds that Werner, when he stole some gold from Stralenheim, said '*there were crimes* made venial by the occasion' (V.i.442).

Further reading: Corbett (1988); Howell (1982); Yu (2006).

Westall, Richard *see* Byron, Portraits of; Illustrations of Byron's work

Westminster Abbey

Church where royalty and leading political and cultural figures have traditionally been buried. Some of Byron's friends suggested that he should be buried here in Poets' Corner, but the Dean, Dr Ireland, refused in view of his reputation for immorality. A memorial was finally erected in 1968–69.

'When a man hath no freedom to fight for at home'

Stanzas sent to *Moore on 5 November 1820. They blend idealism and cynicism – or realism – about a man fighting for the freedom of his neighbours and getting 'knock'd on the head for his labours'. (Byron had joined the *Carbonari several months earlier.) This approach results partly from the danger of discussing 'more serious topics … by a foreign post' at a time of expected insurrection (*BLJ* vii.219).

'When all around grew drear and dark' *see* 'To [Augusta]'

'When Coldness Wraps This Suffering Clay'

Song in *HM*, written in February 1815. It speculates on 'whither strays the immortal mind' (2) when the body dies, imagining it 'Eternal, boundless, undecay'd,/A thought unseen, but seeing all' (9–10), including the past and future. 'Above or Love, Hope, Hate, or Fear,/It lives all passionless and pure' (25–6). God is not mentioned.

'When I rov'd, a young Highlander' *see* 'Song' ('When I rov'd, a young Highlander')

'When the Mantle is drawn for a moment apart…'

Fragment in three stanzas, probably written in autumn 1816. Its theme is the irrecoverable nature of the past.

'When We Two Parted'

Poem of August or September 1815, regretting an earlier relationship. It was published as a song-sheet by *Nathan in 1815 and then in *Poems1816*. It is addressed principally to Lady Frances *Webster, who was said to be sexually involved with *Wellington in 1815. But a version of the same cancelled stanza which revealed Webster's name had been used earlier in 'To Lady Caroline Lamb' ('Go – triumph securely – the treacherous vow') (*CPW* iii.475–6). Possibly, therefore, she too is addressed; 'her behaviour in Paris with Wellington and his troops was equally the subject of London scandal at the time' (*CPW* iii.476). If so, Byron is 'casting the two women together in his self-mythologizing erotic drama' (Wolfson and Manning [1996], p. 798).

Whigs

Political grouping. Traditionally they stood for civil and political liberty. Byron particularly admired the Whig orators of an earlier generation – the heyday of Charles James Fox and *Sheridan. Whig influence declined as a result of a split in 1794 occasioned by different responses to the *French Revolution; the more liberal 'Foxite' Whigs were later led by Lord *Holland, with whom Byron became associated in 1812. They were out of power for almost all Byron's adult life.

Holland maintained that Byron 'was upon system invariably attached to the party and principles of the Whigs' (quoted in *Prose* 282). It would be misleading to regard the 'party' tie as close, particularly after Byron left England in 1816; but for the argument that his politics represent continuing adherence to aristocratic Whig principles *see* Kelsall (1987).
See also: **Politics**.

Whistlecraft *see* Frere, John Hookham

White, Henry Kirke

(1785–1806)
Cambridge poet whose *Life and Remains* was edited by *Southey in 1808. Byron mourns his early death in *EBSR* 831–48.

'Wild Gazelle, The'

Song in *HM*, written in late 1814. While the gazelle can bound on Judah's hills and the palm is securely rooted, 'Israel's scattered race' must 'wander witheringly'. *Nathan's bounding and swaying melodies for the gazelle and the palm give way to 'a dirge to set Byron's grim conclusion' (Burwick and Douglass [1988], p. 25).

Wildman, *Colonel* Thomas *see* Newstead Abbey

Wilkes, John

(1727–97)
Radical critic of *George III and his early governments, known as 'the Friend of Liberty'. In *VJ* 520–84 he is reluctant to attack the king. He finds George's ministers Bute and Grafton more blameworthy; Wilkes had, in his later years, become reconciled with the king and supported the government of *Pitt.

Williams, Edward Ellerker

(1793–1822)
Friend of P. B. *Shelley. A soldier who retired as a half-pay lieutenant in 1818, Williams lived in *Pisa with the Shelleys and his common-law wife Jane Johnson from January 1821. He met Byron on 5 November that year and soon became part of the group, including *Medwin and *Trelawny, who rode, shot and talked with him. Williams's Journal briefly records his visits to Byron, often involving pistol-shooting or billiards. The poet made a favourable first impression: his manners are not haughty but 'those of the most unaffected and gentlemanly ease'; he is not melancholy but 'all sunshine, and good humour', inspiringly elegant of language and brilliant of wit (Jones [1951], p. 109). But Williams came to share at least some of

Shelley's disenchantment with Byron, referring on 17 May 1822 to his 'contemptible vanity' (Jones [1951], p. 149) in insisting on having the name *Don Juan* painted on the mainsail of Shelley's boat. Williams drowned with Shelley when the boat went down on 8 July 1822.

Winckelmann, Johann Joachim

(1717–68)
Art historian, resident in *Rome from 1755. *Hobhouse supplies notes for *CHP* IV from the 1783–84 edition of the Italian version of his *History of Ancient Art* (1764): *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli Antichi*, expanded by Carlo Fea (*CPW* ii.317). Byron's accounts of the ancient statues of *Florence and Rome in *CHP* IV, with their emphasis on ideal beauty (e.g. 476–7, 1450–8), may also have been written under Winckelmann's influence.

'Windsor Poetics'

Satirical poem, written in 1813, on the Prince Regent and his forebears. In April 1813 the future *George IV had presided over the opening of the vault at Windsor where Henry VIII and Charles I are both entombed. The Prince, who stands in the same bad relation as Charles to his people and Henry to his wife (the future Queen *Caroline), is 'a double Tyrant'. The poem, too dangerous to publish at home, was disseminated in manuscript before publication in Paris by *Galignani in 1818. Several different versions survive (*see CPW* iii.86–7, 424–5).

Wingfield, John

(*c.*1790–1811)
Friend of Byron at *Harrow. He is 'Alonzo' in *'Childish Recollections' and is remembered in *CHP* I.927–44 and note (*CPW* ii.189). News of his death added to Byron's shock at the loss of his mother (Catherine Gordon *Byron) and *Matthews.

Wordsworth, William

(1770–1850)
Poet pilloried, parodied and sometimes imitated by Byron. Byron reviewed *Poems, in Two Volumes* (1807) in *Monthly Literary Recreations* xiii (July 1807), finding much that is 'natural and unaffected' but also some 'namby-pamby'.

EBSR 235–54 deals with 'The simple Wordsworth', a disciple of *Southey's school who is the author of 'Christmas stories tortured into [prose-like] rhyme'. Writing to Leigh *Hunt in October 1815, Byron feels that Wordsworth has not fulfilled the potential of *Lyrical Ballads*, and that *The Excursion* has 'much natural talent spilt over' it 'but it is rain upon rocks where it stands & stagnates – or rain upon sands where it falls without fertilizing – who can understand him?' He also criticizes Wordsworth's criticism of *Pope and his 'peevish affectation ... of despising a popularity which he will never obtain' (*BLJ* iv.324–5).

In the summer of 1816, however, P. B. *Shelley 'dosed' Byron with enough 'Wordsworth physic' (Medwin, *Conversations* 194) to persuade him to take his ideas rather more seriously. The results are apparent in *'Churchill's Grave' (avowedly an imitation of 'the style of a great poet – its beauties and its defects' [*CPW* iv.447]), *Prisoner* and *CHP* III (especially 671–715). These works and **Manfred* (see McGann [2002], pp. 181–200) can be seen as engaged in dialogue with Wordsworth, granting respect to his ideas; in *Manfred* Byron allows a voice to the Wordsworthian figures of the Chamois hunter and the Abbot. Byron rarely, however, endorses the healing power of nature. In the *Alpine Journal* nothing has 'for one moment – lightened the weight upon my heart – nor enabled me to lose my own wretched identity in the majesty & the power and the Glory – around – above – & beneath me' (*BLJ* v.105). Even in *CHP* III the 'absorption into a sense of nature's transcendental process is not a culminating or defining event, it is one experience among many' (McGann [2002], p. 176).

Byron soon returned to his earlier evaluation of Wordsworth. He casts scorn on 'this poetical charlatan and political parasite', a creature of the *Tories who has gained his office as Distributor of Stamps in the county of Westmorland through Lord Lonsdale (proof note for *DJ* Dedication, *CPW* v.671; Dedication 46). Byron also inventively parodies Wordsworth's long note to 'The Thorn' (draft preface to *DJ* I, *CPW* v.81–5). In *DJ* III.847 *The Excursion* is 'a drowsy frowzy poem'; *see also*: *DJ* I.720, III.873–96. 'Epilogue' (March 1820) parodies *Peter Bell*. In 1821 Byron wrote an epigram 'Of Turdsworth the great Metaquizzical poet' (cp. *BLJ* vii.158, 167, 168, 253); in *Blues* he is 'Wordswords' and in *DJ* IV.869 'poet Wordy' ('Mother Wordsworth' in manuscript).

Wordsworth's opinion of Byron was at least equally low. There is no record of his personal impression of Byron when they met in spring 1815. (Lady *Byron claimed to Henry Crabb Robinson in 1854 that Byron had told her his 'one feeling' was '*reverence*!' and he admired the older man's 'dignified manners' [*HVSV* 129].) But in 1812 Wordsworth already thought

Byron 'somewhat cracked'; he 'allowed him power, but denied his style to be English' (Robinson [1938], i.85). In April 1816 he encouraged John *Scott, editor of *The Champion*, to denounce, even more strongly than he already had, 'Fare Thee Well' with its 'doggerel' and 'fiend-like exasperation' (Wordsworth, William and Dorothy [1967–93], III.ii.304–5). In 1828 he told Thomas Colley Grattan that among Byron's 'great errors' was allowing crime 'to constitute heroism' (Moorman [1968], ii.212). He was jealous of Byron's quickly won popularity, and according to Moore (1983–91), i.355, felt that *CHP* III simply plagiarized his own 'style & sentiments'. Byron adopted a 'tone (*assumed* rather than natural) of enthusiastic admiration of Nature, and a sensibility to her influences' (Wordsworth [1967–93], III.i.237). Wordsworth regarded *DJ* as an immoral work and believed that its attacks on him were Byron's response to having been shown a private letter in which he condemned it (Moorman [1968], ii.211n.).

As Wordsworth's popularity grew in the mid-nineteenth century, his and Byron's works were often seen as defining opposites. In 1829 there were debates on their relative merits at the *Cambridge Union and the Debating Society in London (Moorman [1968], ii.328–9). Increasingly Wordsworth was regarded as serious, sincere, meditative, essentially religious, and Byron as vigorous but theatrical, readable but of dubious value as moral or philosophical guide. *Arnold, in his essay on Byron of 1881, still finds in him considerable strength but 'Wordsworth's value is of another kind. Wordsworth has an insight into permanent sources of joy and consolation for mankind which Byron has not' (Rutherford [1970], p. 459). J. S. *Mill rejected the latter more emphatically in favour of the former.

Further reading: Cooke (1982).

Wright, Waller Rodwell

(1774/75–1826)

Consul General of the Ionian Islands, 1800–04. His *Horae Ionicae* (1809) is a topographical poem praised in *EBSR* 867–80 for its celebration of *Greece as 'the land of Gods and Godlike men' (880). *Horae* is among the poems which set a precedent for *CHP*.

'Written after Swimming from Sestos to Abydos'

Lines written on 9 May 1810 and published with *CHP* I–II in 1812. Byron had re-enacted the feat of Leander, recounted first in *Ovid's *Heroides* XVIII–XIX. The comic tone of the poem is counterpointed by the more

solemn accompanying note, where the desire to 'ascertain [the] practicability' of 'Leander's story' is typical of Byron's stated dislike for 'things *all fiction*' (*BLJ* v.203). The note also contrives to assert, while ostensibly playing down, the difficulty of the feat.
See also: **Swimming**.

'Written at Athens. January 16, 1810' *see* Smith, Constance Spencer

'Written in an Album'

Poem of September 1809. According to one manuscript it was 'Written at Mrs. S.S.'s [Spencer *Smith's] request in her Memorandum Book' (*CPW* i.273). 'Written in an Album', first published in *CHP*(1), became 'probably among the most read verses of the Romantic period'; it 'caught the spirit' of contemporary commonplace books with their frequent emphasis on loss, parting and death of friends (St Clair [2004], pp. 227–8).

Y

Yanina

Ioannina, formerly in *Albania, now in *Greece. It was the capital of *Ali Pasha. Byron stayed here in early October 1809 and again between 26 October and 3 November, and began *CHP* here. He found the palaces of Yanina ‘splendid but too much ornamented with silk & gold’ (*BLJ* i.226).

Z

Zambelli, (Antonio) Lega

(1770–1847)
Byron's steward. He moved gradually, in 1819–20, from Count *Guiccioli's service to Byron's. He went to *Greece with Byron and travelled with his body to England. In London, with William *Fletcher, he established an (unsuccessful) macaroni factory. His accounts for Byron's household are studied in Moore (1974).

Zograffo or Zographos, Dimitrios

(*c*.1770/75–1821>)
Byron's servant and interpreter. He accompanied Byron home from *Greece in the summer of 1811. He worked on an Albanian vocabulary and Greek translations for *Hobhouse's *Journey through Albania* before returning to Greece in the spring of 1812. In 1821 Byron was surprised to hear that Zograffo was 'at the head of the Athenian part of the present Greek Insurrection' (*BLJ* ix.23).

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