

THE ORIENTALISM OF BYRON

by

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TO
MY MOTHER
CLARA JOSEPHINE SILVIUS OSBORNE.

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PREFACE

This essay is an attempt to present a brief survey of the oriental tendencies of Lord Byron. The author disclaims any knowledge of the oriental languages and attempts no discussion of those genuine Oriental tales that Byron has so skillfully woven into his verse. Such a discussion is not the purpose of this study. The aim here is to show the Oriental side of Byron's Romanticism. In spite of the study and research lavished upon other phases of Byron's works the oriental glow of Byron's Romanticism has been consistently neglected and has escaped the attention of the most critical investigators. Perhaps the only special mention of Byron's oriental tendencies is in Martha Pike Conant's dissertation, "The Oriental Tale in England." Thus no general survey such as the present paper undertakes, has before been made.

In attempting this study the writer has limited herself to what seemed best worth while; that is, to a discussion of the definitions of the term "orientalism", the formative influences that were brought to bear on Byron from an Oriental viewpoint, the result and culmination of this formative stage, and Byron's oriental Romanticism.

The subject of this dissertation was suggested by a chance remark about Byron's oriental colors, made by Professor Harry G. Paul, in an undergraduate English course at the University of Illinois. When the subject was suggested by the writer to Professor Charles Graham Dunlap, of the English Department of the University of Kansas, as a field of work for a master's thesis, it was accepted, and Professor Dunlap has been unfailing in suggesting books that might have a bearing on the subject. He has also made suggestions about plans of treatment which have aided the writer in many ways. To Associate Professor Selden Lincoln Whitcomb of the English faculty of the University of Kansas the writer owes her inspiration--an inspiration best appreciated by those students who have had the rare privilege of his guidance in research work and ^{have} receiving his illuminating and kindly criticism. To other members of the English Faculty of the University of Kansas, Professor Edwin Mortimer Hopkins, Associate Professor Raphael Dorman O'Leary, and Assistant Professor Charles Henry Gray, I am especially grateful for their unfailing helpfulness, all having given generously of their time and scholarship. To my father, the late William Greeley Osborne, I owe my first definite interest in Byron and the Romantic Movement.

I wish to acknowledge the courtesies extended by the librarians of the University of Kansas library.

The Appendices to the present dissertation comprise Appendix A, Notes chiefly concerning the influence of Beckford and others on Byron; and Appendix B, I., a chronological Table, giving full titles of the oriental tales considered, and II., a Bibliography of the books and references most useful in the study of this subject. Each book in Appendix B, I, and II, is numbered, and will be referred to in footnotes by number when it is unnecessary to cite the full title.

OUTLINE OF THESIS

CHAPTER I.

A Brief Sketch of Orientalism in English Literature, 1100-
1800.

I. Prior to the sixteenth century.

- A. Travels of missionaries, merchants, and crusaders
- B. The Oriental element through the Spanish influence.

II. The sixteenth century.

- A. The continuance of Spanish influence.
- B. Interest in other lands in general.

III. The seventeenth century.

- A. Knolles' "General History of the Turks" (1603).
- B. "Romances" of Mlle. de Scudéry.

IV. The eighteenth century.

- A. Antoine Galland's Gallicized Version of "The Arabian Nights" links the seventeenth with the eighteenth century from an Oriental point of view
- B. Satiric Oriental tale.
 - 1. In French Literature it reigned supreme and was especially used by Voltaire and Montesquieu.

2. In English Literature it was more mild and inclined to parody.
- C. Philosophic Oriental note.
1. In France it was not prevalent.
 2. In England it was struck by Addison and Steele.
- D. The heroic play.
- E. Martha Pike Conant divides the Oriental stories into four groups:
1. The Imaginative.
 - a. "Arabian Nights", 1700.
 - b. "Persian Tales."
 - c. "Thousand and One Days."
 - d. "Vathek".
 - e. "Oriental Eclogues".
 2. The Realistic.
 - a. "Murad, the Unlucky".
 3. The Philosophic.
 - a. "Vision of Mirza".
 - b. "Rasselas".
 4. Satiric.
 - a. "Citizen of the World".
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CHAPTER II.

A Brief Sketch of Orientalism in English Literature, 1800-
1914.

- I. The Oriental note in the early novelists.
- II. The Oriental tendency of the Lake poets.
 - A. Wordsworth--Greek tone.
 - B. Coleridge--Witchery of the East and Hebraic influence.
 - C. Southey--supernaturalism--the religious fanaticism of the Hindoos in the "Curse of Kehama".
- III. The Orientalism of the later poets.
 - A. Moore--gorgeous picturesqueness.
 - 1. "Lallah Rookh".
 - B. Landor--Oriental legend.
 - C. Percy Bysshe Shelley--Grecian spirit together with a certain Eastern vastness.
 - 1. "My Faint Spirit".
 - 2. "The Indian Serenade".
 - 3. "Lines to an Indian".
 - 4. "Alastor."
 - 5. "Prometheus Unbound".
 - D. John Keats--Grecian.
 - 1. "Lamia".

- E. Tennyson--legendary interest.**
1. "Recollections of Arabian Nights".
 2. "Defense of Lucknow".
 3. "Balaclava".
 4. "Montenegro."
 5. "Akbar's Dream".
- F. James Thomson--"Oriental Eclogues".**
- G. Mathew Arnold--Oriental Atmosphere.**
1. "Sick King of Bokara".
 2. "Sohrab and Ruetum".
- H. Robert Browning gives the wisdom of the East in:**
1. "Ferishtah's Fancies".
 2. "Saul" (Hebrew note).
 3. "Ivan Ivanovitch" (Russian note).
 4. "Jochanan Hakkodosh" (Jewish note).
 5. "Epistle of Karshish".
 6. "Rabbi Ben Ezra".
 7. "A Death in the Desert."
 8. "Luria."
 9. "Return of the Druses".
 10. "Solomon and Balkis".
 11. "Ben Karsook's Wisdom".
 12. "Through the Metidja".
 13. "Muleykeh".

- I. Edwin Arnold gives the religion of the East in:
 - 1. "The Light of Asia."
 - 2. "The Light of the World".
- J. Fitzgerald's translation of the "Rubaiyat" of Omar Khayyam.
- K. Rudyard Kipling--passion of the East and the reality of India.
 - 1. His Oriental short stories.
 - 2. His Oriental verse.
- L. Orientalism in the twentieth century drama.
 - 1. "Ulysses" -- Stephen Phillips.
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CHAPTER III.

Formative Influences of Byron, 1788-1811.

- I. Byron, a child of the Orient.
 - A. Heredity.
 1. Ancestors were restless.
 2. Date of birth and character of parents.
 - B. Effect of Nurse May Gray on Byron.
 1. Tales and legends.
 2. Bible stories.
 - C. Education.
 1. Love of reading.
 2. Influence of books.
 - D. Influence of "Foulweather Jack" on Byron.
- II. Byron's reading record up to 1807.
- III. Byron's unrest in England.
 - A. First appearance in House of Lords.
 - B. Dislike for England in general and Cambridge in particular.
 - C. Criticism in "Edinburgh Review".
 1. "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers".
 - a. Two Oriental passages.

CHAPTER IV.

Result and Culmination of Formative Influences, 1811-1824.

I. Charmed with Orient.

A. Letters to England.

II. First results of trip.

A. "Childe Harold".

1. Commented on as a deluge of Oriental Splendor.

2. Work was a great success.

B. "Poetic Romances or Tales Chiefly Oriental, 1812-1816."

1. "The Giaour".

2. "The Bride of Abydos".

3. "The Corsair."

4. "The Siege of Corinth."

III. Later results of trip.

A. "Don Juan."

1. Opening Cantos.

IV. General striking characteristics of Byron's Oriental work.

A. Air of vivid reality.

B. In "Don Juan" the character and action are subservient to the description and interpretation, while in the "Tales Chiefly Oriental," the descriptions and interpretations are made essential to the characters and action.

V. Characteristics of the poems in detail.

A. "The Giaour", 1813.

1. Example of Byron's indebtedness to Oriental Literature.
2. Founded upon an incident in the life of the poet.
3. Resembles common model of Oriental fable.
4. Oriental words (Comment in "Edinburgh Review")
5. Moore's comment.
6. Influence of "Vathek".

B. "The Bride" 1813.

1. First complete Oriental tale.
2. Turkish and other words and expressions.
3. Typical Eastern characters.

C. "The Corsair" 1814; "Lara" 1814.

1. Latter is sequel to former.
2. They show first hand knowledge of Orient.
3. Eastern love and passion are shown in characters of Medora and Gulnan in "The Corsair"

4. Picture of Eastern devotion in Kaled.

D. "The Siege of Corinth", 1816.

1. Founded upon an historical occurrence.

2. Byron's indebtedness to Oriental literature.

a. Beckford's "Vathek".

b. Coleridge's "Christabel".

E. "Parisena," 1816.

1. Founded upon historical incidents.

2. Attractive also because of the beauty of the poetry.

F. "Hebrew Melodies."

1. Based on themes from the Old Testament.

2. Describe and reflect Eastern scenes and imagery.

V. Byron, an authority on Oriental literature.

A. He continues his readings in Oriental literature

B. Both Moore and Reynolds sought Byron's approval of Oriental sketches.

C. Hogg dedicated "Pilgrims of Sun" to Byron.

D. "Feast of the Poets."

VII. Byron in Italy, 1816-23.

A. Period is marked by unusual literary activity.

B. Influence of "Vathek" on the productions of this period is shown in the illustrations from the following.

1. "Manfred" (Hall of Arimanes).
2. "The Deformed Transformed".
3. "The Two Foscari".
4. "Don Juan".
5. "Cain" (Setting).

VIII. Byron goes East in 1823.

- A. Probably prevented from going before because of
 1. The distance he would be from his publishers in London.
 2. His attachment to Countess Guiccioli.
- B. He aided Greeks but he admired the Turks.
 1. Through his efforts many Turks were returned
 2. He asked his sister to rear a little girl.
- C. His death.
 1. Howe's comment.

CHAPTER V.

Byron's Oriental Romanticism.

I. Definition of Romanticism.

- A. Victor Hugo's.
- B. Professor Beers'.
- C. Paul Elmer More's.

II. Lines of the Romantic movement.

- A. Nature.
 - 1. English Lake Country.
 - 2. Scotland.
- B. Peasantry.
- C. New Mediaevalism.
- D. Supernaturalism.
- E. Italian (Alfieri)
- F. German.
- G. Occidental influences as contrasted with Oriental

III. Two Romantic characteristics of Byron's Oriental Literature.

- A. Orientalism.
 - 1. Escape from prosaic.
 - 2. Not Occidental.
- B. Portrayal of emotional characters.
 - 1. Eastern situations.
 - 2. Eastern passions.

INTRODUCTION

In the study of the orientalism of Byron it is difficult to make positive assertions, for in the life, in literature, and in religion, he is a paradox. Ethel C. Mayne in her "Byron" tells us that although fiercely proud of his aristocratic descent he was an exponent of equality; even though he wrote odes to Napoleon he died in Greece for the cause of liberty; he has been called a deist, an atheist, and a Christian; he eulogized Newstead Abbey one day and the next he desecrated it with bacchanalian revelry. In fact he has few traits of character that were not entirely reversible and while he may appear thoroughly English in some of his poems, in others he is decidedly oriental.

To one who studies literature intensively Byron appears to be an enigma. In his early poetry he writes society verse along with translations and imitations from Anacreon, Tibullus, Catullus and Horace. He lived in a distinctly Romantic age yet he writes a typical Augustan satire and throughout his entire life he admired and defended Pope. In fact, from every point of view Byron was distinctly the antithesis of the great eighteenth century literary man, even though he seems to be truly classical in

form. Jeffry^E said that Walter Scott's romantic tendencies were inspired from the past, Byron's thoughts were entirely in the present, and the hopes of Shelley were in the future. After studying over these facts the student naturally comes to the conclusion that the cry that Scott heard in the Medieval institutions, Shelley heard in the metaphysical speculations, and Byron heard in the gorgeous and alluring Mysticism of the East. Theoretically he retained his reverence for classical rules and ideals but practically he shattered every ideal and principle of classicism. This is true of his Oriental poetry and thus one can say that it is essentially true of all of his poetry for most of his best work has the Eastern atmosphere. Thus from the above statements one can see that it is perfectly legitimate to call Byron a classical romanticist.

It is with the oriental side of his Romanticism that this paper is concerned. An appreciation of an author should always exist before analysis and when one reads how Byron was admired, condemned, loved and hated during his lifetime and that even after a hundred years have elapsed he has not been understood, one feels that in a discussion of any phase of his personality there need be no apology made for error. Byron could not say with Rousseau, "I know myself;" thus a student of Byron cannot say, "I know

Byron." He can only be studied in the subjective mood and thus one studies not Byron, but oneself under the Byronic spell. Thus our own picture although it may be without absolute objective truth, seems the most true to us.

Every student of English literature knows that Byron was not the first to introduce the Oriental element into England.¹ For a long time Englishmen had been hearing of the delightful mysterious East. Even in Elizabethan times there was occasionally a vague hint of the Orient. However, one is safe in saying that previous to the appearance of "Vathek" in 1784 about all that could be said of Oriental literature was that it was delightfully mysterious. It was "superficial, unimpassioned, colorless. Beckford was the first to introduce picturesque detail, and in so doing anticipated the methods of Moore, Southey, Byron,² and their successors." The Oriental spirit seemed to be absorbed by Byron, who breathed it forth again more glowing. His "Oriental Tales" are neither dreamy nor visionary, they give us something that we can see and feel, carrying us through the passions of mankind; love, hate, am-

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1. Martha Pike Conant's "Oriental Tale in England in the 18th Century."
 2. Conant, op. cit.

bition, and revenge. When Byron went abroad, his genius was in the bud. In the foggy atmosphere of England it would have developed into a sickly, repulsive weed; the Eastern sun infusing new life gave us the gorgeous flower that reached full bloom under the mysterious skies of Turkey.

Since the subject of this thesis deals with the Orientalism of Byron, it is impossible to give much consideration of Byron as a poet. However, from whatever viewpoint we may attempt to treat Byron's works, we are always face to face with Byron himself. All that the writer has hoped to show is the Eastern glow in Byron's works. The essay consists of five chapters which almost unconsciously present themselves.

Chapter I consists of a brief sketch of Orientalism in English literature from 1100, practically the first appearance of the movement, to 1800; Chapter II continues the sketch of Orientalism from 1800 to the present year 1914.

Before the first chapter of this essay is reached it becomes necessary to define the terms "Orient" and "Oriental". The Orient Byron visited was Turkey. As we are to consider the Orient Byron knew it is necessary to take a

more comprehensive definition. By "Orient" we mean "Those countries immediately East of the Mediterranean or of Southern Europe, the countries of Southwestern Asia, or of Asia generally"³. Defining "Oriental" is like defining "Romanticism", a rather voluminous task, which would probably result as successfully. To escape ambiguity let us accept the definition given by the authority quoted above, "belonging to, found in, or characteristic of" those countries included in the Orient. The added meaning and connotation of the word suggesting gorgeousness, glowing, magnificance, strangeness, enchanting, luxury, life, mysticism, magic and the like, will become more apparent in the following chapters. The Hebraic element is touched upon but not dwelt on at any length.

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3. Oxford Dictionary.

CHAPTER I.

A Brief Sketch of Orientalism in English Literature
Prior to the Nineteenth Century.

The Oriental in English literature extends from works of the early Anglo-Saxon translations to those of our present great Orientalist, Kipling. There are legends of Alexander the Great and fictitious descriptions of the marvels of India in many Anglo-Saxon translations. During the Middle Ages, merchants and travelers like Marco Polo, missionaries, pilgrims, and crusaders caused many Eastern stories to be known throughout Europe; scholars translated into the Latin four great collections of genuine Oriental tales, "Sendibar," "Kalila, and Dimna," "Disciplina Clericalis" and "Barlaam and Josaphat." England received her share of this material, which was used in metrical romances, apologues, legends and tales of adventure; Mandeville's "Voiage" and Chaucer's "Squire's Tale" are typical examples.

From the Spanish literature English literature re-

ceived a great deal of Orientalism. The Spanish literature contained the Moslem learning of Cordova and the science and Philosophy of the Moors, Arabs, and Jews. The Arab lyrics accompanied by Arab music were well known, not only in Spain, but in Provence after the Counts of Barcelona had established their court in that region. The rising Spanish literature was cultivated under Oriental influence. Chief among the absorbed Oriental elements in the Spanish literature were the love of aphorism and the love of story.

The Spanish mind has at all times been peculiarly sententious, and the proverbial philosophy of Spain extraordinarily rich. The Spanish taste has also set strongly in the direction of fiction of no very probable kind, whether embodying more or less supernatural marvel, impossible sentiment, chivalric and pastoral, or crowd of incident. The Spanish taste worked with the Oriental in respect both to proverb and story. The people of the "Arabian nights" passed on their "repertoire" more readily to their Spanish neighbors than elsewhere. The Arabic version of the "Fables of Pilpay" was translated under the same title of "Kalila and Dimna," and the Arabic version of the "Seven Sagas" into the "Stratagems of Women."⁴

1, T. G. Tucker, "The Foreign Debt of English Literature". London, Geo. Bell & Sons, 1907.

In the Chivalric Romances, "Amadis of Gaul," which is derived from Welsh sources and appeared in the fourteenth century, has a peculiar blend of knightly devotion and a semi-Oriental fondness for magical and other marvels. This Oriental influence in the Spanish literature was brought into English literature through the presence of English courtiers at the Spanish court. After the marriage of Henry VIII with Catharine of Aragon the English court was frequented by Spaniards. The imitation of the Spanish both in literature and in manners was prevalent as late as the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. John Lyly was greatly influenced by the Spanish in his "Euphues" and Bacon was also influenced to a certain extent. The Oriental influence was gained indirectly through the Spanish.

In the sixteenth century appeared the first English editions of the "Gesta Romanorum," and the "Fables of Bidpai." During the reign of Queen Elizabeth everyone became interested in remote lands in the East and in the West; but because of the Fall of Constantinople (1453) and the check of the advance of the Turks upon Christendom in the battle of Lepanto (1571), the East seemed to be first in the English mind and the barbaric West with its forests and Indians took a second place. In Painter's "Palace of Pleas-

ure" there are stories of "Mahomet and Irene," and "Sultan Solyman," in the drama such plays as the "Soliman and Persida" ascribed to Kyd and Lyly's "Campaspe," an episode of Alexander the Great; "Alaham and Mustapha" by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooks; and Marlowe's "Tamburlaine." Shakespeare shows very little Oriental tendency. It is true that Oberon refers to "The farthest steep of India" in "Midsummer Night's Dream" and there is an Oriental hint in "The Induction to the Taming of the Shrew," but these are mere unimportant hints. "Antony and Cleopatra" is a purely Roman play in spite of the clever allusions to snakes and the plea of Enobarbus.

The interest in the Orient was increased by the translations of many French heroic romances, and the works of various travelers, historians, dramatists and orientalists. Knolles' "General History of the Turks" (1603) acted as a stimulant toward Orientalism for all of the later English writers who had a love for the unusual down to Lord Byron; in fact Knolles' history had a direct influence on the young Lord's mind, heightening his keen desire for knowledge of the East. Just prior to the Restoration appeared the pseudo-oriental heroic romances of Mlle. de Scudery and

others and many of these romances were reprinted in the eighteenth century, thus linking the two periods. Sir Roger L'Estrange's vision of "The Fables of Bidpai"; the translation in Latin of the Arabian Philosophical romance "Hai Ebn Vockdhan," by Edward Pococke (1648-1727) son of the Oxford Orientalist, and Marana's "Turkish Spy" are other links of the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. However, Orientalism in England took on a new character when Antoine Galland's Gallicized version of the "Arabian Nights" full of the life, the color and the glow of the East, appeared. In France the effect of the "Turkish Spy" and the "Arabian Nights" was truly as great as in England and was followed by Petis de la Croix's "L'Histoire de la Sultane de Perse et des Vizirs, Contes Turcs" 1707 and "Les Mille et une Jours, Contes Persans" (1710-1712). The popularity of the above works together with Perrault's fair stories was partly due to a reaction from the dominant classicism of Boileau; then, too, both Galland and Petis de la Croix went to the East with embassies and this fact aided in increasing the interest in their works. Soon many imitations of fair stories and oriental tales appeared and a Hamilton, Cayless and others satirized these fantastic

stories. Montesquieu gave a satirical, philosophical view of French society through the Oriental tale, in his "Lettres Persanes"(1721). Because of the direct influence of numerous translations from the French and because of the presence of tendencies in England imitative of those in France, there was a propensity to moralize, to philosophize and to satirize the same as in France.

In the eighteenth century the Oriental tale in England had a very wide range. There were the frame tales in which satires, sometimes in letter form, were inserted; isolated epilogues and other short tales used for moralistic purposes in an Addisonian or Johnsonian essay; fantastic tales of adventure; tales coloured by satire; and tales with scarcely any plot but with a predominant satiric, moralistic, or philosophic purpose. In these oriental or pseudo-oriental tales the characterization is uniformly slight and has a tendency toward abstract types; the scene is laid in the Orient or in Europe visited by Orientals, with a picturesque background of strange Eastern customs strengthened by allusions to religious or philosophical beliefs and enriched by the lavish use of magic and enchantment; language becomes more oriental as the English stories be-

come more true to the East; and the atmosphere becomes more exotic at the close of the century. After the appearance of the "Arabian Nights" in England there was no efflorescence of fanciful fiction as there had been in France. The English merely translated the French tales. After the first flurry of imagination in France, the Oriental tendency subsided, but in England it steadily grew throughout the century and served as an out-let for the pent up Romanticism of the nineteenth century. As has been previously mentioned, the Oriental tendency in the French literature served as a guise for deep satire which was well developed. It was very penetrating, especially when used by such men as Voltaire and Montesquieu, showing the deep unrest of France prior to the era of the French Revolution. In England the satire was more mild, not so much a parody as it was direct ridicule. Pope,⁷ Bishop⁸ Atterbury, and Goldsmith⁹ were a few who satirized the orientalizing fad.

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7. Pope said to a hack writer, "Turn a Persian tale for half-a-crown."
 8. Bishop Atterbury: "So extravagant, monstrous, and disproportioned" that they "gave a judicious eye pain."
 9. Mr. Tibs is a very useful hand, he writes receipts for the bite of a mad-dog and throws off an Eastern tale to perfection."

The philosophic note was much stronger than the satiric in England. Addison and Steele changed the new imaginative fiction received from France into didactic essays. The eighteenth century was an age of self-interest; remote lands did not interest men of that age as they did the Elizabethans; nearly all literature was didactic, philosophic, and moralistic. It was not until the victories of Clive in India and the era of expansion under the elder Pitt that England took any vital interest in the Orient. This new interest was shown in direct translations from the Oriental language in the last quarter of the century. The fact that England in this age was not so interested in the Orient is partly due to the lack of vivid descriptions, and to the fact that the Oriental tale, unlike Gothic legend, Celtic poem, or English ballad, formed no part of the national heritage. Something latent or sleeping in the nature of the English people was roused during this period by a sudden revival of interest in things their ancestors had loved and lived with and "Percy's Reliques", Walpole's "Castle of Otranto", the "Poems of Ossian" struck a responsive chord while the Oriental tale was alien. However, the Oriental tale was dressed in a philosophical,

moralistic garb and was popular because of its vogue in France. Pope enjoyed the "Arabian Tales," gave them to his firends, Bishop Atterbury,¹¹ and planned himself to write a "Wild Eastern Tale"¹². Lady Montague stimulated an interest in the East by her entertaining letters of Turkish ideals and customs.¹³ Swift, who read the "Arabian Nights" and fair tales, writes to Stella: "I borrowed one or two idle books of Contes des Fees and have been reading these two days, although I have much business up-¹⁴on my hands." It is said that Goldsmith himself dreamed ardently of the Far East and even brusque Dr. Johnson was

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11. Works of A. Pope, ed. by Rev. W. L. Bowles, London, 1806, Vol. VIII, pp. 110-112.
 12. Spence : "Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books and Men"; a Selection edited by John Underhill, London.
 13. During her husband's embassy there, 1711, 1718. "Lettres and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montague," new edition, Vol. II, Bohn Library, London. The date of the first edition of "Turkish Letters" was 1763.
 14. "Journal to Stella," ed. by F. Ryland, London. Letter XL.
See also Conant, op. cit., p. 245.

under the Oriental spell. But all of the above mentioned writers were interested in the other lines of thought that were pushing their way into literature. Sir William Temple's interest in Norse poetry and mythology, in Indian and Chinese life and art (1592)¹⁵ Addison's defense of "Chevy Chase"; Ambrose Phillips' translations of the "Persian Tales" and editions of old English ballads are a few of the threads that are interwoven into the literature of the eighteenth century.

In the heroic play, which was the popular form of tragedy after the Restoration, many of the scenes are laid in Asia, Africa, and the Moorish and Ottoman parts of Europe. "Antony and Cleopatra" is supposedly an African play, although in reality it is Roman; "The Siege of Memphis" is African, and "The Conquest of Granada" is Moorish. Sometimes a scene is picturesquely vague, but usually it is indicated by a single word, as Eden, Persia, or Syria, with Jerusalem and Babylon as centers. There is as little local color shown in the words and actions of the characters as there is of differentiation in the scene. In fact there

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15. See Conant, op. cit.

is no local color--nothing but¹⁶ nomenclature. "Because of the 'Inca' one is supposed to be in Peru, because of the 'wall' in China, and again because of 'The actors Names',¹⁷ Fancy you have ~~ten~~ hours in Turkey been."

Martha Pike Conant divides the Oriental stories into four groups; the imaginative, the moralistic, the philosophic, and the satiric. The chief stories that she mentions in the imaginative group are "Arabian Nights" (1700), "Persian Tales", "Thousand and One Days," "Couloupe, Fadlallah and Zemroude", (in the Persian Tales), "The Turkish Tales", "The Chinese Tales", "Mogul Tales", "The History of Maugraby the Magician", "The Robber Caliph", "The Fair Syrian", Collins' "Oriental Eclogues", Chatterton's "African Eclogues," "Charoba", "The History of Abdalla and Zoraide", and "Vathek". "The Arabian Nights" are weak in structural unity and characterization but strong in magical atmosphere, variety of dramatic incident, brilliant setting and spirits of adventure. "The Persian Tales" are similar to the "Arabian Nights" with the exception that

16. Lewis Nathaniel Chase, "The English Heroic Play" Columbia University, 1903.

17. Epilogue of "The Conspiracy". (Quoted in Conant).

they have more unity of reeling, more sentiment, and are more fantastic. "The Turkish Tales" translated from the French into the English in 1708 differ from the "Persian Tales" in the lack of elaborate descriptions. The pseudo-translations of the French writer, Simon Guilette (1683-1766), contain the "Chinese Tales" and "Mogul Tales"; in the latter is the incident of the sinners with flaming hearts which Beckford so ably used in his "Vathek". From the "History of Maugraby & the Magician," Southey took the idea which he used in "Thalaba".¹⁸ William Collins in his "Persian Eclogues" 1742 (after 1757 known as "Oriental Eclogues") is one of the first of the English poets to introduce the Oriental element in English poetry. He was followed soon by Chatterton and Scott, both of whom failed to show the magic touch of Collins. Chatterton's "African Eclogues" are more crude in imagination. "Charoba", which was translated from the French and published by Clara Reeve in "The

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18. "Thalaba the Destroyer", preface to fourth edition, Cintra, 1800. In Vol. IV. p. 6. "Poetical works of R. Southey," Boston, 1880, Southey writes "In the continuation of the Arabian Tales, the Dondaniel is mentioned--a seminary of evil magicians under the roots of the $\xi\Omega$. . . From this seed the present romance has grown."

Progress of Romance", furnished the direct source for Landor in his poem "Aebir", (1798). The dramatic death scene of Gebirus, where the nurse, throwing over his shoulders the poisoned robe, sprinkled him with magic water and he fell at Charoba's feet; and again the victory of Gebirus over the sea nymph, which act recalls the Siegfried-Brunhild story, made the story so tragic that it attracted the wonder and imagination of the poet, Landor. "Vathek", which has been called the bizarre master-piece of Beckford, deserves a higher place than "Charoba," for this Oriental story, with its brilliant descriptions of sensuous beauty, color, form, fragrance, melody and sensuality, attracted the great Lord Byron and greatly influenced his work.

Miss Conant mentions a number of Oriental tales in her chapter dealing with the realistic group, among the

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19. In English, 1786, In French 1787. It had been written between January, 1782, and January, 1783, in French. See Introduction to "Vathek" edited by Richard Garnett, London, 1893.
 20. Conant, op. cit., p. 69.
 21. In one of his diaries Lord Byron says "Vathek was one of the tales I had a very early imagination of. For correctness of costume, beauty of description, and power of imagination it far surpasses all European imitations; and bears such marks of originality, that those who have visited the East will find some difficulty in believing it to be no more than a translation. As an Eastern tale, even "Rasselas" will not bear comparison with "The Hall of Eblis."

most important of which are Miss Edgeworth, "Murad the Unlucky" and a few moral Oriental tales by Addison and Johnson. The moral tales fail in that their writers when expressing a universal truth concerning human character or conduct eliminate so many individualizing traits that their personages become mere abstractions.

Good illustrations of the philosophic side of Orientalism in the eighteenth century are Addison's "Vision of Mirza" and Johnson's "Rasselas." Addison's oriental story is drawn from the metaphor in the Mahometan tradition of "Al Sirot" of the bridge laid across hell, "finer than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword," over which the souls of men pass--the good to the Mahometan paradise, the wicked to hell, which is encircled by a wall of adamant.²² "Rasselas" is by far the most important philosophic tale. Johnson wrote it directly after the death of his mother, in a very serious, dignified, philosophic vein. The theme is well stated in the phrase, "The Vanity of Human Wishes."

Satire in the Oriental tale in the eighteenth cent-

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22. Conant, op. cit., p. 114.

ury is treated very ably by Miss Conant in her fourth chapter. In France, satire in the Oriental tale occurred in the social and in the literary phase; the latter devoted to the Oriental tale itself--a natural reaction against current enthusiasm for the extravagances of the type. Marana and Montesquieu were the chief French satirists, while Goldsmith in his "Citizen of the World," patterned after the French masters, ridicules all authors who attempt "to write in the true Eastern style where nothing is required but sublimity." Horace Walpole in his "Hieroglyphic Tales" (1785) made a deliberate attempt to parody the structure of the Oriental tales. In the preface, which is a very clever satire, he says: "the "Hieroglyphic Tales" were undoubtedly written a little before the creation of the world--and preserved by oral tradition in the mountains of Cramperaggi, an uninhabited island not yet discovered."

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CHAPTER II.

A Brief Sketch of Orientalism in English Literature
from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Present
Time.

In the nineteenth century occurs the romantic revival, the very nature of which is so elusive that no clear-cut definition has as yet been given. However Orientalism and pseudo-orientalism have been brought down into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The early translators, historians, travelers, and writers of the Oriental tales were forerunners of Coleridge, Southey, Moore, Scott, Byron, Mathew Arnold, Fitzgerald, Browning and Tennyson, who, in their turn, paved the way for Arnold and Kipling. As has been said, two of the great connecting links between the Orientalism of the eighteenth and that of the nineteenth century that are quite apparent are the "History of Charoba," the acknowledged inspiration of Landor's "Gebir", and "Vathek," with its great influence on Byron's work. Southey states his indebtedness to the "New Arabian Nights" for the idea of Thalaba. The strong appeal that

24. Southey, "Thalaba the Destroyer" in "Poetical Works," Boston, 1880, Vol. IV., p. 6.

the "Arabian Nights" made on Tennyson's youthful imagination is shown later in his poem "Recollections of the Arabian Nights."

Scott is not as Oriental as one might expect. He turned to medieval Europe to escape from conventional society. When he touches upon Oriental material it is because of its antiquity and its historical nature, as, for instance, in "Ivanhoe" the hint of the Turk is brought in only with his connection with the crusades. Stress is laid upon the Jew, at the present time somewhat prominent in English literature. Occasionally the Orient seems to predominate, as in "The Talisman," "The Surgeon's Daughter," "Count Robert of Paris," the arrow contest in "The Monastery" and in the Moorish element of "The Vision of Don Roderick." Scott sees nothing but the picturesque, the olden, and the historical side--not the sensuousness that Moore observes or the passions that attract Byron. Now and then there are passing references to the East, as in "Waverly"^E, Chapter V, the mention of Prince Hussien's tapestry and "Mal-ek's flying sentry box"; and in the introduction to "Quentin Durward," the mention of the "generous Aboulcasem."

Dickens felt the Eastern spell, for when a child he wrote a tragedy called "Misnar, the Sultan of India",

founded on the "Tales of Ginn."²⁵

Like Tennyson and Byron, Thackeray fell under the spell of the "Arabian Nights." In "Vanity Fair" he writes, "On a sunshiny afternoon....poor William Dobin.... was lying under a tree in the playground, spelling over a favorite copy of the "Arabian Nights"....apart from the rest of the school....quite lonely and almost happy....Dobbin had for once forgotten the world and was away with Sinbad the Sailor in the Valley of Diamonds or with Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Peribanon in that delightful cavern where the Prince found her, and whither we should all like to make a tour."²⁶ In "The Virginians" Hetty Lambert "brought out 'The Persian Tales' from her mamma's closet."²⁷ Harry Warrington in the same novel, writes home of reading "in French the translation of an Arabian Work of Tales, very diverting."²⁸ In "Roundabout Papers" there is an essay

25. Foster's "Life of Dickens."

26. Chapter V.

27. Chapter XXIII.

28. Chapter XXX.

"On a Lazy Idle Boy" in which Thackeray refers to a score of white bearded, white-robed warriors, or grave seniors of the city, seated at the gate of Joppa or Beyrout and listening to the story teller reciting his marvels out of "The Arabian Nights". Again in "Vanity Fair" Thackeray writes: "She (Becky) had a vivid imagination; she had, besides read the 'Arabian Nights' and 'Guthrie's Geography',²⁹ "The Eastern Sketches" contains many references to the pleasure Thackeray has always taken in the "Arabian Nights."

While Wordsworth, the Father of English Romanticism, has very little Orientalism in his works, in "The Prelude" he pays high tribute to the "Arabian Nights;" and when he learned that his volume of the "Arabian Nights" was but one of four, he, with a friend, saved enough money to buy the rest of the set. In one passage he says:

"A gracious spirit o'er the earth presides,
 And o'er the heart of man: invisibly
 It comes, to works of unimproved delight,
 And tendency benign, directing those
 Who care not, know not, think not what they do
 The Tales that charm away the wakeful night
 In Araby, romances; legends penned
 For solace by dim light of monkish lamps;

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Fictions, for ladies of their love devised
 By youthful squires; adventures endless,

Dumb yearnings, hidden appetites are ours
 And they must have their food."

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Wordsworth has a number of Hellenic poems, as Byron has but the great Romanticist is not Oriental. The Greek element is in a sense a medium between the truly Oriental and the Occidental; nearly all of the nineteenth century poets felt the Grecian influence and wrote some poems inspired thereby, but only those who by nature felt the "call of the East", as Kipling calls it, are truly Oriental.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) is one of the early Orientalists in the Romantic movement. He absorbed the witchery of the East and gave it forth to his English readers in his "Kubla Khan." "Kubla Khan" was printed in 1816 with "Christabel." It has been said that Coleridge printed "Kubla Khan" in deference to the wish of a distinguished poet--who was probably Byron. The circumstances of composition of the poem lend much to its witchery, for it was written under very peculiar conditions. Coleridge,

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 30. "The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth" edited by E. Dowden, London, 1893. Vol. VII, l. 460.

who had retired to a lonely farm for rest, fell asleep, under the influence of an anodyne, over a passage in Purchas's "Pilgrimage" describing how "in Xander did Cublai Can build a stately palace encompassing sixteene miles of plaine grounds with a wall." He composed from two hundred to three hundred lines, and upon awakening wrote down all that he could remember. It has been impossible for anyone, not even Coleridge himself, to finish this exquisite fragment in whose oriental glow seems to be the point where color and poetry meet. Swinburne very ably describes "Kubla Khan" when he says that the reader is rapt into that paradise where music, color and perfume are one, where you can hear the hues and see the harmonies of heaven with its absolute melody, splendor, and mysterious grandeur. It is a lyrical, Oriental, landscape fairy-tale, as the following quotation shows:

"Five miles meandering with a mazy motion
Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,
Then reached the caverns measureless ore man,
And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean.
And 'mid this tumult Kubla heard from far
Ancestral voices prophesying war!"

The Hebraic note occurs in Coleridge as in Byron, both writing of Cain, the character who has been and is a Biblical paradox. However, there is as much difference in

the literary treatment of the subject by the two poets as there could possibly be. Byron's Cain is a hero who is dramatic and torn by his passions, while the Cain of Coleridge's poem is poetic with a certain witchery in his character, that haunts the reader long after he has finished perusing the fragment.

Like the other poets of the romantic period, Robert Southey (1774-1843) did not find his escape alone in the Orient. The West called him and with Coleridge he planned to found an ideal colony on the banks of the Susquehanna River. Burns, too, planned definitely to come to America, while Wordsworth found his escape in quite life among the peasantry of the Lake region. In one early poem Southey imitated the style of the Persian as Byron did. The following lines show this tendency of Southey:

"Lord! who art merciful as well as just
 Incline thine ear to me a child of dust!
 Now what I would, O Lord! I offer thee,
 Alas! but what I can.
 Father Almighty, who hast made me man
 And bade me look to Heaven, for thou art there,
 Accept my sacrifice and humble prayer.
 Four things which are not in thy treasury,
 I lay before thee, Lord, with this petition--
 My sins, and my contrition."

From the "New Arabian Nights" Southey gains his idea for "Thalaba, the Destroyer," (1801). It has been termed a "wild and wondrous song", and for its kind is delightful, yet the poet seems to glean merely the supernatural from the East--he gained nothing vital as Byron did. The following lines from "Thalaba" suggest the supernatural:

"And up she raised her bright blue eyes,
 And fiercely she smiled on him;
 I thank thee, I thank thee, Hodierrah's son!
 I thank thee for doing what can't be undone,
 For binding theyself in the chain I have spun.
 Then from his head she wrenched
 A lock of his raven hair,
 And cast it in the fire,
 And cried aloud as it burnt,
 Sister! Sister! hear my voice!
 Sister! Sister! come and rejoice!
 The thread is spun,
 The prize is won,
 The work is done,
 For I have made captive Hodierrah's son."

"Thalaba" is founded on the Mohametan theology, while "The Curse of Kehama" is founded upon that of the Hindoo. "Thalaba" has more of a Moorish, or Arabian, than of an Oriental quality, while "The Curse of Kehama," which was very carefully planned both as to its simple verse form and the use of the monstrous fables in the religion of the Hindoos, is not Oriental, except in so far as it brings out the religious atmosphere of India. It is quite true that Byron noted Oriental religions, but he saw the spirit

back of the religion while Southey merely saw the remarkable peculiarities of the Indian worship. The following stanza is the nearest approach to Byron's fervor in the entire poem:

"Where, too, is she whom most his heart held dear
 His best-beloved Kailyal, where is she,
 The solace and the joy of many a year
 Of widowhood? Is she, then gone?
 And is he left all utterly alone
 To bear his blasting curse, and none
 To succor or deplore him?
 He staggers from the dreadful spot, the throng
 Give way in fear before him:
 Like one who carries pestilence about
 Shuddering they shun him where he moves along;
 And now he wanders on
 Beyond the noisy rout:
 He cannot fly, and leave his Curse behind;
 Yet doth he seem to find
 A comfort in the change of circumstance.
 Adown the shore he strays,
 Unknowing where his wretched feet shall rest:
 But farthest from the fatal place is best." 32

The finding of Kailyal by Euenia is the most beautiful passage in the entire poem, in fact it is perhaps the most exquisite passage in all of Southey's poems. Part of the description of hell is good.

Thomas Moore (1779-1852) had the Irish love for the supernatural and an interest in the unusual and remote.

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 32. Stanza II of the "Recovery" in the "Curse of Kehama."

Among his "National Airs" are included an Indian, the East Indian beginning "Come May", a Russian, Portuguese, Spanish, Cashmerian, Italian, Sicilian, Swiss, German, Swedish, Scotch, French, Old English, Maltese, Languedocian, Welsh, Venetian, Catalonian, Neapolitan, Savoyard, Mahrattan, and English. However, he does not weave in any national traits in the poems-- they are merely names. It is worthy of note that the Russian is listed: later in the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century the Russian note has become very important as a dynamic force in English literature. "The Indian", "The East Indian", and the "Cashmerian" do not have any characteristics of Orientalism about them.

"Lallah Rookh" was written in 1817. It is a constant succession of glittering, fanciful images which dazzle more than they enchant. Moore did not feel the Eastern withery as Coleridge did, nor the Oriental passion as Byron did; instead he saw only the gorgeous Eastern picturesqueness and no more. One of the best examples of this Oriental glow is in the following lines from "The Light of the Haram" in "Lallah Rookh."

"Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
 With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
 Its temples, and grottos, and fountains as clear
 As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave."

Oh! to see it at sunset--when warm o'er the Lake
 Its splendor at parting a summer eve throws,
 Like a bride, full of blushes, when ling'ring to take
 A last look of her mirror at night e'er she goes
 When the shrines through the foliage are gleaming,
 half shown

And each hallows the hour by some rites of its own.
 Here the music of prayer from a minaret swells,
 Here the Magian his urn, full of perfume, is swinging
 And here, at the altar, a zone of sweet bells
 Round the waist of some fair Indian dancer is ringing,
 Or to see it by moonlight,--when mellowly shines
 The light o'er its palaces, gardens and shrines:
 When the water-falls gleam, like a quick fall of stars
 And the nightingale's hymn from the Isle of Chenars
 Is broken by laughs and light echoes of feet
 From the cool shining walks where the young people
 meet.

Or at morn, when the magic of daylight awakes
 A new wonder each minute, as slowly it breaks,
 Hills, cupolas, fountains called forth every one
 out of darkness, as if but just born of the Sun
 When the spirit of Fragrance is up with the day
 From his Haram of night-flowers stealing away;
 And the wind full of wantonness, woos like a lover
 The young aspen trees, till they tremble all over.

Again Moore ^WWrites:

"Between the porphyry pillars, that uphold
 The rich moresque-work of the roof of gold,
 Aloft the Haram's curtain'd galleries rise,
 Where through the silken net-work, glancing eyes
 From time to time like sudden gleams that glow
 Through autumn clouds, shine o'er the pomp below."

There seems to be one great fault in Moore's brilliant moving pictures and that is the uniformity of their brilliancy; there are no shifting lights, no shadows, and each glittering seems just as bright as those that have preceded or those that are to follow; hence the magnificence of the scene becomes monotonous and tiresome. There is so

much ornament that nothing seems natural. As one of Moore's contemporaries says: "You cannot see the green turf for roses nor the blue heavens for stars." Moore is oriental in that he is sensuous, shimmering, and glittering. But although there is so much magnificence in "Lallah Rookh", still, as has been said, this sumptuousness does not hide the tenderness and pathos in the story of "Peri", the genuine patriotism in the fate of the "Fire Worshippers", nor the sweetness in the "Light of the Harem."

Walter Savage Landor (1775-1864) chanced upon Clara Reeve's "Charoba", and Arabian Romance relating to the mythic founder of Gibraltar, and on this he constructed an epic, "Gebir", in seven books, composed under the double inspiration of the great classics and Milton. "Gebir" is Oriental only in the fact that it deals with an Oriental legend and has a certain air of vastness that makes it Eastern.

"I will impart, far better will impart
 What makes, when Winter comes, the Sun to rest
 So soon on Ocean's bed his paler brow,
 And light to tarry so at Spring's return.
 And I will tell sometimes the fate of men
 Who loos'd from drooping neck the restless arm
 Adventurous, ere long nights had satisfied
 The sweet and honest avarice of love;
 How whirlpools have absorbed them, storms o'er-
 whelm'd
 And how amid their struggles and their prayers,
 The big wave blacken'd o'er the mouth supine." 33

Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) is Oriental; he is Oriental like Byron in that he found a kindred spirit in the restlessness in the East, its vagueness and vastness that knew no bounds. He absorbed from the East the unlimitedness, but nothing more, hence the Orient did not satisfy him; and he, like Byron breathed in the Grecian influence, although to a greater extent than Byron. Shelley like Byron loved Greece, but Byron from the freedom standpoint, Shelley more from the viewpoint of erudition. If Shelley had gone to Turkey instead of Italy he would have become Orientalized, for the East impressed his poetic nature. His poem "My Faint Spirit" is translated directly from the Arabic. There is a certain spirit of restlessness and a certain Eastern atmosphere in "The Indian Serenade" and "Lines to an Indian." "Alastor" has more Oriental atmosphere than any other of his poems; it is vague, vast, limitless and restless. The following lines show these characteristics:

"The poet, wandering on, through Arabii,
 And Persia, and the wild Carmanian waste,
 And O'er aerial mountains which pour down
 Indus and Oxus from their icy caves,
 In joy and exultation held his way;
 Till in the vale of Cashmire, far within
 Its loneliest dell, where odorous plants entwine
 Beneath the hollow rocks a natural bower,
 Beside a sparkling rivulet he stretched
 His languid limbs."

The spirit of restlessness is shown in the following lines:

"At night the passion came,
 Like the fierce fiend of a distempered dream,
 And shook him from his rest, and led him forth
 Into the darkness--As an eagle, grasped
 In folds of the green serpent, feels her breast
 Burn with the poison, and precipitates,
 Through night and day, tempest and calm and cloud
 Frantic with dizzying anguish, her blind flight
 O'er the wide aery wilderness; thus, driven
 By the bright shadow of that lovely dream,
 Beneath the cold glare of the desolate night,
 Through tangled swamps and deep precipitous dells
 Startling with careless step ~~the~~ moonlight snake,
 He fled. Red morning dawned upon his flight,
 Shedding the mockery of its vital hues
 Upon his cheek of death. He wandered on,
 Till vast Aornos, seen from Petra's steep
 Hung o'er the low horizon like a cloud;
 Through Balk, and where the desolated tombs
 Of Parthian kings scatter to every wind
 Their wasting dust, wildly he wandered on
 Day after day, a weary waste of hours,
 Bearing within his life the brooding care
 That ever fed on its decaying flame."

The Sonnet Ozymandias is entirely Oriental and perhaps shows the vastness of Shelley at its best:

"I met a traveller from an antique land
 Who said, 'Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
 Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,
 Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,
 And wrinkled lip, and sheer of cold command,
 Tell that its sculptor well those passions read
 Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,
 The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed,
 And on the pedestal these words appear,
 "My name is Ozymandias, King of Kings;
 Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!"
 Nothing besides remains. Round the decay
 Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
 The lone and level sands stretch far away."

John Keats (1795-1821) is not Oriental, but he is Grecian, in "Endymion" (1817), "Ode to the Grecian Urn", "Psyche" and other poems. Greece and her storehouse of art and literature appealed to Keats' boyish imagination because truth and beauty were there. He saw Greece in a very different way from Byron, as his poems show. This difference is explained very ably by Keats himself, when he says of Byron, "There is this great difference between us; he describes what he sees--I describe what I imagine. Mine is the hardest task: Now see the immense difference."³⁴ Greece to Byron is human; to Keats supernatural.

Keats has one sonnet, "To the Nile", which is his nearest approach to Orientalism--there is just a hint of the vastness, the unlimitable, that occurs in Shelley's Eastern verse. There is a mysterious element in "Lamia" (1820) where the mind is burned by the serpent woman awaiting the touch of Hermes to transform her, and in the agonized transformation itself. The palace reared by Lamia's magic, while merely a poetic dream, is suggestive of the "Arabian Nights."

34. Introduction by Robert Bridges, p. XCV, of "Poems of John Keats", London, 1896.

35. "Letters of John Keats," p. 301.

Tennyson (1809-1892) has both a love of the East inherited from his boyish reading, and a nature lowe of the legendary interest in the Orient. His "Recollections of Arabian Nights" shows the effect that his early reading of the "Arabian Nights" had upon him. It has been said that his "Recollections" is a "brilliant series of poetical magic lantern slides that move before us to a music equally brilliant; probably there is no more striking achievement of musical word-painting in the language." Tennyson shows that in this poem he was influenced both by Coleridge and Shelley, for he has the witchery of the former together with the restlessness and vagueness of the latter. The witchery of Coleridge is shown in the following lines:

"Black the garden-bowers and grots
 Slumbered; the solemn palms were ranged
 Above, unwoo'd of summer wind;
 A sudden splendour from behind
 Flush'd all the leaves with rich gold-green
 And, flowing rapidly between
 Their interspaces, counterchanged
 The level lake with diamond-plots
 Of dark and bright. A lovely time,
 For it was in the golden prime
 Of Good Haroun Arashchid."

Shelley's vastness and vagueness are shown in the following lines from Tennyson's "Recollections:

"Dark-blue the deep sphere overhead
 Distinct with vivid stars inlaid
 Grew darker from that under-flame;"

In the "Defense of Lucknow" and "Balaclava" Tennyson is dealing with England and India, but both poems are decidedly English--only a few names are Indian. In his "Montenegro" he deals with reference to Turkish tyranny. In "The Cup" Tennyson deals with Plutarch's story of episode during the Roman conquest of Gallatia; Synorix an ex-Tetrach tries to win Camma, wife of Sinnatus, a Tetrach, through treachery, and in the end, meets his fate by drinking from the betrothal cup which contains poisoned wine. The story is Roman and Oriental merely in the legend and names being Eastern and scenes Oriental.

"Akbar's Dream" deals with the great Mogul Emperor (1542-1605) who tolerated various religions and whose abhorrence of religious persecution shamed the people of Europe. He invents a new eclectic religion which was to unite all creeds, castes and peoples; it was "to hunt the tiger of oppression out." Tennyson writes of Akbar in a meditative way, but one hardly realizes that Akbar is an Oriental, he seems so Occidental in spirit.

James Thomson (1834-1882), like Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray loved the "Arabian Nights" when a boy. With ref-

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erence to his poem "The City of the Dreadful Night" Thomson says: "The city of the statues is from the tale of Zobeide in the History of the "Three Ladies of Bagdad" and the "Three Calendars." This episode and the account of the Kingdoms of the Sea in "Prince Bedir"impressed my boyhood more powerfully than anything else in the "Arabian Nights"³⁷.

Mathew Arnold (1822-1888) gives the fatalism of Orientalism together with Eastern atmosphere. "The Sick King of Bokara" is his most successful Oriental attempt. Such bits of description as "green water in the tanks is to a putrid puddle turned", "A darksome place under the mulberry trees," "fevered sick", and "stagnant water", give an Oriental tone. The beggar is contrasted with the king, the religious fanatic with the humanitarian, the king with the vizier who stands for worldly wisdom. Fatalism in the East is brought out in the following pleas that the vizier makes to the king:

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37. "Poetical Works" of James Thomson, edited by B. Dobell, in 2 vols. London, 1895. Vol. II, p. 109.

"The Kaffirs also (whom God curse)
 Vex one another night and day;
 There are the lepers, and all sick;
 There are the poor, who faint away,

All these have sorrow and keep still,
 Whilst other men make cheer, and sing,
 Wilt thou have pity on all these?
 No, nor on this dead dog, O King!"

Arnold felt that "Sohrab and Rustum" was his best work. He found the story in the Teutonic cycles and worked it out in a Homeric way using many Homeric similies. However Arnold brings in the Oriental atmosphere in the local color that he gets from Sir John Malcolm's "History of Persia" and weaves in as settings for his dramatic scenes. In the following lines Arnold gives the Oriental note of fatalism in Rustum's passionate lament:

"O, that its waves were flowing o'er me!
 O, that I saw its grain of yellow silt
 Roll tumbling in the current o'er my head."

The Hebraic note is touched in Arnold's "The Scythian Grave" and "A Scythian Banquet Song." The latter very strongly shows the influence of Byron upon Arnold, for the poem is, in a way, an imitation of Byron's "Giaour". It seems perfectly reasonable for Byron to affect Arnold, for the latter considered Byron the very greatest of the romantic poets.

Robert Browning (1812-1889) absorbed the wisdom of the Orient and in his expression of this wisdom, he is didactic and philosophical. In "Ferishtah's Fancies" he is very didactic, and has reverence for wisdom, as the following lines show:

"The sun rode high. 'During our ignorance'--
 Began Ferishtah--'fold esteemed as God
 Yon orb: for argument, suppose him so--
 Be it the symbol, not the symbolized,
 I and thou safelier take upon our lips.
 Accordingly, yon orb that we adore--
 What is he? Author of all light and life:
 Such one must needs be somewhere: this is he,
 Like what? If I may trust my human eyes,
 A ball composed of spirit-fire, whence springs
 All I enjoy on earth. By consequence, 38
 Inspiring me with--what? Why, love and praise."

Again Browning writes:

"Man's way--must make man's due acknowledgment
 No other, even while he reasons out
 Plainly enough that, were the man unmarried,
 Mde angel of, angelic every way,
 The love and praise that rightly seek and find
 Their man--like object now,--instructed more,
 Would go forth idly, air to emptiness." 39

In "Saul" Browning brings in the Hebrew element, but it is the wisdom of Saul and not his passion that Browning depicts. Like Moore, Browning sounds the Russian note. In

38. The Sun in "Ferishtah's Fancies."

39. Ibid.

his "Ivan Ivanovitch" the Russian element possibly is the first clear example of an interest that develops through the remainder of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The Jewish element is brought out strongly in "Jochanan Hakkadosh," "The Epistle of Karshish," "Rabbi Ben Ezra," "A Death in the Desert", "Luria" "Return of the Druses," "Solomon and Balkis," "Ben Karsook's Wisdom" and "Through the Metidja" are all Oriental to a greater or less extent. One of the most striking of his Oriental poems is "Muleykeh"; Byronic passion is just hinted at toward the close of the poem. The atmosphere, the treatment of the theme and the diction make the story seem realistic and vital, although Browning shows less his craving for the wisdom of the East in this poem than in any of his other Oriental poems. Such phrases as "his blood turns flame," "Bukeyseh is mad with hope" and "is crazed past hope" are Byronic in tone.

Edwin Arnold (1832-1904) breathed in the religion of the East. His two Oriental works, "The Light of the World" (1891) and "The Light of Asia" (1879) are semi-ethical Oriental epics. The greater of these, "The Light of Asia," deals with the gospel of Buddha; in reality the poem is the life of Buddha by a hero-worshipper who is not ashamed

to own his devotion. The mysteries of the religion are treated in an interesting and sympathetic manner. Arnold is like Byron only in so far as he is sympathetic with the East. The following are typical lines from "The Light of Asia" and show Eastern local color.

"O ye palms! which rise
 Eager to pierce the sky and drink the wind
 Blown from Malays and the cool blue seas,
 What secret know ye that ye grow content,
 From time of tender shoot to time of fruit,
 Murmuring such sun-songs from your feathered
 crowns?
 Ye, too, who dwell so merry in the trees,
 Quick darting parrots, bee-birds, bulbuls, doves,
 None of yet hate your life, none of ye deem
 To strain to better by foregoing needs!"

The religious teachings of Buddha are shown in this quotation from the "Light of Asia."

"But Buddha softly said,
 'Let him not strike, great King, and therewith
 loosed
 The victim's bonds, none staying him, so great
 His presence was. Then, craving leave, he spake
 Of life, which all can take, but none can give,
 Wonderful, dear and pleasant unto each,
 Even to the meanest; yes, a boon to all
 Where pity is, for pity makes the world
 Soft to the weak and noble to the strong."

Orientalism in English literature appeared in a new light when the "Rubaiyat" of Omar Khayyam was translated, very incorrectly, however, by Edward Fitzgerald of London, in 1859. Fitzgerald brought out a second edition in 1872 and a third in 1879. The first critical edition was edited by E.H. Whinfield in 1883. In France, Garcin de Tassy's

book, "Note sur les Rubaiyat de Omar Khaiyam" was edited in Paris in 1857. The praise of the Deity, the love of wine, and the power of song made the old philosopher's work popular. Omar's passionate denunciations of a malevolent and inexorable fate which dooms to slow decay or sudden death and to internal oblivion all that is great, good, and beautiful in this world suggests Byron. There is also a suggestion of Swinburne and Schopenhauer in many of the quatrains. Hence the modern pessimist is by no means a novel creature in the realm of philosophic thought and poetic imagination. Some of the quatrains that are suggestive of Byron are the following:

"Alike for those to-day prepare
 And those after some to-morrow stars,
 A Muezzin from the Tower of Darkness cries
 'Fools' your Reward is neither Here nor There."

"Why, if the Soul can fling the Dust aside,
 And naked on the Air of Heaven ride,
 Were't not a Shame--were't not a shame for him
 In this clay carcass crippled to abide?"

"We are no other than a moving row
 Of Magic Shadow-shapes that come and go
 Round with the Sun-illumined Lantern held
 In Midnight by the Master of the Show."

Mr. Rudyard Kipling, who was born in 1865 and is still living, is our great modern Orientalist. He is great as a poet, if one considers realism the greatest poetic quality, and great as a short story writer, but first of all

he is great as a journalist. He shows the journalistic method in his keen observations and the interesting way in which he records them. For eyars England had been sending the flower of her army to India, but the English people knew little of the East, the realistic East. The poets with the exeption of Byron had not invaded the Orient and sang only of what they had heard of the East. Byron did not live long enough in the Orient to bring in all of the Eastern characteristics in his works; he merely absorbed the spirit and passion which he breathed out with as much strength and fervor as was possible for a man of his time. In reality he paved the way for Kipling. Kipling, in a way, is like Wordsworth in that he educated his people to his way of thinking, his vision, his ideal; but Wordsworth's public is limited because the romanticist appealed merely to the cultured, thoughtful, literary people; while Kipling is read and admired by many classes--from the small school-boy to Lord Randolph Churchill, who had, in his valuable library all of the books that Kipling had published up to the time of the publishing of "Soldiers Three." The latter book was being spiritedly criticised, yet Churchill said,⁴⁰ "I want to read all of the "Soldiers Three " stories."

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 40. G. F. Monkshood, "Rudyard Kipling", London, 1899, p. 105.

England finally forgot the mystic India of the poets and began to see the real India--Kipling practically gave England India. He sang boldly of the bowery maids, the ignorant British soldier in India, Tommy Atkins, the geography of the country, the climate, and the characteristics of the natives themselves. "At the End of the Passage" has the "awful" description of heat in India; then, too, it deals with the mysticism of the country. "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney" deals with the religious madness of the East. "Gentlemen Rankers" and "The Little Government Clerk" give the effect of India on the white man, a fact that England could not understand until these stories were written. "Fray Wara Von Dee" shows in lurid light the unrelenting hatred of the East where their women-folk are concerned: "it is a fearful 'conte a trois coins'".⁴¹ "At the Pit's Mouth", "A Wayside Comedy," and "The Hill of Illusion" have "the pessimism of Russia, the despair of Norway, and the persiflage of Paris."⁴² The "Phantom Rickshaw" is one of the most gruesome tales of the haunting spirits

41. Monkshood, op.cit., p. 121.

42. Monkshood, op. cit., p. 127

of the East; it could have been written by no other than Kipling except Poe. In "Plain Tales" Simla is a revelation of the geographical and climatic conditions in India.

Kipling's poems are Oriental as well as Occidental. "Mandalay" breathes out romance, melody, passion, and the calling of the East to the British soldier; "Danny Deever" has the tragic shiver and mournful music of the Orient; both "Fuzzy Wuzzy" and "Tommy" have delicious humor, biting irony, and Eastern spirit. "In Pagett, M.P." the satiric element is amusing because it is so true; "the name of the slayer of Abel spelt with an added e occurs to one instantly on reading about the fluent man who came on a four months visit to study the East in November and spoke of the heat of India as the Asia Solar Myth." Later he had his after troubles with sand-flies, mosquitoes, dust-storms liver-fever and dysentery. Kipling writes in "Pagett M.P.":

"And I laugh as I drove from the station; but the
mirth died out on my lips
As I tho't of the folks like Pagett who write of
their 'Eastern trips,'
And the sneers of the traveled idots who duly misgov-
ern the land;
And I prayed to the Lord to deliver another one
into my hand."

This is the sort of note that awakened England to the reality of India.

From "The Ballad of the King's Jest" there are lines that, although having a lifeless beat in the complets, still have a certain Eastern atmosphere, as in the following, for example:

"When springtime flushes the desert grass
Our Kafilas wind through the Kyhber Pass
Lean are the camels but fat the fralls
Light are the purses but heavy the bales
And the snow-bound trade of the North come down
To the market square of Pishawar town."

This gives the twentieth century commercial aspect that is so vital to the progressive British Empire. To us, the most truly Oriental of all of his poems is "The Dove of Dacca," which appeared in the now dead "National Observer." The story is taken from the Bengal legend which is as follows: "A Hindoo Raja, the last of his race is attacked by Mohammadan invaders. He goes out bravely to meet his enemies, carrying with him a pigeon, whose return to the palace is to be regarded by his family as an intimation of defeat, and as a signal to burn the palace and put themselves to death. The Raja wins the battle, but, while he is stooping by a river to drink, the bird escapes and flies home. The Raja gallops madly back in pursuit but is barely in time to hurl himself upon the all consuming pyle." The

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43. Monkshood, op. cit., p. 101.

wretched catastrophe has the horror of the Orient together with its customs and ideals.

Thus, Kipling is an Orientalist in the broadest sense possible owing to the fact that he has not only traveled in the East but has lived there so long that he understands believes and feels the mystic Orient as no other English writer has. Judging him from a realistic standpoint, he gives to English literature all of the Orientalism that we can hope for, because he touches all the great phases of the East--the weirdness, mysticism, erudition, ideas, ideals, commercial possibilities, geographical and climatic conditions, legends, spirit and passion; and, in one word, the Oriental life itself.

The present Oriental tendency is to introduce the luxuriance of the East in modern dramas, also to contrast the Oriental with the Occidental characters. In the "Garden of Allah" the soul of the little English missionary with her dainty ways and high ideals communes with that of the barbaric sheik in the desert. Philips' "Ulysses" gives us the strong Greek traits; the scenes and the characters are Grecian and the dramatist attempts to have a Grecian atmosphere pervade everything. The latest Oriental play, Tully's "Omar, the Tentmaker," narrates the life

history of the Persian poet. The plot is so intricate that its interest is lost before the middle of the play. "A harrowing discord is induced by weaving many of Fitzgerald's quatrains, with their rhythm ruined by elisions and interpolations, into the fabric of the author's pedestrian prose."⁴⁴ However many of the scenes are exceedingly beautiful and admirably lighted especially the first act which shows us a Persian garden at the sunset hour.

"Thus the Oriental element still captivates the English mind. The mystical Eastern atmosphere crops out in the lyric, the epic, the novel, and the drama; the greatness of the influence of the Orient is felt by present-day writers just as it was felt by Beckford and Byron; only, of course, it is modified to coincide with twentieth century points of view.

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44. "The Bookman", March, 1914. p. 64.

CHAPTER III.

Formative Influences, 1788-1811.

A close study of the life and writings of Lord Byron serves only to deepen our regret that we can meet him only through the medium of books. Could we but rend the veil of over a century and see the real man, the man whose genius and personality brought all Europe to his feet, it would be comparatively easy to settle some of the questions that now at least can only be a matter of conjecture. Even Byron's contemporaries judge him incorrectly. Most of his life his countrymen were especially incapable of estimating him consistently. The idol of the English literary public, he became the object of popular detestation. Yet, notwithstanding his exile and the audacity of his poetry, he continued to be read almost universally even in England.

In the face of such conflicting sentiment it is not strange that biographers and critics often differ in regard to Lord Byron. Especially does this difference of opinion manifest itself in regard to his marital troubles.

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45. Moore's "Life" (1830 edition), pp. 652-655, contains an interesting account of the abuse and calumny heaped upon Byron in the year 1816.

Happily we can almost disregard this aspect of his life in the present study. In one respect, however, all critics and biographers are agreed; namely, that Byron is a child of the Orient.⁴⁶ Indeed this opinion has been so general that comparatively few have attempted to trace the numerous circumstances and influences that destined him to find inspiration in the East.⁴⁷ To do this with any degree of success it is necessary to introduce the biographical element to a certain extent. Indeed Byron's poetry is an excellent autobiography. It shall be our first task to show that when Byron in 1809 started on his travels, he was simply yielding to the magnetic Eastern spell to which he was by inclination, temperament, and circumstances so highly susceptible.

If there is anything in heredity, Byron came honestly by his remarkable interest in "lands beyond the sea."⁴⁸ His ancestors were a rather restless, unsettled, turbulent crew.⁴⁹ He inherited a rebellious spirit. "For unbridled passions, defiant self-will, arrogant contempt of the re-

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46. See Appendix A.

47. See Appendix A.

48. See "Byron, A Study in Heredity", by C. Kassel, "Arena", Vol. XXXVI. p. 175.

49. See Appendix A.

ceived order of things and the world's opinion, associated with high endowments and much resolute energy of character, formed the inauspicious inheritance which in full measure, accumulated on the head of the poet." Nor was there anything in his life as child, youth or man, to soften or assuage this discontent. He was born in London, January 22, 1788. From the very first his home life was unhappy. His father after a questionable career died in France in 1791. His physical deformity rendered him singularly sensitive. His mother by alternate outbreaks of love and rage lost both the child's affection and respect. The boy became more attached to his nurse, May Gray, than to his mother, and it was from her that he received his first instruction and training. Very early she gained an influence over his mind from which he, strange to say, rarely rebelled.

At this its most receptive state, the boy's mind was

50. Elze's "Life", p. 1.

51. Moore. The date of Byron's death has received much discussion, for account of which see Elze's "Life", p. 438.

52. All biographies of Byron contain accounts of his club foot.

53. See Appendix A.

filled with all sorts of tales of adventure and travel. The stories about his grandfather, "Foulweather Jack", appealed to his childish imagination. That he was familiar with the details of the celebrated admiral's life is evidenced by the lines in his "Epistle to Augusta:"

"A strange doom is thy father's son's, and part
 Recalling, as it lies beyond redress
 Reversed from him our grandsire's fate of yore
 He had no rest on sea, nor I on shore."

It has also been asserted that the description of the shipwreck in the second canto of "Don Juan" ⁵⁴ is based on a similar experience of his grandfather. The trend of the boy's mind at an early age is indicated by the fact that he attended a little party in the summer of 1803 dressed "in the costume of a Turkish boy with a diamond crescent ⁵⁵ in his turban."

Of Byron's schooling both in childhood and youth we will say but little. He was somewhat deficient in love of study and perseverance. His tendency at all times was to interest himself in what he pleased. Learning to read put

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54. See biographical sketch of Byron, p. XI, Cambridge edition of Byron's Poetical Works. In a letter to Murray, his publisher, Byron says that this description was not taken from facts of one but several wrecks. "Letters and Journals", Vol. V. p. 246.

55. Jeaffreson, "The Real Lord Byron."

a new world at his command. He became an almost insatiable reader. Books of history and travel he devoured greedily and either by choice or chance he became most deeply interested in the life of the East.

It is not difficult to perceive the tremendous influence the "Arabian Nights" and other Turkish tales must have had upon him. In 1807 he made from memory a list of books he had read.⁵⁶ This remarkable list is singularly comprehensive, embracing the more important works in history, biography, law, geography, poetry, eloquence, divinity, and the like. Particularly suggestive in his comment upon Turkey:⁵⁷ "I have read Knolles⁵⁸ Sir Paul Rycant,⁵⁹ and Also Prince Cantimir; besides a more modern history anonymous. Of the Ottoman History I know every event from Tangralopi, and afterwards Othman to the peace of Passarowitz in 1718, the battle of Cutzka in 1739, and the treaty between Russian and Turkey in 1790." After enumerating the various poets of Europe, ancient and modern, with whom

56. Moore's "Life", Vol. I. pp. 95-101.

57. See Appendix A.

58. See Appendix A.

59. See Appendix A.

60. Othman I founded the Turkish Empire in 1300.

he is familiar, he goes on with his list to other parts of the globe. ⁶¹ "Arabia, Mahomet, whose Koran contains most sublime passages, far surpassing European poetry. Persia, ⁶² Ferdousi author of the Shah Nameh, the Persian Iliad, ⁶³ Sadi and ⁶⁴ Hafiz the Oriental Anacreon. The last is revered beyond any bard of ancient or modern times by the Persians who resort to his tomb near Shiraz, to celebrate his memory. A splendid copy of his works is chained to his monument."

At the close of the list Byron writes; "All the books enumerated I have taken down from memory. I recollect reading them, and can quote passages from any mentioned. I have, of course, omitted several in my catalogue; but the greatest part of the above I perused before the age of fifteen. I have also read (to my regret at present) above four thousand novels, including the works of Cervantes,

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61. Moore's "Life", Vol. I, p. 100.
62. Ferd^ousi was a celebrated Persian poet born about 940 A. D. He was the author of the "Shah Nameh", "Book of Kings", a rhymed history of Persia consisting of about 60,000 couplets.
63. Sadi was a noted Persian Poet (1184-1291)
64. See Appendix A.

Fielding, Smollet, Richardson, Mackenzie, Sterne, Rabelais,
 65
 Rousseau."

One fails to appreciate the significance of this reading unless one examines the list oneself. As Moore comments, "The list is, unquestionably, a remarkable one-- and when we recollect that the reader of all of these volumes was, at the same time, the possessor of a retentive memory, it may be doubted whether, among what are called the regularly educated, the contenders for scholastic honors and prizes, there could be found a single one who, at the same age, has possessed anything like the same stock
 66
 of useful knowledge." Moreover, as we shall have occasion to observe, Byron continued to be throughout his life an indefatigable reader. In his letters and journals we are continually finding references to some book he has read or
 67
 is about to read. At present, however, we are more con-

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 65. Moore's "Life", Vol. I. p. 90.

66. See Appendix A.

67. Unless otherwise stated all references to Byron's letters and journals will be found in Rowland E. Prothero's 6 volume edition, 1898. In Vol. VI, p. 500, begins a long list of books and authors that Byron refers to in his letters.

cerned with determining the influence of his earlier reading in directing his attention toward the East. No better witness is available than Byron himself.

"Old Knolles" he said in Missolonghi, a few weeks before his death, "was one of the first books that gave me pleasure as a child; and I believe it had much influence on my future wishes to visit the Levant and gave, perhaps, the Oriental coloring which is observed in my poetry."⁶⁸
 He again remarks, "Knolles, Cantimir, De Tott, Lady M. W. Montague,⁷⁰ Hawkins⁷¹ "Translation from Mignot's History of the Turks,"⁷² the "Arabian Nights," all travels or histories, or books upon the East, I could meet with, I had read as well as Bycant,⁷³ before I was ten years old." In 1784

68. "Count Camba's Narrative."

69. Francois De Tott (1733-1793) was connected with the French embassy at Constantinople. He resided many years in Turkey. His "Memoirs of the Turks and Tartars", 1785, attained great popularity and was translated into many languages.

70. See Appendix A.

71. Vincent Mignot, a French writer, was born in 1725. In 1771 he published a "History of the Ottoman Empire from its Origin to the Peace of Belgrade in 1740."

72. Those who have read the "Arabian Nights" will readily understand how Byron treated it.

73. Byron wrote these few words on the margin of his copy of Disraeli's essay on "The Literary Character."

Beckford's "Vathek" appeared. "Vathek" is, as an Eastern Tale, a masterpiece unrivalled in European literature. In one of his diaries Byron says of it, "Vathek" was one of the tales I had a very early admiration of. For correctness of costume, beauty of description, and power of imagination, it far surpasses all European imitations. As an Eastern tale even "Rasselas" must bow before it: his "Happy Valley" will not bear a comparison with the "Hall of Eblis." As we shall see later in "The Giaour", "The Siege of Corinth", "Manfred," and "Don Juan," Byron owes very much direct inspiration to "Vathek." In line 275, Canto 1, of "Child Harold" he refers to Beckford in the passage beginning:

"There thou too Vathek! England's wealthiest son"

Having considered some of the positive influences, we shall now concern ourselves with some of the negative in-

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74. See Paul Elmer More's essay on Beckford in "The Drift of Romanticism," also Robert Melville's "Life of Beckford," p. 240.
75. See 1832 edition of "Works of Lord Byron" by Thos. Moore, note on l. 22, Canto 1, of "Child Harold."
76. Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas" had appeared in 1759.

fluences that resulted in Byron's coming in actual contact with the East--negative influences in the sense that they made England distasteful to him.

Up to the time he attained his majority Byron's life had been a mixture of gaiety and grief, nor was there much change for the better in later years. Augusta Leigh⁷⁷ seemed to be his only confidante. He could not endure the presence of his mother.⁷⁸ The disastrous terminations of various love affairs had wounded him deeply. His first appearance in the House of Lords was anything but auspicious. His dislike, we might say his contempt for, Cambridge is too well known to require comment. Add to all this the inadequacy of his income to support him in the style he wished and one is not surprised that the young poet desired a change.

Byron first speaks of completing his education abroad in a letter to his mother, Feb. 26, 1806. "I can now leave it (Cambridge) with honour, as I have paid everything, and wish to spend a couple of years abroad, where I am certain

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77. Augusta Byron was the poet's half sister. She married Colonel Leigh.

78. See "Letters and Journals" to Augusta Byron, Aug. 6, 1805. (Vol. 1. p. 72), Nov. 6, 1805, (Vol. I, p. 81) Letter John M. B. Pigot, Aug. 9, 1806, (Vol. I, pp. 159-163).

of employing my time to far more advantage and at much less expense than at our English seminaries." From then on until his actual departure in 1809 this idea steadily grew. His dislike for England in general and Cambridge in particular did not abate. In October, 1808, we find him writing to his mother of "my departure for persia in March (or May at farthest).⁸⁰ A little later he expresses his purpose plainly in a letter to John Hanson,⁸¹ "I am (as I have already told you) going abroad in the Spring; for this I have many reasons. In the first place I wish to study Asiatic policy and manners." He then proceeds to express his dislike of his present mode of living and explains how a tour in the East would be cheaper. In another letter to Hanson,⁸² May 15, 1809, he directs him to adopt any means to furnish some money and adds, "Allow me to depart from this accursed country and I promise to turn Mussulman rather than return to it."⁸³ On the eve of his departure he wrote his mother

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79. See Mayne's "Life" Chap. VI and VII. Compare "Granta, A Medley", in "Hours of Idleness."

80. Letters and Journals", Vol. I, p. 96.

81. John Hanson was his business administrator.

82. Letters and Journals", Vol. I. p. 199.

83. Ibid., Vol. XII.

that he tho't some of entering the Turkish service. ⁸⁴

Byron's dislike for England reached its height when the "Edinburgh Review" published the since famous criticism of his earlier poetical efforts. This antipathy never left him. "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" came from the heart. While waiting at Falmouth for his ship he wrote Hodgson, "I leave England without regret--I shall return to it without pleasure." ⁸⁵ Later in life, during his residence in Italy, he expressed this sentiment more forcibly in a letter to Thomas Moore: "I do not see an Englishman in half a year, and when I do, I turn my horse's head the other way." ⁸⁶ And yet Byron counted some true friends among his countrymen. That he did not leave England without at least a temporary feeling of regret the following lines bear witness:

"I can't but say it is an awful sight
To see one's native land receding through⁸⁷
The growing waters; it unmans one quite." ⁸⁷

84. "Letters and Journals", Vol. XII.

85. Ibid., Vol. XII.

86. Ibid., Vol. XII.

87. Byron expresses a similar sentiment in the lines beginning "Adieu, Adieu, my native shore."

Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" served effectually to silence his critics. Though in later life he regretted much of it and even had it suppressed, yet at the time of publication it at once secured for him recognition as a poet. It was a thoroughly Popean production⁸⁸ In a note on lines 707-708, Byron pays tribute to "Hafiz" the Persian Anacreon, "What would be the sentiments of the Persian Anacreon, Hafiz, could he rise from his splendid sepulchre at Shiraz(where he reposes with Ferdousi and Sadi; the Oriental Homer and Catullus) and behold his name⁸⁹ assumed by one Dodmore." The following lines are also rather significant in this discussion:

"Then let us soar to-day; no common theme
No Eastern vision, no distempered dream
Inspires."⁹⁰

In 1816 Byron said of these lines:--"This must have⁹¹ been written in a spirit of prophecy."

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88. "As for the smaller fry that swim in shoals,
From silly Hafiz up to simple Bowles."

89. Byron's notes on lines 707-708.

90. "English Bards," lines 23 and 24.

91. Coleridge's "Works of Lord Byron". Vol. I, p. 299.

On the second of July, 1809, with his friend, Hobhouse he sailed from England. His feelings at this time are best described in the opening stanzas of "Childe Harold."

CHAPTER IV.

Results of the Formative Influences on Lord Byron's Later
Work, 1811-1824.

Byron returned to England rather unexpectedly in July,
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 1811. He had intended to spend at least another year in
 the East. It is probable that financial troubles brought
 him home. That he was completely charmed by the exotic
 life in the East his numerous letters written at that time
 testify. In his last letter to his mother before returning
 he expressed some intention of making his future home a-
 93
 mong such pleasant scenes. Many years later speaking of
 his attachment for the East he said to Medwin: "I should
 most likely have spent the remainder of my life in Turkey
 94
 if I had not been called home."

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 92. See Appendix A.

93. In a letter to his mother dated Athens, Feb. 28th, 1811, he speaks of visiting Egypt in the Spring. His next letter to her is written on board ship for home, June 25th. "Letters and Journals", Vol. I, p. 310.

94. Medwin's "Conversations" p. 102, 1824, edition. In a letter to F. Hodgson on board the frigate "Vulgate" for home, Byron says. "I am returning home without a hope, and almost without a desire."

turkey seemed to make an irresistible appeal to him; impressions received there were never effaced. Years later in Italy he speaks of scenes in Turkey as if he had seen them yesterday: "But Paestum cannot surpass the ruins of Agrigentum, which I saw by moonlight; nor Naples, Constantinople. You have no conception of the beauty of the twelve islands where the Turks have their country houses, or of the blue Sympligades against which the Bosphorus beats with such restless violence." ⁹⁵ Much to our regret it has been impossible in this brief discussion to enter minutely into the details of that memorable tour. Byron's own letters, however, and the zeal of his biographers render that task superfluous. It is more to our purpose to observe the results of that tour, to meet Byron upon his return, to trace some of the workings of that gorgeous, passionate Eastern witchery, that enabled Byron to appear for a time at least, almost a demigod.

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95. Medwin's "Conversations," p. 10.

Byron wished to publish "Hints from Horace" upon his return. As yet he seemed unconscious of the vast power the East had awakened in him. ⁹⁶ It was only upon the earnest solicitation of friends that he consented to publish the first two cantos of "Child Harold." Even then he was unable to subscribe his name to the first edition, which was not published until March 1, 1812. In the meantime Byron's misfortunes had not come singly. His mother died August 11 1811, before he had left London for Newstead. A day or so later he heard of the death of one of his dearest friends, ⁹⁷ Charles Skinner Mathews. He now considered himself practically alone in the world. A letter to F. C. Davis at this time is particularly expressive: "Some curse hangs over me and mine. My mother lies a corpse at this house; one of my best friends is drowned in a ditch-- What can I say, think or do." ⁹⁸ The remainder of the letter is an exordium of Mathews; his mother is not mentioned again. August 12th we find him writing to Dallas, "Peace be with the

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96. E. C. Mayne's "Life."

97. See "Letters and Journals". Vol. I, pp. 150-160.

98. Ibid., Vol. I. p. 324.

dead; regret cannot awake them. With a sigh to the departed
 99
 let us resume the dull business of life." This he did.

The miraculous success of "Childe Harold" and the fact that Byron awoke one morning to find himself famous are so well known that they need no comment. He had been slow to realize the fertility of the East for poetic purposes; once realized there came from his pen an exhilarating, overmastering deluge of Oriental splendor after the publication of "Child Harold". The literary world was dazzled, intoxicated by Byron, who appeared as a radiant sun, which, journeying over a bed of fragrant fire, had absorbed the choicest sparks and was now dropping them one by one upon an inflammable world beneath. As the brightness of fire is sometimes obscured by its smoke, so was Byron's fame obscured by the clouds of calumny; the flame of Byron's poetic genius, almost extinguished in 1816, rekindled in "Sunny Italy" and blazed with triumphant, mocking brilliancy until at last in Greece it sweetly flickered out.

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Byron's "Poetic Romances" or "Tales, Chiefly Oriental"

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99. "Letters and Journals." Vol. I. p. 325.

100. This title, "Tales Chiefly Oriental" was used later and also included "The Prisoner of Chillon, Mazeppa" and "The Island," which are not Oriental tales. Those mentioned above are generally considered as such and give reason for the title.

were written between 1812 and 1816. To us they are the most important of his writings because of their evident and avowed Orientalism and because of the impetus they gave to Oriental literature. Comparatively little of Byron's later poetry is without this "Oriental coloring,"¹⁰¹ but it is principally in "The Giaour", "The Bride of Abydos," "The Corsair," "The siege of Corinth," and the opening cantos of "Don Juan" that we are introduced to Eastern life in its essentials. Studying Byron's Orientalism is like entering a vast labyrinth; seeking treasures in its intricate mazes we become lost or overloaded and never bring them to the light of day. By finding too much we are apt to retain too little. Rather than lose our way in the tempting Oriental wilderness we shall confine our attention to the more conspicuous and more easily accessible landmarks, content in our hasty survey with an occasional glimpse into the depths. Before examining the "Oriental Tales" in detail we will note some of their more striking characteristics.

In Byron's oriental poetry, as we have before remarked, it is the portrayal of emotional character that attracts.

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101. Mayne's "Life", p. 55.

This trait is more predominating in his "Tales" than in "Don Juan." The former were written in the first, feverish flush of success, the latter was composed with the more deliberate decision, thus showing poetical perfection. The "Tales" show the warmth of the ardent disciple; "Don Juan" exhibits the sportive tenderness of the complacent master.¹⁰² In the earlier pictures we see Byron crude, yet entirely alive; in the later sketches we see Byron polished, gayly, and cynically retrospective. In "Don Juan" character and action are in a way subservient to description and interpretation; in "The Corsair," "The Giaour," "Lara," and "The Bride," description and interpretation are made essential to character and action. In each of the poems we are impressed with the air of vivid reality.

Contemporary comment at the time of the publication of the "Tales" is interesting. "In Lord Byron's poetry, every image is distinct and glowing, as if it were illuminated by its native sunshine; and in the figures which people the landscape we behold not only the general forms

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102. Of course reference is to those parts of the poem dealing with the East.

and costume, but the countenance, the attitude, and the play of feature and of gesture accompanying and indicating the sudden impulses of momentary feelings. The magic of coloring by which this is effected is, perhaps, the most striking evidence of the poetic talent.¹⁰³ Another reviewer says, "Lord Byron has the clear title to applause, in the spirit and beauty of his diction and versification, and the splendor of many of his descriptions. But it is to his picture of the stronger passions, that he is indebted for the fullness of his fame. He has delineated with unequalled form and fidelity, the workings of deep and powerful emotions, which enchant and agonize the minds that are exposed to their inroads."¹⁰⁴ Jeffrey draws the following striking contrast between the poetry of Byron and that of Thomas Moore; "The poetry of Moore is essentially that of Fancy; the poetry of Byron that of Passion. If there is passion in the effusions of the one, the fancy by which it is expressed predominates over it: if the fancy is called to the aid of the other, it is still subservient to the passion."¹⁰⁵ As has been said in Chapter

103. "Quarterly Review," July, 1814.

104. "Edinburgh Review," April, 1814.

105. Ibid., February, 1823.

Three, this in the main is the distinguishing mark of Byron's contribution to Oriental literature. He succeeded in making the luxury, magic, and mystery of the "Arabian Nights" and the gorgeous coloring of "Vathek" into a natural and realistic setting for stirring action.

"The Giaour;" a "Fragment of a Turkish Tale," appeared in May, 1813.¹⁰⁶ It is an excellent example of Byron's indebtedness to Oriental literature as well as to his personal knowledge of the East. In plan it is a series of fragments, a set of "Oriental Pearls at random strung."¹⁰⁷ It is obvious that in this, the first of his romantic narratives, Byron reflects the admiration he always felt for Coleridge's "Christabel." The fragmentary style of composition was suggested by the then new and popular "Columbus" of Mr. Rogers.¹⁰⁸ The poem is dedicated to Mr. Rogers.

Unusual interest was aroused by "The Giaour" because

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106. The first copy contained only 400 lines. With successive editions, seven in all, it finally reached 1400 lines. Its fragmentary nature easily admitted these additions.

108. Moore's "Life", Vol. I, p. 390.

108. Compare 4th stanza, XIV, with Byron's note in "Siege of Corinth" with lines 42-52 in "Christabel." This is a quotation from the editor's introduction to "The Giaour". See letters to John Murray, June 13, 1813. "Letters and Journals," Vol. XI, p. 218.

it was reported that it was founded upon an incident in the life of the poet. Byron at the time of its publication took occasion to deny the report.¹⁰⁹ Many years later Medwin quotes Byron as follows: "One of the principal incidents in "The Giaour" is derived from a real occurrence, and one, too, in which I myself was deeply interested; but an unwillingness to have it considered a traveller's tale made me suppress the fact of its genuineness." According¹¹⁰ to Medwin, Byron then told him the whole story. But whatever its origin, the tale is, title and all, distinctly¹¹¹ Oriental.

The tale resembles the common model of the Oriental fable, but is distinguished by one striking peculiarity. "In Eastern love stories the heroine is usually preserved to her lover by means of some miraculous and preternatural agency, or consigned, with very little ceremony, to death and oblivion. But in the present instance, the seducer of the lovely Leila is a Christian;----a giaour; an unbeliever, who has the audacity to form and execute the desperate

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109. See Appendix A.

110. Medwin's "Conversations," pp. 97-100.

111. "Giaour" is the Moslem name for Christian or infidel.

project of revenging the death of his murdered mistress, by
 the sacrifice of her executioner." ¹¹² Otherwise the tale
 is distinctly Eastern. Byron could never have found ins-
 piration for such lines as these in England:-

"Her eyes' dark charm 'twere vain to tell,
 But gaze on that of the Gazelle,
 It will assist they fancy well;
 As large, as languishingly dark,
 But sould beamed forth in every spark
 That darted from beneath the lid
 Bright as the jewel of Giamschid." 113

nor this,

"The brousing camel's bells are tinkling,
 His mother looked from her lattice high,
 She saw the dews of eve besprinkling
 The pasture green beneath her eye." 114

nor,

"The cold in clime are cold in blood,
 Their love can scarce deserve the name;
 But mine was like the lava flood
 That boils in Etna's breast of flame." 115.

There is much interest in the "Jewel of Giamschid" in
 the first quotation because it sheds some light on Byron's

112. "Quarterly Review", January, 1814.

113. Description of Leila in "The Giaour."

114. See Appendix A.

115. The Giaour's justification for wronging Leila.

and Moore's common interest in the Orient. In the original copy Byron had it, "Bright as the gem of Giamschid." He probably changed it to "ruby" on the authority of "Vathek" where Beckford writes, "Then all the riches this place contains as well as the carbuncle of Giamshid shall be hers." ¹¹⁶ At Moore's suggestion Byron changed again to "Jewel of Giamschid." In the course of their correspondence both refer to Richardson's "Dictionary" ¹¹⁷ and Byron hints at an Oriental poem, probably "Lalla Rookh," which Moore has in the making. ¹¹⁸ In view of their relations Byron's advice to Moore is of interest: "Stick to the East; The oracle Stail ¹¹⁹ told me it was the only poetical policy. The North, South, and West have all been exhausted; but from the East we have nothing but Southey's unsale-
¹²⁰ables --and these he has contrived to spoil by adopting only their most outrageous fictions. His personages don't interest us and yours will. You will have no competition;

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116. Edition of 1856, p. 58.

117. John Richardson's "Dictionary of Persian, Arabic, and English," published in 1777.

118. Letter to Moore, "Letters and Journals," Vol. XI, p. 253.

119. See Appendix A.

120. See Appendix A.

and if you had you ought to be glad of it. The little I have done in that way is merely a "voice in the wilderness" for you; and if it has had any success, that also will prove that the public are Orientalizing and pave the path for you."¹²¹

In "The Giaour" we can detect much of the influence of "Vathek." In both Beckford and Byron there is the same Oriental magnificence, the same contemptuous, reckless indulgence, the same injection of personality. The following lines refer unquestionably to the description of the "Hall of Eblis" in "Vathek."

."To wander round lost Eblis throne
And, fire unquenched, unquenchable
Around, within thy heart shall dwell." 122

Byron acknowledges that certain lines were drawn from "Vathek" and then goes on to say: [Vathek is] a work to which I have been referred; and never recur to or read without a renewal of gratification."¹²³ His note at the conclusion of "The Giaour" is more suggestive: "The story in the text is one told of a young Venetian many years ago, and now

121. Letters to Moore. "Letters and Journals" Voll. XI, p. 253.

122. See full passage in "The Giaour."

123. "Works of Lord Byron" by Moore, 1832, edition, Vol. IX, p. 178, Vol. X, p. 131.

nearly forgotten. I heard it by accident related by one of the coffee-house story tellers who abound in the Levant, and sing or recite their narratives. The additions and interpolations by the translator will be easily distinguished from the rest by the want of Eastern imagery; and I regret that my memory has retained so few fragments of the original. For the contents of some of the notes I am indebted partly to D'Herbelot,¹²⁴ and partly to that most Eastern, and, as Mr. Weber justly entitles it, 'Sublime tale' the 'Caliph Vathek' I do not know from what source the author of that singular volume may have drawn his materials; some of the incidents are to be found in the "Bibliothèque Orientale."

As it is more to our purpose to trace the Oriental influence chiefly in Byron's career as a man, it is well not to dwell too long on any one of his works and yet it is important to repeat what one of the contemporary reviews of the day says about "The Giaour." "The Oriental custom is preserved, as might be expected, with admirable fidelity through the whole of the poem; and the Turkish original

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124. See Appendix A.

of the tale is attested, to all but the bold skeptics of literature, by the great variety of untranslated words which perplex the unknown reader in the course of these fragments. "Kioska," "Caiquis," "Muezzins"; indeed, are articles with which all readers of modern travels are forced to be pretty familiar; but "Chains", "Palampore," and "Ataghan" are rather more puzzling---We hope, however, that he will go on, and give us more fragments from his Oriental collections; and powerful as he is in the expression of the darker passions and more gloomy emotions,---we own that we should like now and then to meet in his pages with something more cheerful, more amiable and more tender." ¹²⁵

"The Bride of Abydos," a "Turkish Tale" was Byron's next contribution (December 1813). In a way it met the demands of the review quoted above. Selim and Zulieka are characters as "tender and amiable" as any reviewer could wish, and yet the presence of Giaffir affords ample opportunity for display of "the darker passions and more gloomy emotions." Moreover, "The Bride" was more than an Oriental

fragment; it was Byron's first complete Oriental tale. In Byron's "Diary", December 5, 1813, we find his own estimate: "The Bride" such as it is, is my first entire composition of any length (except the "Satire" and be d___d to it), for the "Giaour" is but a string of passages, and "Childe Harold" is, and I rather think always will be unconcluded----Whether it succeeds or not is no fault of the public, against whom I can have no complaint. But I am much more indebted to the tale than I ever can be to the most important reader; as it wrung my thought from reality to imagination; from selfish regrets to vivid recollections and recalled me to a country replete with the brightest and darkest, but always most lively colors of memory."

The opening lines of the poem at once recall a song of Goethe's beginning "Kennst du das Land wo die Citronen Blühen?" but as Byron could not read German it is unlikely that he borrowed the idea. ¹²⁶ The opening passage simply

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126. See "Letters and Journals", Vol. XI, p. 304, note 2. Lady Blessington's "Conversations" pp. 326-327 E. C. Mayne "Life." "The Revenge" by Young, has the following lines to which Byron refers--See ~~also Chapter I. p. note.~~

"With whom revenge is viture" Reynolds; Hamilton, "A Critical Gossip with Lady M.W.Montague in Miscellany, Vol. I. p. 140, 1837.

breathes the spirit of the East:

"Where the virgins are soft as the roses they twine,
 And all, save the spirit of man, is divine?
 'Tis the clime of the East; 'tis the land of the Sun
 Can he smile on such deeds as his children have done,
 Oh! wild as the accents of lovers' farewell
 Are the hearts which they bear and the tales
 which they tell."

"The Bride" is more strictly Oriental than "The Giaour" because it is all Eastern. Add the magic wand and a happy ending and you will have a poetical version of a tale from the "Arabian Nights." We already have in Giaffir, the Eastern despot; in Selim and Zuleika, the faithful lovers; we have the murdered father, Abdallah, and the faithful, cunning slave, Haroun; we have the "silken Ottoman" "a Koran of illumined dyes," "a lamp of fretted gold," "fragrant beads of amber" "Sheeraz' tribute of perfume" and many other Oriental allusions. It is needless to say that there is an abundant use of Turkish words and expressions. ¹²⁷ Byron evidently consulted Turkish histories and travels, and various forms of Oriental literature at least to refresh his own "vivid recollections" of the East. ¹²⁸ His reading

127. "Carasman Oglon" in canto I, stanza 7, "chiboque" and "Maugrobie" in stanza 8, "Ollahs" in 9, "atargul" in 10, "tchodadar" in 14, "combolio" in the 5th stanza of the second canto, "Royahs" in 20, "Wul-Wulleh" in 27, and numerous others, are fair examples.

128. See Appendix A.

was so extensive that, except in cases where he has indicated his sources, it is difficult to say whence he draws his information. Thus in the closing stanza of "The Bride" in which we escape from much of the tragic and odious end of the tale, we are uncertain whether Byron drew upon an Eastern legend or his own imagination to give us a glimpse

Within the place of thousand tombs,
That shine beneath, while dark above
The sad but living cypress glooms,
And withers not, though branch and leaf
Are stamped with an eternal grief,
Like early unrequited love,
One spot exists which ever blooms." 129

In February, 1814, Byron published "The Corsair" and
130
in August of the same year, "Lara." It is obvious that
the latter is the sequel to the former. Fourteen thousand
copies of "The Corsair" was sold the first day. As usual
there was the current report that Byron was the hero of
131
the tale. The poem is dedicated to Thomas Moore. In this

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129. Stanza 28 of the "Bride of Abydos."

130. "Lara" was published anonymously in the same volume with the "Jaqueline" of Rogers.

131. "Letters and Journals" Vol. XI, p. 399. Byron says "Hobhouse" told me an odd report,--that I am the actual Conrad, the veritable Corsair, and that part of my travels are supposed to have been passed in piracy. He don't know what I was about the year after I left the Levant, nor does anyone"

dedicatory letter Byron urges the Irish poet to complete his Eastern poem. "Your imagination will create a warmer sun and less clouded sky; but wilderness, tenderness, and originality, are part of your national claim of Oriental descent."¹³² In "The Corsair" perhaps more than in any other of his tales Byron showed the results of his personal contact with the East.

In "The Corsair" and in "Lara" Byron was but little indebted to Oriental literature, both poems bespeak first-hand knowledge of the Orient. Moreover the rapidity¹³³ of the composition of the "Corsair" and the circumstances¹³⁴ of the composition of "Lara" precluded all but mere accidental reference to literature of any kind. One must see to write:

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132. Letter of dedication prefixed to "The Corsair". Moore's "Lallah Rookh" was not published until 1817. It is interesting to compare the quotation given from this letter with Byron's later attitude toward Moore's Oriental poetry. In Medwin's "Conversations", p. 296, we find Byron expressing wonder that anyone could attempt to describe a country he had never seen.
133. "The Corsair" was begun on the 18th and finished on the 31st of December, 1813.
134. In a letter to Thos. Moore, June 8, 1822, Byron says "Lara" which you know, was written amidst balls and fooleries, and after coming home from masquerades and routs, in the summer of the sovereigns."

"High in the hall reclined the turbaned Seyd;
 Round the bearded chiefs he came to lead.
 Removed the banquet, and the last pilaff--
 Forbidden draughts, 'tis said, he dared to quaff,
 Though to the rest the sober berry's juice
 The slaves bear round for rigid Moslem's use;
 The long chiboque's dissolving cloud supply,
 While dance the Almas to wild minstrelsy." 135

or "Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run
 Along Morea's hills the setting sun." 136.

Or

"Flashed the dipt oars, and sparkling with the
 stroke
 Around the waves' phosphoric broke;
 They gain the vessel--on deck he stands--
 Shrieks the shrill whistle--ply the hands." 137

Galt's comment is peculiarly applicable at this point." To
 the safe and shop-resorting inhabitants of Christendom,
 the Corsair seems to present many improbabilities; never-
 theless, it is true to nature, and in every part of the
 Levant the traveller meets with individuals whose air and

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 135 Second stanza of Canto 11, Description of the
 Turkish fleet.

136. Of the passage of which these are the opening
 lines (Canto III, stanza I) Byron says in foot-
 note: "They were written on the spot in the
 spring of 1811." The quotation from Geo. Ellis
 in Chap. I in some manner describes the vivid-
 ness of Byron's painting.

137. Departure of Conrad's boat, Canto I, Stanza 17,
 Byron adds this footnote: "By night, particularly
 in a warm latitude, every stroke of the oar, ev-
 ery motion of the boat or ship, is followed by
 a slight flash like sheet lightning from the wat-
 er."

physiognomy remind him of Conrad. The incidents of the story, also so wild and extravagant to the snug and legal notions of England, are not more in keeping with the character, than they are in accordance with fact and reality. ---It is a work which could only have been written by one who had himself seen or heard on the spot of transactions similar to those he has described." ¹³⁸

Byron has indeed drawn his Eastern characters with remarkable fidelity. Jeffrey^E remarked: "Lord Byron has made fine use of gentleness and submission of the females of the regions, as contrasted with the lordly pride and martial ferocity of the men; there is something so true to female nature in general, in his representations of this sort, and so much of the Oriental softness and acquiescence in his particular delineations, that it is scarcely possible to refuse to picture the praise of being characteristic and harmonious, as well as eminently sweet and beautiful in itself---There is something grand and imposing in the unbroken stateliness, courage and heroic bigotry of a Turk of the higher order." ¹³⁹

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138. Galt's "Life of Byron". 1830 edition, p. 200.

139. "Edinburgh Review", 1814, Vol. XXIII. p. 205.
Jeffrey's reputation as a critic needs no comment.

140

In Medura and Gulnare we are given some idea of the fidelity and fierceness of Eastern love and passion. Medora dies because she thinks Conrad dead; to save him, Gulnare murders her Lord, Seyd. We may not altogether approve of Gulnare, the murderess, in "The Corsair"; we feel the deepest sympathy with Gulnare as Kaled the page in "Lara."

Byron is intensely human in dealing with these three characters. Nor does he lose any of his vivid fidelity in dealing with Seyd. Listen to the malicious ingenuity of the Turk boasting to Gulnare of his intended revenge:

"And thirsting for revenge, I ponder still
On pangs that longest rack; and latest kill." 142

Lara is Conrad unexpectedly returned from his travels, and in the two characters, there is some analogy to Lord Byron abroad and returned. The name, Lara, is Spanish

140. Gulnare, a female slave, means literally the flower of the pomegranate. The name smacks of the East.

141. Jeffrey says of Conrad and Medora: "We do not know of anything in poetry more beautiful or touching than this picture of their parting." See last ten lines of Stanza 5, Canto III, of the "Corsair."

142. Stanza 15 of Canto 2 of "The Corsair."

143. Byron's contemporaries persisted--with some justice--in reading much of Byron's life into these poems.

and Byron refers the poem to no particular person or age. The Oriental effect is maintained in the characterization of Lara and Kaled. By constant little touches Byron draws in Kaled a picture of Eastern devotion that reaches its height at the death of Lara.¹⁴⁴

We have noticed in the "Giaour" and "The Bride of Abydos" Byron's indebtedness both to Oriental literature and to his own knowledge of the East. In the "Corsair" and "Lara" the predominating impression is that the author's first-hand knowledge "The Siege of Corinth" on the contrary¹⁴⁵ is founded upon an historical occurrence, and throughout the poem we are constantly finding evidence of scholarly composition. Byron took more time than usual to write it (July 1815-Jan. 1816) and naturally had more time for reading than in the case of "The Corsair" and "Lara". We shall forbear commenting upon the usual Orientalism of the poem and will only notice some examples of Byron's indebtedness to literature.

Aside from the general historical setting, the story is of particular interest to us in that Byron constantly

144. "Lara", Canto III, stanzas 19, 20, 21.

145. See Appendix A.

refers to "Vathek". Of the following passage Byron says "I have been told that the idea expressed in this and the following lines has been admired by those whose admiration is valuable. I am glad of it; but it is not original--at least not mine; it may be found much better expressed in pages 182-3-4 of the English version of "Vathek" (I forget the precise page of the French) a work to which I have before referred and never recur to, or read, without a renewal of gratification."

146

"There is a light cloud by the moon--
'Tis passing and will pass full soon--
If, by the time its vapoury sail
Hath ceased her shaded orb to veil,
Thy heart within thee is not changed
Then God and man are both avenged;
Dark will thy doom be, darker still
Thine immortality of ill.

Alps looked to heaven, and saw on high
The sign she spake of in the sky;
But his heart was swollen, and turned aside
By deep interminable pride.

No--Through that cloud were thunder's worst,
And charged to crush him--let it burst."
("Siege of Corinth", lines 643-662)

147

The idea is indeed drawn from "Vathek" as those who are

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146. Byron's note on line 643; Cambridge edition, p. 1025.

147. See Appendix A.

familiar with the production of Beckford will note. The poem abounds with historical references which are copiously explained by notes. The twelve lines beginning with "Sent that soft and tender moan"¹⁴⁸ Byron acknowledges to be a close, though unintentional imitation of certain lines in Coleridge's "Christabel."¹⁴⁹ Byron always detested anything that savored of plagiarism. He once threw a whole poem in the fire because Medwin had suggested that two lines were taken outright from Southey.¹⁵⁰

"Parisina" was the last publication of Byron (February, 1816) before he left England. Like the "Siege of Corinth"¹⁵¹ it was founded upon historical circumstances. In the original edition there was a translation of Byron of the passage from Frizzle's "History of Ferrara" from which the details of the story are taken. "Parisina" was the last of the "Tales, Chiefly Oriental" and gave evidence of Eastern glow,¹⁵² in the main through the beauty of its poetry.

148. Lines 522-34 of "Siege of Corinth."

149. See Appendix A.

150. Medwin's "Conversations."

151. The following poem is grounded on circumstances mentioned in Gibbon's "Antiquities of the House of Brunswick"; advertisement to "Parisina," Cambridge edition. p. 396.

152. See Appendix A.

That Byron was greatly impressed by Eastern countries between 1812 and 1816 is shown by more than his "Oriental Tales." As early as December, 1811, we find him writing to Hodgson, "I have many plans; sometimes I think of the East again."¹⁵³ This intention to revisit the East he constantly reiterated in his letters. Writing again to Hodgson in February, 1812, he says, "In the spring of 1813, I shall leave England forever. Everything in my affairs tends to this, and my inclinations and health do not discourage it. Neither my habits nor my constitution are improved by your customs or climate. I shall find employment in making myself a good Oriental scholar. I shall retain a mansion in one of the fairest islands, and retrace, at intervals, the most interesting portions of the East. In the meantime I am adjusting my concerns, which (when arranged) leave me with wealth sufficient even for home, but enough for a principality in Turkey."¹⁵⁴ In December of the same year Byron wrote William Bankes¹⁵⁵ that he intended going to

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153. "Letters and Journals," Vol. XI, p. 85.

154. Ibid, p. 100.

155. Ibid, p. 184.

Turkey in the spring and in the following February he
 stated his intentions a little more forcibly to Hanson. ¹⁵⁶
 During this same year (1813) we find numerous emphatic dec-
 larations of the same purpose. ¹⁵⁷ In one of these letters ¹⁵⁸
 he speaks jestingly about dying in Smyrna, or Palmero--
 "one can die anywhere." ¹⁵⁹

Such statements as these mean more than a mere passing
 fancy for Eastern countries and Eastern Life. Certainly
 upon his return, England had turned toward the young poet
 her most attractive side. He was successful in life, in
 politics, in society, and in the poetical world. His "maid-
 en efforts" in the House of Lords received most favorable
 comment. ¹⁶⁰ No drawing room was complete without a copy of
 Byron's latest work, and better still, Byron himself. His
 reviewers were now as enthusiastic in his praise as they
 had previously been bitter in his censure. ¹⁶¹

156. "Letters and Journals", Vol. XI, p. 193.

157. Ibid. Vol. XI, p. 231 (To Thos. Moore).

158. Byron speaks of returning East in the following
 letters: Chas. Hanson, Vol. XI, p. 194; Augusta
 Leigh, Vol. XI, p. 197; John Hanson "I shall sail
 before the 20th of May". Vol. XI, p. 200; Thos.
 Moore, Vol. XI, p. 239 and 231.

159. These words seem to us a significant omen.

160. Mayne's "Life" Vol. I.

161. For contemporary critical estimate of Byron Mur-
 ray says, "This morning I looked over my ledger and find
 that 75,000 copies have passed over that counter from Lord
 Byron's pen alone."

Wordsworth, Shelley, and Coleridge, deservedly or not, were forced into the background. "Public enthusiasm for once enlightened, carried even their stolid conversation away from the cold, classical elegance of Rogers and Campbell to the fitful splendors of the young champion of a new romantic era."

It might perhaps enliven our pages if we should follow Byron through those mad years of revelry and high life. It would be quite as interesting and quite as unprofitable to take issue on the "Beecher-Stowe scandal". We shall make only a very brief comment upon his marriage¹⁶² and for further information refer the reader to Ethel C. Mayne's "Life of Byron." That he was idolized, married, separated, exiled by public sentiment, in the brief space of four years is now a matter of history. We are concerned with his Oriental tendencies; we have seen that circumstances and incidents rendered him highly susceptible to the Eastern charm. We have been principally concerned with his admiration for the "Clime of the East" as he expressed it in his

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162. See Appendix A.

"Oriental Tales." As we have indicated, Byron expressed this admiration in other forms than poetry. He wanted to return at the high tide and not at the ebb of his popularity; the significant thing to us is that Byron was anxious to return to the "land of the Sun". We risk tediousness in reiteration because it is remarkably significant that this man throughout his entire life continued in his admiration formed in childhood and confirmed by actual experience.

In September, 1813, Byron wrote Murray ¹⁶³ requesting a passage to the East. Two months later we find him saying "My hopes are limited to the arrangement of my affairs, and settling either in Italy or the East, (rather the East) and drinking deep of the language and literature of both." It is likely, however, that the success of his poems, particularly "The Corsair" ¹⁶⁴ and his own popularity, induced him to tarry in England as long as he did. The desire to

163. Murray was his publisher. See "Letters and Journals", Vol. XI, p. 265.

164. For Byron's comment on the success of "The Corsair" see "Letters and Journals", Vol. III, p. 21.

travel continued to possess him. In September, 1814, he declared to Thomas Moore that he would be out of England "within a month."¹⁶⁵

It is not surprising that he did not at once carry out these intentions; it is surprising that at this time he should be thinking at all of leaving England. He was busy writing poetry and receiving homage. During the autumn of 1814 and the spring of 1815 Byron wrote his "Hebrew Melodies."¹⁶⁶ For the most part they are based on themes taken from the Old Testament. Needless to say they describe and reflect Eastern scenes and imagery almost as vividly and tenderly as the Bible itself. It is not possible at this time to consider these beautiful little poems in detail; we shall simply cite a stanza from one.

"On Jordan's banks the Arab's camels stray,
On Sion's hill the False one's notaries pray,
The Baal-adorer bows on Sinai's steep--
Yet there--even there --Oh God! thy thunders sleep!"¹⁶⁷

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165. "Letters and Journals", Vol. III, p. 134.

166. See Appendix A.

167. First stanza of "On Jordan's Banks."

During this year, 1815, he was married, and wrote "The Siege of Corinth" and "Parisina." It was possibly the happiest year of his life. It is sad to think how soon his brilliant bubble was to burst.

It is, perhaps, not amiss to call attention to some of the Oriental reading Byron had done at this time. As we might expect, he read eagerly everything he could find relating to the East. In 1811 we find him reading Tasso's
168
"Gerusalemme Liberata." Many years later in "Don Juan" (Canto I, stanza 71) he refers to his work:

"But ne'er magician's wand,
Wrought change with all Armidia's fair art 169
Like that this light touch left on Juan's heart."

He also read Southey's Oriental poetry about this time and of course had something to say; "I should thin X plus Y at least as amusing as "The curse of Kehama", and much more
170
intelligible." Galt's "Voyages and Travels" was published
171
in 1812 and naturally came under his notice. Professor

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168. "Letters and Journals," Vol. XI, p. 49.

169. Armidia is the sorceress in "Gerusalemme Liberata"

170. Letter to William Harness, Dec. 6, 1811, "Letters and Journals", Vol. II, p. 74.

171. Byron says, "Truth to say the book is the book of a cock-brained man". Letter to Francis Hodgson, Feb. 21, 1812, "Letters and Journals", Vol. XI, p. 101.

E. D. Clark's "Travels in Various Countries" of Europe, Asia and Africa," received high praise from Byron at this time.¹⁷² In the same year he also read two works on Turkey; Castellan's "Memoirs, Usages and Customs of the Turks,"¹⁷³ and Toderini's "Della Litteratura Furchessa."¹⁷⁴ It is really surprising how voraciously he seized upon anything pertaining to the Orient. Even in England Byron was less English than Oriental. It is difficult to think of an Englishman saying, "Give me a sun, I care not how hot, and sherbet, I care not how cool, and my heaven is as easily made as your Persian's."¹⁷⁵ Late in 1813 he read Chardin's "Voyage in Persi"¹⁷⁶ and Sismondi's "De la Litérature du

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172. This work was completed between 1810 and 1823. Byron must have only seen some of the earlier chapters. Letters and Journals, Vol. II, p. 129.
173. Published in Paris in 1812. Byron refers to the book in ibid, Vol. II, pp. 256-262.
174. G. B. Toderini (1728-1799) had published this book at Venice in 1787. Byron refers to it in his ibid Vol. II, pp. 256-262.
175. Letters to Thos. Moore, Aug. 22, 1813. Byron also says in his "Letters and Journals" Vol. II, p. 250:
 "A Persian's heaven is easily made--
 'Tis but black eyes and lemonade."
176. Published in 1811. See ibid, Vol. II, p. 403.

177
 midi" John Hamilton Reynolds published "Safic, an East-
 ern Tale" in 1814 and presented Byron with a copy. Byron
 reciprocated with a grateful letter of acknowledgement. 178
 In a letter of April 22, 1814, he speaks of reading the
 "Dictionnaire Historique et Antique". 179 In July of the same
 year he refers to Sir John Malcom's "History of Persia." 180

Byron not only wrote Oriental poetry, but he also in
 a way became an authority on Oriental literature. Reynolds
 had sought his approval of his "Safic" in 1814; and in 1815
 Hogg dedicated his "Pilgrims of the Sun" Byron. 181 In June,
 1815, the "Feast of the Poets" was published. Byron is
 thus admitted to the feast:

"And each of the lords had a wreath in his hair
 Lord Byron's with Turks cap and cypress was mixed."

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177. "Letters and Journals." Published at Paris in
 1813.

178. Ibid, Vol. III, pp. 45-52. Exact letter dated
 Feb. 20, 1814.

179. Ibid, Vol. III. p. 73. This work was written by
 Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) and was published in
 1697.

180. Ibid.

181. "Letters and Journals". Vol. III, p. 270.

182 Ibid, p. 200

If an anonymous bit of Oriental literature was published,¹⁸³ its authorship was generally ascribed to Byron. He succeeded in surrounding himself with a rather Oriental atmosphere, the glamour and romance of which was rudely dispelled in 1816.

On the 25th of April, 1816, Byron departed for Switzerland. His domestic troubles had turned the English public against him and hostile sentiment forced him into exile. Speaking of the reports circulated about him, Byron remarked in 1819, "I felt that if what was whispered and muttered and murmured, was true I was unfit for England; if false, England was unfit for me. I withdrew."¹⁸⁴ The fashionable world was tired of its "spoilt child", and he of it. Hunted out of the country, bankrupt in purse and heart, he left it, never to return; but he left it to find fresh inspiration by the "rushing of the Arrowy Rhone" and under Italian skies to write the works which have immortalized his name."¹⁸⁵

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183. "Letters and Journals", Vol. III, p. 288/ Byron was accused of being the author of "Nomjahad"

184. Letter written in August, 1819. Ibid, p. 200.

185. John Nichols, "Byron" in "English Men of Letters" Vol. III, p. 99.

The period 1816 to 1823 is extremely important in the life of Byron. During this time he produced the works that have placed him among the first of great English poets. We shall forbear attempting to enter into the details of these seven years. Most of this interval was spent in Italy, which like the East, offered a warm and glowing contrast to cold and sullen England. It is not unlikely that Byron would have started East before he did (July 14, 1823) had it not been for his attachment for the Countess Guicciola. ¹⁸⁶ Whatever may have been the impropriety of their relations, Byron has never been accused of unfaithfulness toward her. We shall make a rapid sketh of the poet's life during this period and note some of the more apparent Oriental characteristics in the poetry he produced.

Byron spent the summer at Villa Diodati on the banks of Lake Geneva in company with the Shelleys and Miss Clairmont. ¹⁸⁷ The shelleys left for England in September, but the friendship formed continued over the six remaining years of their lives. In October he set out with Hobhouse

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186. The attachment of Byron and Theresa Guiccioli began in April, 1819, and continued until his death. So much has been written about their intimacy that it is unnecessary to more than mention it here.
187. The half-sister of Shelley's wife, Allegra, daughter of Miss Clairmont and Lord Byron, was born at Great Marlow, Feb., 1817, and died of fever April 22, 1822.

for Italy and in November he was settled in Venice. Since his departure from England he had written "The Prisoner of Chillon," "The Dream," the first two acts of "Manfred," the third canto of "Childe Harold", and numerous minor poems.¹⁸⁸ There he formed a number of questionable alliances. The first of his temporary idols was Mariana Segati, whom he describes as an "antelope with Oriental eyes."¹⁸⁹ It is only fair to say that Byron dropped this class of acquaintances after meeting Madame Guiccioli in 1819.

Byron made his home at Venice until the beginning of 1821, when he moved to Ravenna. Needless to say the Countess Guiccioli also went to Ravenna. In the meantime he had written the fourth canto of "Child Harold," "The Lament of Tasso," "Beppo" "Mazeppa," "The Prophecy of Dante."¹⁹⁰ and the first four cantos of "Don Juan." Byron stayed at Ravenna until November, 1821, when he moved to Pisa. His intimacy with Madame Guiccioli and her family, and his participation in Italian politics, kept him moving, and in Sept-

188. See Appendix A.

189. See "Letters and Journals."

190. "The Prophecy of Dante" was written during the month of June, 1819, to gratify the Countess Guiccioli." Coleridge's "Byron's Poetical Works, 1905 ed., p. 442, note 1.

ember, 1822, he went to Genoa, where he spent the remaining months of his Italian life.

The period from 1820 to 1823 is marked by his intense literary activity. His translation of the first canto of Pulci's "Morgante Maggiore" was finished at Ravenna in February, 1820. By January 29, 1822, he had written "Francesca of Rimini" "Marino Faliero", "The Vision of Judgment," "The Blues", "Sardanapalus", "The Two Foscari," "Cain," "Heaven and Earth", and "Werner." Cantos VI, VII of "Don Juan"¹⁹¹ were written at Pisa in 1822 and cantos XIII-XIV at Genoa in 1823. The "Deformed Transformed" was written at Pisa in the summer of 1822, and by February 20, 1823, Byron had also completed "The Age of Bronze" and "The Island." It is unnecessary to mention numerous minor poems he had produced during this time.

In this brief sketch of Byron between 1816 and 1823, we have noticed only his unusual literary activity. We have refrained from following his career as a revolutionist, philanthropist, as a man of many dissipations, as a friend and intimate of Shelley and as the accepted lover of an It-

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191. "Sardanapalus" is Byron's last reversion to the East excepting Cantos II, III, IV and V of "Don Juan."

alian married lady. The story has often been told, as has the upshot of it all--the upshot, indeed, of his whole life--his death in Greece in 1824. Before drawing the curtain over this last sad but glorious part of his life, it is necessary for us to note a few instances in his later poetry of the continued fascination of the East and of Oriental literature for him.

"Manfred" was written amid the mountains of Switzerland, yet in Act. II, Sc. IV, we have almost a transcription of a similar scene in "Vathek."¹⁹² The scene opens with a description of "the Hall of Arimanes. Arimanes on his Throne, a Globe of Fire, surrounded by the Spirits."¹⁹³ A contemporary reviewer remarks upon this scene thus: "Now the whole of the idea of this is taken almost word for word from a very silly and disgusting tale, entitled "Vathek," which for various reasons we have omitted to notice; and in the windows of more shops than one in Bond-street, our readers may see displayed a gorgeous engraving of this aforesaid monarch upon his throne, this globe of fire, and these attendant spirits; with which display we advise them

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192. "Vathek". London, 1883.

193. Arimanes, the spirit of evil, is the Aherman of "Vathek."

to be contented; nor as they value their equanimity and good temper, to attempt the purchase, much less the perusal of the tale."

Byron never ceased to be interested in books about the East. August 31st, 1820, he speaks of reading a new "Life of Mahomet." "The true nature of imposture is fully displayed in the "Life of Mahomet."¹⁹⁴ In his letters of 1821 he refers often to Mitford's "History of Greece"¹⁹⁵ which he consulted while writing "Sardanapalus." Byron's notes on this drama indicated that he made frequent use of various historical works during its composition.¹⁹⁶ July 4th, 1821, writing to Murray he refers to a "Sicilian Story"¹⁹⁷ he has just read. A little later in the same year he read a "Narrative of Egypt and Nubia",¹⁹⁸ and "A Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence in Tripoli".¹⁹⁹ He had previously

194. "Life of Mahomet" by Humphrey Pridean, "Letters and Journals", Vol. V, p. 67.

195. Ibid., Vol. V. pp. 152, 155, 160.

196. In his preface to "Sardanapalus", Byron says "For the historical setting of the following composition the reader is referred to the Notes." Coleridge edition, 1905, p. 531.

197. "A sicilian Story" 1821, by Barry Cornwall, "Letters and Journals," Vol. V. p. 217.

198. By G. B. Belzoni (1778-1823) published in 1820, Ibid. Vol. V. p. 245.

199. By Richard Tully, 1816. Ibid., Vol. V. p. 346. Byron was deeply indebted to this work for his description in canto III, stanzas 57-59 of "DonJuan"

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read all of Henry Gally Knight's "Eastern Tales" and undoubtedly found much inspiration or at least much pleasure in them.

In "The Deformed Transformed" we find another example of Byron's indebtedness to "Vathek". Byron is undoubtedly thinking of the wretches doomed by Eblis in the following lines:

"Fire! without which nought can live;
Fire! but in which nought can live,
Save the fabled salamander,
Or immortal souls, which wander,
Praying what doth not forgive,
Howling for a drop of water,
Burning in a quenchless lot," etc.
(Lines 459-465 Part I "Deformed Transformed.")

Likewise in "The Two Foscari:"

"Now the rich man's Hell-fire upon your tongue
Unquenched, unquenchable." 201
(Act V, Scene 1, lines 156-7)

Again in "Don Juan", "Vathek" makes its appearance.

"I'm sure I see
A phantom upon each of the four posts;
And then I have the worst dreams that can be
Of Guebres, Giaours, and Ginns, and Gouls in
hosts."
(Canto VI, Stanza 48).

200. For reference to H. G. Knight's "Ilderim, A Syrian Tale," see "Letters and Journals" Vol. II, p. 299; Phrosyne. "A Grecian Tale", IV, 164, "Al-astar, An Arabian Tale", IV, 164.

201. Guebres, Giaours, Ginns and Gouls, are common terms in "Vathek."

Cain is, of course, based to a great extent upon the Biblical account, Naturally, as the "Hebrew Melodies", it required an Eastern setting.

In cantos II, III, IV and V of "Don Juan," Byron again takes us Eastward. What Byron has read, seen, or heard, of the Orient he here reproduces in an unequalled manner. In the first flush of poetical success and in the certain complacency of acknowledged mastership, Byron found happy inspiration in the Orient. "Don Juan" is now so well known that reference to its Oriental characteristics is superfluous. It is undoubtedly the best specimen of Byron's poetic genius. In it he unites the glowing, gorgeous characteristics of his Oriental tales with the polished perfection of poetic skill. By the English public it was condemned for its immorality and read notwithstanding; people were shocked but equally interested. A stanza like the following compels admiration:

"Afric is all the Sun's and as her earth
 Her human clay is kindled; full of power
 For good or evil, burning from its birth,
 The Moorish blood partakes the planet's hour,
 And like the soil beneath it will bring forth;
 Beauty and love were Haidee's mother's dower;
 But her large dark eyes showed deep Passions' *force*
~~force~~
 Though sleeping like a lion near a source."

(Canto IV, stanza 56).

Or this:

"Soft hour which wakes the wish and melts the heart
 Of those who sail the seas, on the first day
 When they from their sweet friends are torn apart;
 Or fills with love the Pilgrim on his way
 As the far bell of vesper makes him start,
 Seeming to weep the dying day's decay; 202
 In this a fancy which our reason scorns!
 Ah! surely nothing dies but something mourns."
 (Canto IV, stanza 108)

We shall suggest Byron's vividness in depicting scenes by two stanzas. In the first we feel that Byron has actually seen what he describes; in the second we realize his ability to make what he has read about appear very vivid.

"A Crowd of shivering slaves of every nation,
 And age, and sex, were in the market ranged;
 Each bevy with the merchant in his station;
 Poor creatures their good looks were sadly changed
 All save the blacks seemed jaded with vexation
 From friends, and home, and freedom far estranged
 The negroes more philosophy displayed;
 Used to it, no doubt, as eels are to be played."
 (Slave Market at Constantinople," Canto 5, Stanza 7)

and

"Crystal and marble, plate porcelain
 Had done their work of splendours, Indian mats
 And Persian carpets, which the heart bled to stain
 Over the floors were spread; gazelles and cats,
 And dwarfs and blacks, and such like things that
 gain
 Their bread as ministers and favourites (that's
 To say, by degradation) mingled there
 As plentiful as in court or fair.

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 202. A Similar phrase is used in "Vathek."

"There was no want of lofty mirrors, and
 The bables most of ebony inlaid
 With mother of pearl or ivory, stood at hand,
 Or were of tortoise-shell or rare woods made,
 Fretted with gold or silver; by command
 The greater part of these were ready spread
 With viands and sherbets in ice--and wine--
 Kept for all comers at all hours to dine." 203
 (Canto III, stanzas 58, 59)

To trace Byron's Orientalism to any greater extent in "Don Juan" is needless; the poem is sufficient evidence in itself.

In connection with this discussion we are naturally confronted with the query, Why did Byron not return to the East before 1823? Why, admiring the Orient as he did, did he spend the last six years of his life in Italy? The answer lies in his attachment for the Countess Guiccioli and his desire to aid the Italian revolutionists. This same sympathy for struggling liberty eventually did take him to his death in Greece. In regard to returning to the East, Byron writes in 1823, "Nothing but the hopes I entertained of witnessing the liberation of Italy itself prevented me
 204
 from long ago returning." Two years before, in a letter

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 203. Passage based on similar one in Tully's "Tripoli."

204. Letter to Edward Blaquièrè, April 1823, "Letters and Journals", Vol. VI, p. 185.

to Samuel Rogers, he showed his attachment for Madame Guiccioli and in a pithy sentence, "Where they go I accompany them" (The Guiccioli relatives) ²⁰⁵ we are told in a nutshell why he remained in Italy. Moreover, as we have indicated, he wrote a great deal of poetry during this time; undoubtedly the greater facility of Italy as compared with Turkey for the publication of his works made him hesitate to go farther from England. It is sufficient for us to note that he continued to express his admiration of Turkey and the Turks, even when he was in arms against them.

In a letter to Thos. Moore, April 11th, 1817, Byron says "I shan't go to Naples. It is but the second-best seaview, and I have seen the first and third; viz. Constantinople and Lisbon." ²⁰⁶ In March, 1818, he writes interestingly of a recent visit of Samuel Rogers with Beckford at Fonthill; "Your account of your visit to Fonthill is very striking; could you beg of him for me a copy ~~in~~ M.S. of

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205. Written at Ravenna, Oct. 21, 1821. "Letters and Journals". Vol. V. p. 345.

206. Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 101.

207

the remaining Tales." His admiration for Turkey was equaled by his detestation for England; "Judge of my detestation of England and all that it inherits, when I avoid - returning to your country at a time when not only my pecuniary interests, but it may be, even my personal security, require it." ²⁰⁸ Again a little later, "The Noel affairs, I hope, will not take me to England. I have no desire to revisit that country." ²⁰⁹

While at Ravenna, Byron made this significant remark in a letter to Moore: "We were divided in choice between Switzerland and Tuscany, and I gave my vote for Pisa, as nearer the Mediterranean, which I love for the sake of the shores which it washed and for my young recollections of 1809." ²¹⁰ We have previously made reference of the fidelity

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207. Through "Vathek" Byron became an ardent admirer of Beckford. "Letters and Journals", Vol. IV, p. 206.

208. Letter to Byron, Ravenna, Mar. 1, 1821, Ibid, Vol. V. p. 383.

209. To John Murray, Mar. 15, 1822. Ibid. Vol. Vi, p. 41.

210. Letter to Thos. Moore, Ibid, Vol. V. p. 364.

and vividness in 1821 of these "young recollections of 1809"
 This is in accordance with the sentiment he expressed to a
 close friend; "Switzerland is a country I have been satis-
 fied with seeing once; Turkey I could live in forever."²¹¹

In 1821, also, we note Byron's first reference to the
 Greek revolution: "If the papers lie not, Demetrius Zograf-
 fo of Athens is at the head of the Athenian part of the
 present Greek insurrection. He was my servant in 1809, 1810,
 1811, and 1812, at different intervals in those years."²¹²

Different motives have been assigned for his joining the
 Greek cause in 1823,²¹³ but no one can question his unself-
 ishness and selfsacrifice in the Greek service. In a more
 extended discussion a chapter could be devoted to that last
 eventful year, but for this paper, a few lines will have to
 suffice.

Although fighting against the Turks it is worth noting
 that Byron admired and respected them to the last more than
 he probably did his Greek compatriots. He distrusted the

.
 211. The Friend was Medwin. See "Conversations" p.285.

212. Detached thoughts, 1821. "Letters and Journals."
 Vol. V, p. 484. Byron seems to have had a person-
 al interest in the revolution.

213. Mayne's "Byron", Vol. II. chap. VIII.

Greek character; "Of the Greeks, I can't say much good hitherto, and I do not like to speak ill of them, though they do of one another."²¹⁴ And indeed their dissensions and selfishness toward him did little to alter this opinion. He aided them because he thought their cause just, but he continued to respect the Turks. Through his efforts many Turkish prisoners were restored to their homes.²¹⁵ It was unusual for anything like that to happen in a war of that kind. In February, 1823, he wrote a very appealing letter to his half-sister, Augusta Leigh, asking her to care for a little Turkish girl who had been taken prisoner.²¹⁶

Throughout this paper we have repeatedly called attention to Byron's lifelong admiration of "Vathek". He read it, absorbed it, and remodeled it into poetry. In 1823 he wrote a letter home from the East in which missive Byron requests a favor from a friend. We leave it to the reader to grasp the suggestion in his words: "Also preserve me a

214. "Letters and Journals", Vol. VI, p. 276.

216. This letter was written February 23, 1824. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 330.

215. "Letters and Journals", pp. 312. 325

copy of the "Caliph Vathek", and "Rome, Naples and Florence
in 1817", and the two prints of my daughter, Ada.²¹⁷

Byron died at Missolonghi, Greece, on the 19th of A-
pril, 1824.²¹⁸ The circumstances of his death have done
much to remove some of the blame attached to his life. It
was a rather happy fatality that he should die in that
quarter of the earth he loved so well. It recalls to us
his rather prophetic remark, "One can die anywhere."

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217. Letter to Chas. F. Barry, Nov. 11, 1823. "Letters
and Journals", Vol. VI, p. 284.

218. See Appendix A.

CHAPTER V.

Byron's Oriental Romanticism

The unfolding lines of the eighteenth century literature down to Byron moved from sentiment to passion, from the insincere to the realistic, and from the interesting to the intensive. The fancy in the Gothicism of Walpole developed into the imagination of Mrs. Radcliffe and the pseudo-sentimentality of Steele in his play "The Conscious Lovers," into the true poetic sentiment in the poems of Burns and Wordsworth. Pope's reign in the realm of ideas was over and all writers turned to nature for inspiration. This return to nature has been termed the Romantic Movement. The Romantic Movement has a number of phases. Naturalism, a correspondence in form and manner to nature, Realism, a fidelity to nature or real life, and Romanticism, in both "Gothic" and sentimental phases, are a few of the more important. In "Vathek" there is a biological naturalism.

In the biggest sense of the phrase the Romantic Movement is a movement of expansion, a research for what will delight the original writer, an escape from the prosaic.

The Romanticists sought different fields for their labors; Wordsworth found his escape in depicting the English Peasantry, Scott in the New Medievalism, Coleridge and Southey in Nature of the English Lake Country, Coleridge in the supernatural, Shelley, Keats and Byron (to some extent) in Italian literature (dominated at this time by Alfieré) and life. There is naturalism in the works of all of the early nineteenth century writers; in Byron the sea, in Wordsworth the woods, and in Scott the mountains are emphasized.

Just as there is a great contrast between Scott's Medievalism and Shelley's Future, so is there a contrast between the Occident ~~that~~ Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey were interested in and the Orient that Byron saw. In the New World there were the Indians, a Romantic people with religions, customs and ceremonies that were of extraordinary interest. Then, too, a new country always suggests a sense of solitude, of mystery, and of a future; Wordsworth felt that solitude; Coleridge, the mystery; and Southey, the future.

But the West did not interest Byron. He obtained solitude from the ocean and the sense of mystery and the sense of the future were satisfied by the Orient, that was rich in history, legends, and possibilities. He loved the Or-

ient and in many ways he became Orientalized. He tasted the spices, the citron, the pomegranate, the fig, and the date, according to Moore; he smelled the myrtle and the cypress, he heard the murmurs of an Eastern love song, he saw the gorgeous colors--the bright Persian colors that are everywhere, and he felt, yes, we can say truly that Byron felt, the great Eastern passion.

In discussing Byron's Oriental Romanticism there is a wide range of possibilities. It is possible to consider Byron, to consider his Oriental characteristics, to consider his Romanticism, from the point of view of the beginning of the nineteenth century; it is quite as possible and much more profitable to estimate this man and these characteristics as they are significant to the average reader of Byron's poetry today. It is a fact too often overlooked that many of the so-called romantic tendencies of Byron, Wordsworth Shelley, and others of the same school are now extreme conventionalities; and certainly it is not to be denied that conventional romanticism is an almost impossible paradox.

It has proved a difficult task for our most brilliant literary critics to give a satisfactory, comprehensive def-

inition of Romanticism. Perhaps Victor Hugo's "Liberalism in Literature", comes as near as any; as a definition, however, it is much more comprehensive than specific. It may be true that all romantic literature is liberal and tolerant; it by no means follows that all liberal and tolerant literature is romantic. Professor Beer's attempt, "Romanticism is a return to the spirit of the Middle Ages" is as much too narrow as Victor Hugo's is too broad. Romanticism as interpreted by Walter Pater is similar to that of Professor Beers. In explaining Medievalism, Mr. Pater says: "Medievalism has a romantic spirit, the essential elements of which are curiosity and love of beauty, and it is only as an illustration of these qualities that Romanticism seeks the middle ages. Because of the overcharged atmosphere of the Middle Ages there are unworked sources of a romantic effect of a strange beauty to be won by strategy and imagination of things likely or remote." The "Century Dictionary" speaks of Romance as "A tale in verse in one of the romance dialects as early French or Provincial; a popular epic,; a fictitious story of heroic, marvelous or supernatural elements derived from history or legend. A tale or novel dealing not so much with real life as with

extravagant and often extraordinary life ("Don Quixote"), with rapid and violent changes in scenes and fortunes (i.e. "Count of Monte Cristo") with mysterious and supernatural events ("Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde"), with morbid idiosyncracies of temperament (i.e. "Caleb Williams") or finally picturing imaginary conditions influenced by imaginary characters. (i.e. Fougne's "Undine"). Romantic writers are dissatisfied with artistic material furnished by everyday life. When a romanticist constructs a story he weaves it out of different material from that of everyday experience. Thus the new Romanticism is antagonistic to realism. Strangeness of place rather than remoteness of time is characteristic of Romanticism, any atmosphere of great passion as of pathos, fury or tragedy, is necessary. However, none of these attempts at explanation truly describes it, so that we may say that Romanticism escapes definition.

It is quite true that there are certain tendencies as a love of the picturesque, a deeper feeling for nature, as spirit ready for revolution, as aspiring for better things, that in so far as they were opposed to the spirit of the Augustan age, were decidedly romantic in character. With different ages the same characteristics carry a changed significance. To-day picturesqueness is so sought after

that it has become **extremely** artificial and hence decidedly non-romantic. Revolt either in life or literature is a twentieth century conventionality. A vacation, a cheap excursion, and a "good old country dinner" are now synonymous with the "return to nature" of a hundred years ago. Romanticism, if it implies anything, denotes being different; nowadays being different simply signifies more individuality than the average. Terms that were most romantic have now become extremely hackneyed; an "Ivory brow" and "raven tresses" are found in all the "penny dreadfuls" of the day. Moreover, science, by realizing some of the wildest dreams of the romanticists has made these dreams quite commonplace. In recent years we have actually winged our way to the clouds.

Within the last year Paul Elmer More has issued a book, "The Drift of Romanticism". In the chapter on Beckford, More answers three questions; namely, What Romanticism really is, the difference between the Occidental and Oriental sentiment toward the infinite, and the notion of personality, together with the importance of Beckford's book, "Vathek". In regard to what Romanticism really is, More claims that Romanticism is merely a vague term mingling Eastern

religion with Western philosophy. After this statement Mr. More believes that there are questions to be answered; where lies the spirit of the movement, whence does the spirit of what we call Romanticism arise, and what has been its cause. In determining these facts, Mr. More starts out by explaining in the following quotations the difference between Occidental and Oriental sentiment toward the infinite.

"It is a commonplace that to the people of the East in general the emotion of the vast and vague associated with the divine, the mere escape from bounds which was implied in exaggeration conveyed to them an intimation of infinity in the absolute sense of complete independence of the infinite. And so we see in their religious poetry a constant effort to overwhelm the imagination with enormous numbers and magnitudes, and in their idols an attempt to portray the Gods by distortion and grotesqueness or by some quality that exceeds the human."

"On the contrary the people of the West, at least in so far as Greece may be said to have been their spokesman, had developed an inherent repugnance to the infinite, or the 'opinion' as expressed in the mere boundlessness. To them the divine was rather to be sought in the qualities of restraint and limitation and proportion. Their ideal

is conveyed in the word 'Autarkeia', in that self-completeness which seeks to convey the sense of pure infinity, not by the suggestion of vague unlimited forces forever striving for expansion, but by absolute control at the centre."

After contrasting the Occidental and Oriental idea of the infinite Mr. More gives as an example of contrast Homer with any of the Sacred Books of the East, or a stature of Apollo with any of the idols of the barbarians. Then the author deals with the attitude of personality of the East as contrasted with the West. He says:

"To the Western mind the sense of the Ego, as an active emotional entity was sharply defined and the last thing to be given up. The Oriental, on the contrary, never attained to a clear conception of this entity and in his mind it had a tendency always to dissolve into a mere name for an ephemeral group of sensations."

After giving us this dogmatic philosophy, Mr. More goes directly to the heart of the matter when he says that in the revolution of sentiment of which Alexandria was the centre, there grew a wild amalgamation of Eastern and Western religious creeds that had ideas that amidst the decay of the old world germinated into the new romantic thought. He says further:

"In the identification of the intellect with desire and its divorce from the will, in this vague yearning of the intellect for the infinite fullness of the Father, and the birth of the world from emotion (pathos), I seem to see into the real heart of what after many centuries was to be called romanticism--the infinitely craving personality, the usurpation of emotion over reason, the idealization of love, the confusion of the sensuous and the spiritual, the perilous fascination that may go with these confusions. It is like a dream of fever, a beautiful and malign by turns; and looking at its wild sources, one can understand why Goethe curtly called Romanticism disease and Classical health. Naturalism of the eighteenth century gave Romanticism its full force."

In treating "Vathek" More claims that it embodies the Oriental conception of egoism. The strangeness, wonder, and fantastic horror are qualities of the Oriental together with morbid egotism which is born of the union of an intensely felt personality with the notion of infinity as an escape from limitations. More philosophically declares that the restlessness that is apparent in Beckford's work makes the romantic tendency emphasized. He also gives his impressionistic criticism, claiming that although Beckford

was fitful, seldom under control and no seer or philosopher, still he symbolized a great truth better than Goethe or any other man of his age.

After this philosophical view of the subject one is left quite bewildered as to judging a bit of literature, so we will merely say that the romantic qualities of a piece of literature are a matter of taste. Wordsworth's "Peter Bell" enabled its author to give full vent to his sympathetic emotion; it interested Byron only in so far as it was to him ridiculous. There are others who will not read it at all. To a great many people Byron appears as the ideal type of romanticist; in Professor Beer's "History of Romanticism" Byron is comparatively disregarded. To a philologist a dissertation on "Terminations in I" might suggest all sorts of romantic possibilities; to an ordinary man it might appear less attractive than a piece of war-time hardtack. Some students of literature might find pleasure in classifying and labeling the romantic characteristics in Byron's Oriental tales; the average reader is content to feel more romantic and less analytical in enjoying these beautiful romances.

For us, then, it is pardonable to adopt the point of view of the average modern reader in making a few comments

in Byron's Oriental Romanticism. It is the proper point of view because it is that of the majority; it is particularly proper for us because it is the point of view of the class to which we belong. Poetry or literature of any kind, can have no widespread influence when it appeals only to a select few. Mark Twain has done more to mold public thought, (and to mold public thought must be the highest aim in literature) than most of our more scholarly writers. Mark Twain's works live and will continue to live because he strikes a responsive chord in all classes of readers. Byron's Oriental tales are still read because they still strike a responsive, sympathetic chord in all classes of readers.

A more scholarly criticism would undoubtedly either here or previously have devoted some pages and notes on the form of Byron's Oriental poetry. We must confess, however, that the charm of Byron's poetry has made us entirely forget mechanical details. However, we discover in "Tales Chiefly Oriental" a form of the rhyming couplet showing Byron's clinging to eighteenth century classicism; in "Manfred" and "Cain" blank verse is employed, and in "Don Juan" there is a modification of the Spenserian stanza. These details may have had some significance in showing Byron's

poetical development; if so they have undoubtedly received proper analysis. Our only excuse is that we have permitted appreciation to overshadow analytical criticism.

It is safe for us to assume that there are two striking characteristics in Byron's Oriental poetry that, now, as heretofore, have aroused within the reader that feeling of escape from the prosaic that is well-called romantic. The first of these characteristics is simply Orientalism. The more we learn about the "mysterious East", the greater becomes the mystery. The Orient, particularly China and Japan, is unfolding to us day by day, year by year; with increased knowledge, however, we have only increased wonder. No writer has perhaps absorbed more of the Oriental spirit than Lord Byron; certainly few writers have re-breathed that spirit in more charming garb. In these days of automobiles and aeroplanes it is restful, it is delightful, it is romantic to wander with Byron in that

"Fair clime where every season smiles
Benignant o'er those blessed isles."

We have learned; we know the East geographically; the Eastern spirit we shall likely never understand. It is something irreconcilable to hustling America as it was quite antithetical to the England of Byron's time. One hundred

years ago Byron's Oriental tales possessed that tritely expressed quality of Romanticism, "Strangeness added to beauty" The progress of a century has only given increased glamour to this strangeness. This one trait of Byron's Romanticism time has and will augment; in the future, and even now, we call Byron's Oriental tales romantic, if for no other reason than that they recall or revive the spirit of the past. Just as Romanticism may lose certain attributes in changing ages, so may it also gain certain romantic qualities through the march of centuries.

We have mentioned Byron's Orientalism as one prominent characteristic of his Romanticism; the second no less prominent trait is his portrayal of emotional character--his passion. It is a characteristic that remains unaffected by the changing standards of countless ages. Since the Creation the fundamental elements of human nature have remained the same. In the literature of all ages, of all nations, man has been and is an all absorbing theme. As long as man is man Byron's Oriental tales will find interested readers. In these tales he emphasized the primary passions of men--love, hate, ambition, revenge; the passions that gathers strength in the Garden of Eden and plays the ultimate part in the destinies of men to-day.

If there are any romantic elements in one's nature they are called into play by a perusal of these tales. In "The Giaour" in the "Bride of Abydos", and in "The Corsair" we are permitted, nay we are compelled, to escape from the materialism of the present day ideals. The wild, the savage, the untamed, the intensely human in us is quickened to response. We love, we hate, we experience all the emotions that Byron has so vividly called into life. We forget that "Gulnare", "Conrad" and "Lara" are creations of the poet's genius, or, if we do not forget it, we completely disbelieve it. Mere fancy could scarcely effect such vivid reality; we are convinced that Byron must have experienced or witnessed what he has described. Because this is true, because Byron owes his awakening to the kindred spirit of the East, we are justified in calling this trait in his poetry his Oriental Romanticism.

It is a matter of conjecture what Byron would have accomplished had he never visited the East; it is a matter of history that the influence of the East wrought a complete if unconscious, change in his life and in his poetry. In his "Hours of Idleness" we find little indication of "The Corsair", "Don Juan" and "Child Harold." Between 1809 and 1811 a new spirit took possession of the man; or more

properly speaking, the real Byronic spirit was awakened by his Oriental environment. Once awakened, as we have seen, this Oriental spirit never became dormant again. It is most strikingly evident in his "Tales, Chiefly Oriental", and "Don Juan" but it also permeates all his later poetry; and it is the poetry that he wrote after 1809 that has entitled him to be called a romantic poet. He was called a romanticist then because of many characteristics that have since lost the savor of novelty. He must still be called a romantic poet to-day, as we have suggested, because of his Orientalism and because of his power in portraying emotional character. This power received stimulus and nourishment under the Eastern sky. Thus, for much of his permanent Romanticism Byron is deeply indebted to the Orient. In short he is an Oriental Romanticist.

APPENDIX A.

NOTES.

Page 39, Note 46.

Mr. Bentley in his "Miscellany", in comparing Lord Byron's Oriental tendency with that of Lady Mary Wortley Montague says: "Souls made of fire and children of the sun with whom revenge was virtue. Misunderstood, calumniated, they quitted the land which was not worthy of them. Genius born, they both passed to the East, and to them we owe the most inspired pictures of the land of the citron and the myrtle, that have ever waked the wish and melted the hearts of us readers."

Page 40, Note 47.

On Byron's orientalism see:

(a) "Die Belesenheit des jungen Byrons" Dissertation-- von Ludwig Fuhman, Berlin, 1903.

(b) "Byrons und Moores Orientalische Gedichte, eine Parallele"--Dissertation--O. Thiergen, Leipzig, 1880.

(c) "Byron und Moore"--Dissertation--von Edgar Dawson, Leipzig, 1902.

Page 41, Note 53.

Ethel C. Mayne's "Life" Vol. I. pp. 24-25, has a very interesting account of May Gray, who would require him to learn and repeat psalms while she would "put on the appliances to his little twisted limb." These teachings were often associated with personal cruelties.

Page 42, Note 57.

Richard Knolles (1550-1610) in 1603 published his "General History of the Turks." He spent twelve years in writing it and when finished it consisted of 1200 pages. The book ran through six editions and in 1687 a seventh edition was revised and continued by Sir Paul Rycaut. Dr. Johnson (in "The Rambler") commends the freshness and fidelity of the work but declares the subject foreign and of no value-- "A remote and barbarous nation, of which none desire to be informed.

Page 42, Note 58.

Sir Paul Rycaut (1628-1700) was a celebrated traveller and author. He was for a long time attached to the Porte in Turkey. In 1663 he published "The Capitulations and Articles of Peace Between England and The Porte", and in

1688 published in a three volume edition "The Present State of the Ottoman Empire."

Page 42, Note 59.

Prince Cantimir was an eminent writer born at Constantinople in 1709. He was educated in Russia. He died in 1744, leaving a high reputation as a poet, diplomat and man. It is quite possible that Byron refers to Dimitrius Cantimir (1673-1723). He was a celebrated Historian and Orientalist. Among other things he wrote a "History of the Origin of the Ottoman Empire."

Page 43, Note 64.

Hafiz, probably the greatest of Persian poets, was born at Shiraz about 1300. Love and wine were said to be his favorite subjects for poetry. He is especially known for his lyrics. His works, collectively entitled "The Divan" were published in Persian at Calcutta in 1791. Portions have been translated into English by J. Richardson (1774) and J. H. Hindley (1800). He died in 1390. See lines 707-708, "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" and note.

Page 44, Note 66.

Moore's "Life", Vol. I, p. 95. Moore's comment on Byron's reading is extremely interesting. To the early development in Byron of this taste for books he ascribes much of the poet's later success.

"The Westminster Review" in 1830 commented on Moore's passage thus: "There is a way of scouting through books which some people call reading and we are afraid much of the reading here set down was of that description." Mayne's "Life", Vol. I, p. 43.

Page 45, Note 70.

Lady Mary Wortley Montague (1699-1762) for a time resided at Constantinople. Her letters describing the scenes and customs of the Turkish city--possessed such charm and vividness that even Alexander Pope was inspired to write a "wild Eastern tale." Pope says: "After reading the "Persian Fables" (and I have been reading Dryden's "Fables" just before them) I had some thoughts of writing a Persian Fable, in which I should have given full loose to description and imagination. It would have been a very wild thing if I had executed it, but might not have been unentertaining."

Page 51, Note 92.

Byron had been abroad only two years, but in that time he had acquired much. With Hobhouse he sailed from England July 2, 1809. They arrived at Lisbon, July 7th, and on the 5th of August were at Gibraltar after riding 500 miles on horseback through Spain. On the 19th of August they sailed from Gibraltar for Malta. On the 29th of September we find Byron at Pisa, he having spent the interim visiting various parts of Albania. November 13th he set out through Aetolia toward the Morea and on the 21st was at Missolonghi, where fifteen years later he was to die. Going on to Patras they stopped there two weeks. Patras was left December 4th and three weeks later, on Christmas day, the two travelers arrived at Athens. They stayed in the Greek capital ten weeks and on March 5th set out for Smyrna. Here on the 28th Byron completed the second canto of "Childe Harold" The poem had been begun at Vanina, in Albania, on the previous 31st of October. April 11th, 1810, they set out for Constantinople, where they arrived May 14th. Here the two friends parted, Hobhouse going back to England. Byron remained in Constantinople two months and then went to Athens, in July 1810. Byron was in Athens and the surrounding neighborhood almost a year, although just where he was and what he was doing

the last month or so is not definitely known. On June 3rd, 1811, he was at Malta and starting for England. He arrived home early in July.

Page 57, Note 109.

Byron's advertisement to the "Giaour" is: "The tale which these disjointed fragments present is founded upon circumstances now less common in the East than formerly; either because the ladies are more circumspect than in the olden time, or because the Christians have better fortune or less enterprise. The story when entire, contained the adventures of a female slave, who was thrown, in the Mussulman manner, into the sea for infidelity, and avenged by a young Venetian, her lover."

Page 58, Note 114.

Hassan's mother who does not know he has been murdered by the Giaour, is awaiting her son's arrival. The beauty of the scene is terribly contrasted with the succeeding situation in which Hassan's death is made known. "Judges", Chap. 5, Verse 28.

Page 64, Note 119.

Anne Louise Germaine Necker (1767-1817). Byron speaks of her as follows: "Certainly the cleverest, not the most agreeable woman I have ever known. She declaimed to you instead of conversing with you, never pausing except to take breath." "Conversations" p. 26.

Page 64, Note 120.

See pages on Southey in Chapter I. Southey (1774-1843) had written "Thalaba the Destroyer" in 1800. He says of it in his preface: "From this (Arabian) end of the tale the present romance has grown.--It is Arabesque ornament of an Arabian Tale." "The Curse of Kehama" was based upon Hindoo mythology.

Page 71, Note 124.

D'Herbelot (1625-1695) was a French Orientalist born in Paris. In 1597, two years after his death, was published his "Biblioteque Orientale" or "Universal Dictionary", containing generally all that regards the knowledge of the Eastern nations.

Page 74, Note 128.

In his explanatory notes he makes use of the Turkish dictionary. Referring to the line "Within the caves of Istakar" in stanza 12, canto 1, he cites D'Herbelot, article "Istakar."

In stanzas 13, 14, and 15 of canto 11, he shows familiarity with Turkish history, and makes reference to some text as follows: "Giaffir Pacha of Argyro Castro, or Scutari, I am not sure which, was Albanian Ali, in the manner described in the text. Ali Pacha while I was in the country married the daughter of his victim, some years after the event had taken place in a bath at Sophia or Adrianople. The poison was mixed in a cup of coffee, which is presented before the sherbet by the bath-keeper, after dressing."

In a note on stanza 20, he says: "The wandering life of the Arabs, Tartars, and Turkomans will be found well detailed in any book of Eastern travels."

Page 80, Note 145.

"The Siege of Corinth" was dedicated to Hobhouse. It was prefaced by the following advertisement: "The Grand army of the Turks (in 1715) under the Prime Vizier, to open to themselves way into the heart of the Morea, and to form

the siege of the Napoli di Romania, the most considerable place in all the country, thought it best in the first place to attack Corinth, upon which they made several storms. The garrison weakened, and the governor seeing it was impossible to hold out against such a mighty force, tho't it fit to beat a parley, but while they were treating about the articles, one of the magazines in the Turkish camp wherein they had six-hundred barrels of powder, blew up by accident, whereby six or seven hundred men were killed; which so enraged the infidels that they would not grant any capitulation but stormed the place with so much fury that they took it, and put most of the garrison, with Signior Minotti the governor, to the sword. The rest, with Antonio Bembo, providitor extraordinary, were made prisoners of war." "History of the Turks", Vol. III, p. 151. See Cambridge edition, p. 384.

Byron had visited Napolio, Argus, and Tripolitza in 1810-11.

Page 81, Note 147.

The passage Byron refers to begins on page 134 of the English version of "Vathek" published by Nimmo and Bain, London, 1883. "Deluded Prince to whom Providence has con-

fided the care of innumerable subjects, is it thus that
 thou fulfillest thy mission? Thy crimes are already com-
 pleted; and art thou now hastening toward thy punishment?
 Thou knowest that, beyond these mountains, Eblis and his
 accursed dives hold their infernal empire; and, seduced by
 a malignant phantom, thou art proceeding to surrender thy-
 self to them. This moment is the last grace allowed thee---
 Thou beholdest the clouds that obscure the sun; at the in-
 stant he recovers his splendour, if thy heart be not changed
 the time of mercy assigned thee will be past forever. Vath-
 ek depressed with fear, was on the point of prostrating
 himself at the feet of the shepherd, whom he perceived to
 be a nature superior to man; but his pride prevailing, he
 audaciously lifted his head, and glancing at him one of
 his terrible looks said, "Whoever thou art, withhold thy
 useless admonitions; thou wouldst't either delude me, or
 art thyself deceived.---Let the sun appear! let him illum-
 ine my career! it matters not where it may end."

Page 82, Note 149.

The following are the lines from "Christabel":

"The night is chill, the forest bare,
 Is it the wind that moaneth bleak?"

There is not wind enough in the air
 To move away the ringlet curl
 From the lovely lady's cheek
 There is not wind enough to twirl
 The one red leaf, the last of its clan,
 That dances as often as dance it can
 Hanging so light, and hanging so high,
 On the topmost twig that looks at the sky."

Page 82, Note 152.

In "Parisinia" there is no tumult or stir. "It is all sadness, and pity and terror. There is too much of horror, perhaps in the circumstances; but the writing is beautiful throughout, and the whole wrapped in a rich and redundant veil of poetry, where everything breathes the pure essence of genius and sensibility." Jeffry in "Edinburgh Review."

Page 83, Note 162.

Byron married Anna Isabella Milbanks, Jan. 2, 1815. The marriage was the result of a sensible rather than an ardent courtship. For a time the couple were apparently happy. By the following year, however, shortly after the birth of their daughter, Augusta Ada, (Dec. 10, 1815) Lady Byron left her husband. We shall refrain from taking sides as to her justice in so doing. The separation came as a great blow to Byron and no doubt hastened his departure from England.

Page 87, Note 165.

In April, 1815, the "Hebrew Melodies" were published "with appropriate symphonies and accompaniments by I Braham and I Nathan". Here are some of the titles. "She Walks in Beauty"; "The Harp the Monarch Minstrel Swept"; "If that High World"; "The Wild Gazelle"; "Oh! Weep for Those on Jordon's Banks"; "Jeptha's Daughter"; "Oh! Snatched away in Beauty's Bloom, My Soul is Dark"; "I Saw Thee Weep"; "Thy Days Are Done"; "Saul"; "Song of Saul Before His Last Battle"; "All is Vanity" Saith the Preacher"; "When Coldness Wraps this Suffering Clay"; "Vision of Belshazzar"; "Sun of the Sleepless"; "Were My Bosom as False as Thou Deemst It to Be," "Herod's Lament for Marienne"; "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus"; "By the Waters of Babylon"; "The Destruction of Sennacherib"; "A Spirit Passed Before Me."

Page 93, Note 188.

"The Prisoner of Chillon" was written at Ouchy near Lausanne, at the end of June, and published with "The Dream" Dec. 5th, 1816. Acts I and II of "Manfred" were written in Switzerland September 17-29, 1816. Act III was written at Venice, April, 1817. The third canto of "Childe Harold"

was finished June 27, 1816, at Lusanne. Byron had also written "Churchill's Grave" "Sonnet to Lake Lemane", "Stanza to Augusta", "Monody on the Death of Sheridan", "Epistle to Augusta" and others.

Page 105, Note 218.

S. A. Howe in his "Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution", New York, 1828, devotes a chapter to Byron and his work. According to Dr. Howe the Greeks realized what a friend Byron had been to them after the poet had died and, in closing the chapter, Dr. Howe gives the following summary and incident in (Chapter I, Book IV) "If there was a man whose Phil hellenism was ardent and unaffected--if there was a man whose wishes for the good of Greece, and whose exertions to promote it were sincere, strong and untiring,--if there was a man who merits her everlasting gratitude--that man was Byron, and Byron will have it."

A footnote of the same chapter reads: "Crossing the Gulf Salamis one day in a boat with a rough mountain Captain and his men, I pulled out a volume of Byron's works and was reading, the wind blowing open the leaves, the Captain caught a glimpse of the portrait and recognized it. He

begged to take the book and looking for a moment with melancholy at the face of the noble Lord, he kissed it, and showed it to his men who did the same, saying: ἦ τὸν
Μεγάλους καὶ Καλός. (Thou wert great and noble.)

APPENDIX B.

- I. Authorities.--The best editions of Lord Byron's Poetical works are:
1. "The Works of Lord Byron with His Letters and Journals and His Life," by Thos. Moore. (17 Vols., London, John Murray, 1832, 1833.)
 2. "The Works of Lord Byron" (1 Vol. 1837; reissued 1838, 1892).
 3. "The Poetical Works of Lord Byron" (6 Vols. 1855)
 4. "The Works of Lord Byron", new revised and enlarged edition, "Letters and Journals" edited by G. B. Prothero, 6 Vols., "Poetry" edited by E. H. Coleridge (7 Vols. 1898-1903).
 5. "The Poetical Works of Lord Byron" with memoir by E. H. Coleridge (1 Vol., 1905)
- II. The principal biographies and critical notices are:
1. "Journey Through Albania with Lord Byron", by J. C. Hobhouse (1812, reprinted in 2 vols. 1813 and 1855).
 2. "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lord Byron" (by Dr. John Watkins) (1822).

3. "Letters on the Character and Poetical Genius of Lord Byron" by Sir E. Vrydges, Bart. (1824)
4. "Correspondence of Lord Byron with a Friend" (3 Vols. Paris, 1824)
5. "Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron", by R. C. Dallas (1824).
6. "Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron", by Capt. T. Medwin (1824).
7. "Last Days of Lord Byron", by W. Parry (1824).
8. "Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece," by E. Blaguiera (1825).
9. "A Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece," by Cont Gamba. (1825).
10. "The Life, Writings, Opinions and Times of Lord Byron", (3 Vols. 1825).
11. "The Spirit of the Age" by W. Hazlitt (1825).
12. "Memoir of the Life and Writings of Lord Byron", by Geo. Clinton (1826).
13. "Correspondence of Byron and Some of His Contemporaries", by Leigh Hunt (2 Vols. 1828).
14. "Letters and Journals of Lord Byron with Notices of His Life", by Thos. Moore. (2 Vols. 1830).

15. "The Life of Lord Byron," by J. Galt. (1830).
16. "Conversations on Religion with Lord Byron", by J. Kennedy (1830).
17. "Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington" (1834).
18. "Critical and Historical Essays", by T. B. Macaulay, I, 311-352 (1843).
19. "Lord Byron jugé par les temoins de sa vie"(1869)
20. "My Recollections of Lord Byron", by the Countess Guiccioli (1869).
21. "Lady Byron Vindicated, A History of the Byron Controversy," by H. Beecher Stowe (1870)
22. "Lord Byron, A Biography", by Karl Elze (1872)
23. "Kunst and Alterthum", Goethe's "Sämmtliche Werke" (1874) Vol. XIII, p. 641.
24. "Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson" (2 Vols. 1878).
25. "The Real Lord Byron," by J. C. Jeaffreson (2 Vols. 1878).
26. "A Selection, etc." by A. C. Swinburne (1885).
27. "Records of Shelley, Byron and the Author", by E. J. Trelawny, (1887).
28. "Memoirs of John Murray", by S. Smiles (2 Vols. 1891)

29. "Poetry of Byron", chosen and arranged by Mathew Arnold (Preface) (1892).
30. "The Siege of Corinth" edited by E. Kolbing (1869)
31. "Prisoner of Chillon and Other Poems", edited by E. Kolbing (1867)
32. "The Works of Lord Byron," edited by W. Henley, Vol. I (1897).
33. "A Brandl's Goethes Verhältniss zu Byron", Goethe Jahrbuch, Zwanzigster Band" (1899)
34. "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature" by G. Brandes (6 Vols. 1901-1905) (translated from the German).
35. "Chambers Cyclopaedia of English Literature" Vol. III (1903) "Byron", by T. Watts Dunton.
36. "Studies in Poetry and Criticism" by J. Churton Colline (1905).
37. "Lord Byron, sein Leben"; etc. by Richard Ackermann
38. Byron", 3 Vols. in the "Biblioteka velikikh pisatelei pod redaktsiei" edited by S. A. Vengeso^{va}, (St. Petersburg, 1906)--a variorum translation.
39. "Byron et le romantisme français," by Edmond ^{Ma}stive (1907).
40. "Byron" by Ethel C. Mayne (2 Vols. 1912).

III. Later editions of Byron's Works.

1. "Poetical Works" ed. by Mathilde Blind, London 1886.
2. "Poetry"; chosen and arranged by Mathew Arnold (Golden Treasury Series) London, 1890.
3. "Works" new revised and enlarged edition edited by E.H. Coleridge, London, 1898.
4. "Works" New revised and enlarged Letters and Journals, ed. by R. E. Prothero, London, 1898.
5. "Childe Harold" ed. with introduction and notes by H. F. Tozer, 3rd edition, Oxford, 1907.
6. "The Confessions of Lord Byron"; a collection of his private opinions of men and of matters taken from new and enlarged ed. of his "Letters and Journals". Arranged by W.A. L.Bettany, London, 1905.
7. "Selections from the Poetry", ed. with an introduction and notes by F. I. Carpenter, N. Y. 1900.
8. "With Byron in Italy"; being a selection of the poems and letters of Lord Byron which have to do with his life from 1816-23. Selected and arranged by A. B.McMahan, Chicago, 1906.

9. "Collected Works" ed. by J. C. Collins, 1905.
10. "The Revival of Romance: Scott, Byron, Shelley"
in "The Liberal Movement in English Literature"
by W. J. Courthope.

APPENDIX C.

Those tales of Byron that contain Byron's Oriental characteristics of style are:

Tales Chiefly Oriental

- "The Giaour" (published June 5, 1813),
 - "The Bride of Abydos" (published Nov. 29, 1813),
 - "The Corsair" (published Feb. 1, 1814),
 - "Lara, A Tale" (Published Aug. 6, 1814),
 - "The Siege of Corinth" (published Feb. 7, 1816),
 - "Parisina" (published Feb. 7, 1816).
- "Child Harold, (Published Mar. 10, 1812), (Fourth Canto published April 28, 1818.

Work Displaying Greek tone:

- "Sardanapalus" (published May 28, 1821).

Hebraic note is shown in:

- "Hebrew Melodies" (published April, 1815),
- "Cain, a Mystery" (published Dec. 19, 1821),
- "Don Juan" (published after his death),
- "Manfred" (published Sept. 29, 1816),

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- Keats, John, "Poems" ed. by S. Thorn Drury, London, (1896)
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