Byron's Religious Views with Special Reference to the Hebrew Melodies

by

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To

Dr. Melvin T. Solve

whose original suggestion
and subsequent advice
made this study possible
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Chapter I
Introduction

The Hebrew Melodies form part of the key which opens the door to Byron's religious beliefs. Most of these songs were inspired by Byron's reading and deep appreciation of the Bible. The purpose here is to point out what sections of the Bible were used as subject material for the Melodies and to indicate the great influence of Biblical teachings on Byron's life and religious opinions.

While the poems are not the best of Byron's poetry, yet they merit more attention than the past has accorded them. A perusal of Byron bibliography reveals that there is only one work devoted entirely to these Melodies, a German dissertation by Karl Adolf Beutler, Über Lord Byron's "Hebrew Melodies." This work needs supplementing for several reasons: Many of the Biblical sources cited are dubious and highly conjectural, other possible sources are ignored, Byron's personal religion is glossed over, and his Bible studies are attributed to artistic rather than religious impulses.¹

Byron's religious beliefs have been the subject of controversy since the publication of Cain, and what would be a better source for detecting these beliefs than a

series of religious poems with Biblical subjects set to Hebrew airs\(^2\) by a devout Jew? Too many students of literature are overwhelmed by the flagrant side of Byron's life, and, as it is the policy of publishers to print that which will profit most, this is the side that all the world is acquainted with. Any work which will shed light on the poet's fundamental humanity and deep religious propensities, which have long been held in abeyance, must be worth while.

This thesis will attempt to show the source of each melody and, if possible, Byron's reaction to it. The Hebraic element in his philosophical position will be amplified with references from his letters and poetry, and the possibility of integrating this element with the poet's professed beliefs in Calvinistic, Catholic, and other Christian dogma will be pointed out. Reconcilable patterns of Byron's religious thought will be fused and the many incompatibilities will be recognized. It is hoped that a more thorough and sympathetic understanding of Byron's

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\(^2\)The preface (p.6) of *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron*, London, 1829, by Isaac Nathan is of interest:

"The Hebrew Melodies are a selection from the favourite airs which are still sung in the religious ceremonies of the Jews. Some of these have, in common with all their Sacred airs, been preserved by memory and tradition alone, without the assistance of written characters. Their age and originality, therefore, must be left to conjecture. But the latitude given to the taste and genius of their performers has been the means of engraving on the original Melodies a certain wildness and pathos, which have at length become the chief characteristics of the sacred songs of the Jews."
inner conflicts and convictions concerning religion may be arrived at in the following pages.
Chapter II

The Genesis

The Hebrew Melodies were written, according to the "Advertisement" prefixed to Murray's first edition of the Hebrew Melodies, London, 1815, at the request of Byron's friend, Kinnaird, and were published with music arranged by Isaac Nathan. Another talented Jew, Isaac Braham, was to sing them in public, but professional occupations prevented him from fulfilling his part.3

There is some confusion over the years when the Melodies were composed and who inspired them. E. H. Coleridge, in his introduction to the Hebrew Melodies, says, "Byron's engagement to Miss Milbanke took place in September, 1814, and the remainder of the year was passed in London, at his chambers in the Albany. The so-called Hebrew Melodies were, probably, begun in the late autumn of that year, and were certainly finished at Seaham, after his marriage had taken place, in January-February, 1815. It is a natural and pardonable conjecture that Byron took to writing sacred or, at any rate, scriptural verses by way of giving pleasure and doing honour to his future wife, 'the girl who gave to song what gold could never buy.'"4 Beutler doubts the

3Byron, George Gordon: Works, Poetry. 7 V.
E. H. Coleridge, Ed.
London: John Murray 1898-1900, V.3, p. 376
4Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V.3, p. 375
accuracy of this last statement because "Das Gedicht 'By
the Waters of Babylon we sat down and wept' ist schon 1813
gedichtet." However, this is not necessarily a valid
argument, for, although the Melody "By the Waters of
Babylon" was written January 15, 1813, Byron met Miss
Milbanke in March of 1812 and asked for her hand in marriage
(the first time) in October of the same year. Perhaps
Brecknock has the most sensible attitude toward Lady Byron's
part in the poems: "No doubt the Hebrew Melodies was the
outcome of these Bibles studies, [youthful reading] although
we are led to believe that they were begun in 1814, while
Byron lived in London and during his engagement with Miss
Milbanke, and were finished at Seaham, after his marriage
had taken place, in January-February 1815. It is thought
that Byron took to these scriptural writings, by way of
giving pleasure and doing honor to his future wife, but
this is mere imagination, and we must take it for what it
is worth." With the exact inspiration somewhat in doubt,
one may assign January 1813-February 1815 to the Melodies
as the date of composition.

5 Beutler, Karl Adolf: op. cit., p. 121
6 Byron, George Gordon: The Complete Poetical Works
Cambridge Edition
Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin 1933, p. 222
Mayne, Ethel Colburn: The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella
Lady Noel Byron
Tbid., p. 48
9 Brecknock, Albert: Byron, A Study of the Poet in the Light
of New Discoveries
London: Cecil Palmer 1926, p. 114
These years in Byron's life were not at all uneventful ones. He had broken the liaison with Caroline Lamb and, just before the advent of the year 1813, entered into another with Lady Oxford who "almost alone of his conquests ... is referred to with gratitude." During this year his was a mixture of financial embarrassment and happiness in her affections. During the latter months of 1813 and part of 1814, Lady Frances Wedderburn Webster held the ascendancy in the poet's heart, and her memory must have lingered until his engagement in September, 1814. Byron was married January 2, 1815, and it was after the couple's return to the bride's home at Seaham that the Hebrew Melodies were finished.

The poetic production of Byron's pen during 1813-1815 was respectable in both senses of the word. Murray received the first draft of The Giaour in May of 1813. The Bride of Abydos and The Corsair soon followed in November, 1813 and January, 1814 respectively. Lara was finished in June, 1814 and The Siege of Corinth begun in January, 1815. These with the Hebrew Melodies and a few other short lyrics constituted the poetic output of the period treated in this study.

The title Hebrew Melodies is somewhat misleading, for

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10 Mayne, Ethel Colburn: Byron 2 V. New York: Scribner's 1913, V. 1, p. 254
three love songs, "She Walks in Beauty," "Oh! Snatched Away in Beauty's Bloom," and "I Saw Thee Weep," as well as "Sun of the Sleepless," are not Biblical in nature. Nathan's folio contains two non-Biblical fragments, "It Is the Hour When from the Boughs" and "Francesca Walks in the Shadow of Night;" and his Fugitive Pieces, 1829, add the following hitherto unpublished poems: "I Speak Not, I Trace Not," "They Say that Hope Is Happiness," and the genuine Hebrew Melody "In the Valley of Waters" or "By the Waters of Babylon" as it is sometimes called. Jeffrey, in the Edinburgh Review, December, 1816, vol. XXVII, p. 291, thought that the Hebrew Melodies, though "obviously inferior" to Lord Byron's other works, "display a skill in versification and a mastery in diction which would have raised an inferior artist to the very summit of distinction."12

This versification and diction is aptly exemplified in the poem "The Destruction of Sennacherib":

The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold;
And the sheen of their spears was like stars on the sea,
When the blue wave rolls nightly on deep Galilee.

Like the leaves of the forest when Summer is green,
That host with their banners at sunset were seen;
Like the leaves of the forest when Autumn hath blown,

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11Byron, George Gordon: Works, Poetry V. 3, p. 377
12Ibid. cit.
That host on the morrow lay wither'd and strown.
For the Angel of Death spread his wings on the blast,
And breathed in the face of the foe as he pass'd!
And the eyes of the sleepers wax'd deadly and chill,
And their hearts but once heaved, and for ever grew still!

And the widows of Ashur are loud in their wail,
And the idols are broke in the temple of Baal;
And the might of the Gentile, unsmote by the sword,
Hath melted like snow in the glance of the Lord!
Chapter III
The Sources

The Hebrew Melodies seem to fall into four categories, and Beutler\(^\text{13}\) has ingeniously grouped them in the following manner which admirably suits the present purpose:

I True Hebrew melodies

1. Epic poems
   "Vision of Belshazzar"
   "Saul"
   "The Destruction of Sennacherib"

2. Lyric monologues
   "Jephtha's Daughter"
   "Song of Saul before his Last Battle"
   "My Soul Is Dark"
   "Herod's Lament for Mariamne"

3. Hymns
   "The Wild Gazelle"
   "Oh! Weep for Those"
   "On Jordan's Banks"
   "The Harp the Monarch Minstrel Swept"
   "Thy Days Are Done"
   "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem"
   "Were my Bosom as False as Thou Deem'st It to Be"

\(^{13}\text{Beutler, Karl Adolf: op. cit., p. 39}\)
"By the Rivers of Babylon We Sat Down and Wept"
"By the Waters of Babylon"

4. Didactic Lyrics

"A Spirit Passed before Me"
"All is Vanity, Saith the Preacher"
"If that High World"
"When Coldness Wraps this Suffering Clay"

II Pure Lyrics

"She Walks in Beauty"
"Sun of the Sleepless"
"Oh! Snatched Away in Beauty's Bloom"
"I Saw Thee Weep"

The source of "Vision of Belshazzar" is the book of Daniel, chapter 5, verses 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 31. Certain lines of the poem follow the Biblical text closely:

In that same hour and hall,
The fingers of a hand
Came forth against the wall,
And wrote as if on sand:

The obvious source reads: "In the same hour came forth the fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace:"

'Let the men of lore appear,
The wisest of the earth,
And expound the words of fear,
Which mar our royal mirth.'

14Holy Bible
King James Version
New York: American Bible Society, N. D.
The Scripture yields: "The king cried aloud to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers."

Byron has erred in describing Daniel as

A captive in the land,

A stranger and a youth,

for at the time of the deciphering Daniel must have been well advanced in years. When Nebuchadnezzar conquered Judah in 605 B.C., Daniel was one of the children who were renamed as the book of Daniel, chapter 1, verse 6 relates. The Jews came under Persian rule in 538 B.C., this date marking the fall of Belshazzar. Therefore, at the fall of Belshazzar Daniel must have been over sixty-seven years of age, and it was into the court of Nebuchadnezzar that he came as "a captive and a youth." That the theme was a favorite one with Byron is shown by a miscellaneous poem called "To Belshazzar" written February 12, 1815, and by the passage in Don Juan:

These Oriental writings on the wall,
Quite common in those countries, are a kind
Of monitors adapted to recall
Like skulls and Memphian banquets, to the mind
The words which shook Belshazzar in his hall,
And took his kingdom from him:

The source of "Saul" is the first book of Samuel,
chapter 28, verses 11, 14, 15, 19, 20 where Samuel cries:

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15 Langer, William L.: An Encyclopaedia of World History
Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1940, p. 31
16 Loc. cit.
17 Canto III, Stanza 65
"Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" Byron echoes this with

"Why is my sleep disquieted?
Who is he that calls the dead?"

The poet in later years spoke of the Biblical ghost scene with the witch of Endor as one of the finest in all literature: "But since we have spoken of witches, what think you of the witch of Endor? I have always thought that the finest and most finished witch-scene that ever was written or conceived, and you will be of my opinion, if you consider all the circumstances and the actors in the case, together with the gravity, simplicity, and dignity of the language."  

During the writing of "Saul" Byron told Nathan that "Napoleon would have ranked higher in future history, had he even like your venerable ancestor Saul, on Mount Gilboa, or like a second Cato, fallen on his sword, and finished his mortal career at Waterloo."  

18 Beutler (p. 56) points out a scene in Manfred which he feels shows the influence of the Biblical Witch of Endor:

Manfred. "Call up the dead--my question is for them."

Nemesis. "Whom wouldst thou Uncharnel?
Manfred. "One without a tomb--call up Astarte."

Saul. "Bring me him up whom I shall name unto thee."
Witch. "Whom shall I bring up unto thee?"
Saul. "Bring me up Samuel."  

1 Samuel 28: 8-11

19 Kennedy, James: Conversations on Religion with Lord Byron
London: John Murray 1830, p. 154

20 Nathan, Isaac: Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron
London: Whittaker, Treacher & Co. 1829, p. 39
admiration for Napoleon is remembered, this statement will be seen to bear great significance concerning his opinion of the Biblical character. While discussing "Saul" Nathan remarked, "I felt a difficulty in the composition, because I saw the height of beauty his lines had reached, and I trembled lest he had soared too high for my imagination's accompaniment: it was therefore with some apprehension I rehearsed the composition to him."\textsuperscript{21}

The material for "The Destruction of Sennacherib" may have been taken from several places in the Bible. This passage from the second book of Kings, chapter 19, verse 35, "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses," is echoed in:

For the Angel of Death spread his wings on the blast,
And breathed in the face of the foe as he pass'd;
And the eyes of the sleepers wax'd deadly and chill,
And their hearts but once heaved, and for ever grew still!

In the same vein is verse 21, chapter 32 of the second book of Chronicles: "And the Lord sent an angel, which cut off all the mighty men of valor, and the leaders and captains in the camp of the king of Assyria." A similar

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Ibid.}: p. 54
passage may be found in Isaiah, chapter 37, verse 36.

The story of "Jephtha's Daughter" comes from Judges, chapter 11, verses 30-40. Here the daughter says, "My father, if thou hast opened thy mouth unto the Lord, do to me according to that which hath proceedeth out of thy mouth; forasmuch as the Lord hath taken vengeance for thee of thine enemies, even of the children of Ammon." Byron has turned this into passionate verse:

Since our Country, our God—Oh, my Sire!  
Demand that thy daughter expire;  
Since thy triumph was brought by thy vow—  
Strike the bosom that's bared for thee now!

Nathan seems to have tried to draw Byron into a discussion of the actual fate of Jephtha's daughter, although, seemingly, verse 39 makes clear that the father "did with her according to his vow which he had vowed: and she knew no man." But the vow (verse 31) was that "whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me... shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt offering." One Jewish source says, "As Nathan read the Scripture; and as many others also read it, Jephtha's daughter did not perish as a consequence of her father's vow; but Byron observed: 'Do not seek to exhume the lady.'"22 Certainly Byron had no opinion to offer in the matter: "Whatever may be the absolute state of the case, I am innocent of her

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22 Abrahams, Israel: By-Paths in Hebraic Bookland  
Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society 1920, p. 209
blood; she has been killed to my hands." 23 "Well, my hands are not imbrued in her blood." 24

"Song of Saul before his Last Battle" appears to be a monologue by Saul. The death of Saul and his sons in the first book of Samuel, chapter 31, verses 3-6 is the probable source: "Then said Saul unto the armourbearer, Draw thy sword, and thrust me through therewith; lest these uncircumcised come and thrust me through and abuse me."

Byron's second stanza represents Saul's command to his armourbearer before the battle:

Thou who art bearing my buckler and bow,  
Should the soldiers of Saul look away from the foe,  
Stretcher me that moment in blood at thy feet!  
Mine be the doom which they dared not to meet.

It is evident from a conversation between Byron and Nathan that the former's Calvinism played a part in his interpretation of Saul's character; moreover, it may be said that this conversation shows Byron's feeling of kinship for his fellow-sufferer Saul: "That man is not to be utterly despised as a coward whom supernatural evils have worn down; nor is it difficult to account for the subsequent weakness of Saul, who was once gloriously surrounded by strength, power, and the approbation of his God, when we perceive that he had sunk from this, to a reliance on his own exertions even for safety. The confidence he possesses,

23 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., pp. 11-12  
24 loc. cit.
the power he beholds, were all blighted ere he sunk to pusillanimity; in spite of which, I cannot but uphold him originally a brave and estimable man... Here is the belief in divine predestination with its accompanying expiation for the Fatal Being who is powerless to escape the toils.

"My Soul is Dark" is another Saul monologue, according to Beutler, and the probable source is the first book of Samuel, chapter 16, verse 23: "And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a harp, and played with his hand; so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him." Byron has transmuted this scene into Saul's outpouring:

My soul is dark—Oh! quickly string
The harp I yet can brook to hear;
And let thy gentle fingers fling
Its melting murmurs o'er mine ear.

Nathan gives evidence that this poem was written offhand in a typical Byronic burst of inspiration which was engendered by the current assertions that his intellects were impaired. This evidently amused him and he declared

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25 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., pp. 88-89
26 Beutler, Karl Adolf: op. cit., p. 85
27 The music historian Burney, in his A General History of Music, New York, 1935, p. 196, believes, "Without having recourse to a miracle in the case of Saul, who had offended the Divinity by his disobedience, the whole of David's power over the disorder of that unfortunate prince, might be attributed to his skilful and affecting manner of performing upon the harp."
that he would see how a madman could write: "Seizing the pen with eagerness, he for a moment fixed his eyes in majestic wildness on vacancy; when, like a flash of inspiration, without erasing a single word, the above verses were the result." Again it appears that Byron felt a certain affinity for Saul in the latter's soul-sickness. At least, such lines as

I tell thee, minstrel, I must weep,
Or else this heavy heart will burst;
For it hath been by sorrow nursed,

seem much closer to Byron's Weltschmerz than they do to the dignified suffering of Saul.

It is well to note here that Byron himself was wont to "yield to song" and evidently felt keenly the power of music, as attested by Moore: "I have, indeed, known few persons more alive to the charms of simple music; and not infrequently have seen the tears in his eyes while listening to the Irish Melodies."

The story of "Herod's Lament for Mariamne" does not

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28 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., p. 37
29 There are passages in Ossian (whom Byron had read, as shown by a letter to Ensign Long, April 16, 1807) that are similar to parts of "My Soul Is Dark": "On the harp arose the white hands of Cina-morul. She waked her own sad tale, from every trembling string." (p. 344) "Though the race of kings are [sic] around me, yet my soul is dark." (p. 346)
30 Moore, Thomas: Byron's Life
London: John Murray 1847, p. 137
appear in the Bible, but it is quite likely that Byron was familiar with it through Josephus. That Byron's historical reading was wide enough to include Josephus is evinced in a letter to Dallas in 1808: "As to my reading, I believe I may aver without hyperbole, it has been tolerably extensive in the historical department: So that few nations exist, or have existed, with whose record I am not in some degree acquainted, from Herodotus down to Gibbon." Beutler felt otherwise about it after a perusal of Byron's reading list: "Dass Byron diese Quelle direkt gelesen hat, scheint mir zweifelhaft. Auf der in Harrow zusammengestellten Liste gelesener Autoren, die Moore Abgedruckt hat, findet sie sich nicht.... Dagegen ist die Episode so bekannt, dass sie schon der Knabe in Harrow in diesem oder Zusammenhange gehört haben wird." Inasmuch as the date of the Melody is 1815, one may presume that Byron had widened his historical reading by then.

Evidently Byron did not think very highly of these lines, for his reply to Nathan's request for so many dull lines—meaning plaintive—was, "Here, Nathan, I think you will find these dull enough." Then he handed him the beautifully pathetic lines of "Herod's Lament for Mariamne."

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33 Beutler, Karl Adolf: op. cit., pp. 107-8
34 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., p. 51
The source of "The Wild Gazelle" is undoubtedly Lamentations, chapter 5, verses 7, 11, and 18. Byron's lines

The cedars wave on Lebanon,
But Judah's statelier maids are gone!

seem to derive quite naturally from, "They ravished the women in Zion, and the maids in the city of Judah." Other lines, such as, "Because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate, the foxes walk upon it," apparently carry the spirit and mood of Byron's rendition. The poet's admiration for the gazelle or antelope, as shown in his journal of 1814, may account for his contrast of the carefree gazelle with the care-laden people of Salem: "The only person who much struck me was... Lady Charlotte Leveson... and there is that shyness of the antelope (which I delight in) in her manner so much, that I observed her more than I did any other woman in the rooms." 36

"Oh! Weep for Those" was inspired by Psalm 137, verse 1:

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion."  From these lines Byron wrote:

Oh! weep for those that wept by Babel's stream,

35 Other lines from Byron on this beautiful animal are:

Oh! let that eye, which, wild as the Gazelle's,
Now brightly bold or beautifully shy,—

To Ianthe IV, 1-2

Her eye's dark charm 'twere vain to tell,
But gaze on that of the Gazelle.

36 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V.2, p. 406
Whose shrines are desolate, whose land a dream;—

The lines

Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast,
How shall ye flee away and be at rest!
The wild-dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country—Israel but the grave!

have a counterpart in Psalm 55, verse 6: "Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then I would fly away, and be at rest." The last two lines of Byron's Melody quoted just above are very much like these from Matthew, chapter 8, verse 20: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head."

Concerning this poem Nathan writes, "Throughout... these melodies, it will be observed... that Lord Byron has exhibited a peculiar feeling of commiseration toward the Jews. He was entirely free from the prevalent prejudices against that unhappy and oppressed race of men."37

"By the Rivers of Babylon We Sat Down and Wept" and "By the Waters of Babylon" "are but different versions of the same thought,"38 and have as their source Psalm 137, verses 1-6. This Psalm yields the line, "We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof," which is included in the former Melody as:

On the willow that harp is suspended,
On Salem!39 its sound should be free;—

37 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., p. 24
38 Byron, George Gordon: Works, Poetry V. 3, p. 402
39 This line from Ossian (p. 341) is somewhat reminiscent: "when harps are hung in Selma's hall."
and in the latter as:

All stringlessly hung on the willow's sad tree,

As dead as her dead leaf those mute harps must be;--

That Byron was familiar with this Psalm as early as 1812 is shown by a strange, mocking passage in a letter to Lord Holland: "By the waters of Cheltenham I sat down and drank, when I remembered thee, oh Georgiana Cottage! As for our harps, we hanged them up upon the willow that grew thereby. Then they said, Sing us a song of Drury Lane,' etc.; but I am dumb and dreary as the Israelites." Earlier in the same year, in a letter from Caroline Lamb, his attention was called to this Psalm: "... it is the most beautiful singing I ever heard; the choristers sing 'By the Waters of Babylon.'" Byron's first version was written a year later; so it might be that Caroline Lamb's effusion served as inspiration.

Byron's sympathies were with the Jews for, when commenting on the Babylonians' attempt to make the Israelites play their harps, he said to Nathan, "With all due submission to the Babylonians, I think their levity was ill-timed in trying to extort mirth from sorrow."

Walter Savage Landor, in his "Dialogue between Southey and Porson," attempted to ridicule the opening lines of "By the Rivers of Babylon We Sat Down and Wept" which read:

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40 Byron, George Gordon: Works, Letters and Journals V. 2, p. 143
41 Ibid.: p. 448
42 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., p. 45
We sat down and wept by the waters
Of Babel, and thought of the day
When our foe, in the hue of his slaughters,
Made Salem's high places his prey;—

Landor remarked: "A prey in 'the hue of his slaughters'!

This is very pathetic; but not more so than the thought it suggested to me, which is plainer—

"We sat down and wept by the waters
Of Camus, and thought of the day
When damsels would show their red garters
In their hurry to scamper away." 43

Moore's sixth Irish Melody has the same theme with similar treatment as Psalm 137 and Byron's two Melodies:

The harp that once through Tara's halls
The soul of music shed,
Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls
As if that soul were fled. 44

These poems of Moore's were written during the years 1807-14; 45 so it is very likely that Byron had read them before composing his own Hebrew Melodies. At least, one may suppose, for the purposes here, that he had read all of them composed before January 15, 1813, when he wrote "By the Rivers of Babylon We Sat Down and Wept," for his acquaintance with Moore dates from 1811. 46

Byron seems to have drawn upon several different Biblical sources for the material in "On Jordan's Banks."

These lines seem to be derived from Deuteronomy, chapter 9,
verse 10:

There— where thy finger scorched the tablet stone!
There— where thy shadow to thy people shone,
Thy glory shrouded in its garb of fire:
Thyself— none living see and not expire!

The Biblical lines are: "And the Lord delivered unto me two tables of stone written with the finger of God; and on them was written according to all the words which the Lord spake with you in the mount, out of the midst of the fire, in the day of the assembly." The last two lines quoted above of Byron's poem may have been derived from the second book of Kings, chapter 1, verse 10: "And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty." Psalm 13, verse 2 bears similarity to part of this Melody: "How long shall I take counsel in my soul, having sorrow in my heart daily? how long shall mine enemy be exalted over me?" Byron wrote:

How long by tyrants shall thy land be trod!
How long thy temple worshipless, O God!

"The Harp the Monarch Minstrel Swept" is in praise of the Psalms of David. Chapter 22, verses 2 and 7, in the second book of Samuel tell of David's devotion to the Lord and how he put it into song: "And he said, the Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer." "In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried to my God: and he did hear my voice out of his temple, and my cry did enter into his ears." Byron described the effect of David's lyre:

So told the triumph of our King,
It wafted glory to our God;—

In chapter 6, verse 14 of the second book of Samuel, one finds that "David danced before the Lord with all his might."

This may have evoked Byron's soaring "bursting spirit" of religious love and devotion:

Since then, though heard on earth no more,
Devotion and her daughter Love
Still bid the bursting spirit soar
To sounds that seem as from above,—

A history of music relates that during "the reign of king David, music was held in the highest estimation by the Hebrews. The genius of that prince for music, and his attachment to the study and practice of it, as well as the great number of musicians appointed by him for the performance of religious rites and ceremonies, could not fail to extend its influence, and augment its perfections: for it was during this period that music was first honoured, by being admitted in the ministry of sacrifice, and worship of the ark; as well as by being cultivated by a king."^7

"Thy Days Are Done" is purportedly a dirge by David for the death of Saul and may be traced to the second book of Samuel, chapter 1, verses 11, 19, and 24. In the Biblical version David laments bitterly the death of his former benefactor: "Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul." Byron felt

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47 Burney, Charles: A General History of Music 2 V.
New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1935, V. 1, p. 198
To weep would do thy glory wrong;
Thou shalt not be deplored.
Saul's deeds of valor while freeing his fellows from
bondage made him immortal in the romantic poet's eyes.

The conqueror Titus does not appear in the Bible; so
it may be conjectured that "On the Day of the Destruction
of Jerusalem by Titus" was inspired by Byron's reading of
Suetonius. That he read Suetonius is supported by a
statement in his reply to an article in Blackwood's Magazine
in which he is speaking of copying lines of poetry from
history: "I have copied it with as much indifference as I
would a passage from Suetonius." Psalm 79, verse 6 may
have contributed to the composition of this Melody: "Pour
out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee,
and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name."
This is very like Byron's lines:

Oh! would that the lightning had glared in
its stead,
And the thunderbolt burst on the conqueror's head!
The fact that the Psalm refers to an oppressor of a much

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48 Suetonius, Caesius: The Lives of the Twelve Caesars
New York: Modern Library 1931, p. 338
49 The character Titus must have deeply interested Byron
for, in later years, Medwin records in Conversations
of Lord Byron, p. 90, "I have been reading Tacitus' account
of the siege of Jerusalem under Titus. What a sovereign
contempt the Romans had for the Jews!"
50 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 4, p. 476
earlier period does not materially affect the above supposition.

At the time of the composition of this Melody Byron asked Nathan, "...who can behold the entire destruction of that mighty pile; the desolate wanderings of its inhabitants, and compare these positive occurrences with the distant prophecies which foreran them and be an infidel?" Obviously he was as deeply affected by the Jewish calamity as he was by the destruction he had viewed at Athens not long before the composition of this poem.

"Were my Bosom as False as Thou Deem'st It to Be" probably has no actual Biblical source. While writing the poem, Byron remarked to Nathan that the Jewish faith was "A fabric... on which the lapse of ages has had no power, and although many sects have risen to their zenith, and gone to decay, yet the primitive faith of the people, retains every original feature." These lines from this Melody corroborate this sentiment:

I have lost for that faith more than thou canst bestow,

As the God who permits thee to prosper doth know;--

"A Spirit Passed before Me" is taken from Job, chapter 4, verses 15-21. The following Biblical lines parallel Byron's poem: "Then a spirit passed before my face; the…

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51 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., p. 61
52 Ibid.: p. 76
hair of my flesh stood up." "Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker?" "Doth not their excellency which is in them go away? they die, even without wisdom." The corresponding lines from Byron's Melody are:

A spirit passed before me: I beheld 
The face of immortality unveil'd—

Along my bones the creeping flesh did quake; And as my damp hair stiffen'd, thus it spake:

'Is man more just than God? Is man more pure Than he who deems even Seraphs insecure?

Things of a day! you wither ere the night; Needless and blind to Wisdom's wasted light!'

The last two lines above embody much of Byron's opinion of the race of men. A letter to Thomas Moore in 1822 is equally enlightening: "Besides, they [mankind] think themselves so important in the creation, that nothing less can satisfy their pride—the insects!"53

A facetious letter to Murray shows that Byron knew well the book of Job: "I suspect that when the Arab Patriarch wished that his 'Enemy had written a book'54 he did not anticipate his own name on the title-page."55 Nathan, while discussing this Melody, says that Byron, upon "being consulted as to his opinion of the authenticity of the book of Job,... made several evasive replies..."the book contains

53 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 6, p. 36
54 Job 31: 35
55 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 3, p. 338
an excellent moral lesson, we will therefore not attempt to sap its credit, or shake its authenticity." Beutler feels that Byron's Calvinistic belief in predestination gave rise to this poem: "Auch in Buch Hiob (Kap. 14, 4) wird ja der Gedanke der Prädestination ausgesprochen. Und aus solchen Ideen heraus entstand auch das Gedicht: 'A Spirit Passed.' The sources of "All Is Vanity Saith the Preacher" may be found in Ecclesiastes, chapter 1, verses 2 and 11, chapter 2, verses 3, 4, and 7. The Preacher says, "There is no remembrance of former things; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after." This is like Byron's lines:

I strive to number o'er what days
Remembrance can discover,
Which all that life on earth displays
Would lure me to live over.

Again from the Preacher: "I sought in my heart to give myself unto wine, yet acquainting my heart with wisdom."

From this Byron wrote:

Fame, wisdom, love, and power were mine,
And health and youth possess'd me;
My goblets blush'd from every vine,
And lovely forms caress'd me;--

56 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., p. 73
57 Beutler, Karl Adolf: op. cit., p. 152.
58 Elsewhere in Byron's poetry are found references to this book of the Bible:

Ecclesiastes said, 'that all is vanity--'
Most modern preachers say the same, or show it by their examples of true Christianity:--

Don Juan VII, 6
It may be said that Byron and the Preacher were kindred spirits in their pessimistic philosophies. In his journal of 1813, Byron pronounces himself a proselyte of Ecclesiastes: "Went out—came home—this, that, and the other and 'all is vanity, saith the preacher' and so say I, as part of his congregation." 59

"If That High World" cannot be traced to any direct Biblical source, but Nathan has this to report of it: "On the occasion of his presenting me with these verses, I could not refrain from remarking that the monosyllable (if) with which it commenced would doubtless form the ground of very grave condemnation. He smiled, and observed, that there were two distinct classes of readers, especially of poetry: the one could understand and appreciate the feelings of a writer, without making every imaginative thought the foundation of a judgment on his principles; the other could neither understand nor judge of anything but matter of fact—line and rule critics—with whom he never had any great ambition to become a favourite." 60

Who, today, can read atheism or levity in such lines:

If that high world, which lies beyond
Our own, surviving Love endears;
If there the cherish'd heart be fond,
The eye the same, except in tears—
How welcome those untrodden spheres!

Yet, in a subsequent conversation with Nathan, Byron

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59 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 2, p. 370
60 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., p. 5
acknowledged the accusation: "They accuse me of atheism—an atheist I could never be—no man of reflexion, can feel otherwise than doubtful and anxious, when reflecting on futurity. Yet...

It must be so—'tis not for self,
That we so tremble on the brink—

[If That High World]

Alas! Nathan, we either know too little, or feel too much on this subject; and if it be criminal to speculate on it... I fear I must ever remain an awful offender."\(^{61}\) Are not these the words of a devout man afflicted only with a generous supply of "honest doubt"?

The astronomical observations in Matthew, chapter 24, verse 29 may have influenced the writing of "When Coldness Wraps This Suffering Clay": "Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." Marjarum believes this Melody to be an example of the power which the heavens exerted upon Byron's imaginative spirit: "In an outwardly Christian lyric, 'When Coldness Wraps This Suffering Clay!', he mingle with traditional ideas a peculiar notion of a magnetic attraction exercised by the stars."\(^{62}\)

Nathan, with customary loyalty, holds this poem up as

\(^{61}\)Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., p. 6
\(^{62}\)Marjarum, Edward Wayne: Byron as Skeptic and Believer
Princeton: 1938, p. 51
a refutation of Byron's religious detractors: "Atheism is held in such general abhorrence by every class of civilized society, that scarcely any man dares to avow himself an infidel; and when Lord Byron is taxed with such a creed, it must be by those who delight to deal in calumny without the shadow of a foundation. What can more clearly prove his belief in the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, than the first verse of this poem, which brings everything in heaven, earth, and immensity of space to prove that there must be a grand first cause." Nathan evidently means the first stanza, for the first verse does not convey all this:

When coldness wraps this suffering clay,
Ah! whither strays the immortal mind?
It cannot die, it cannot stray,
But leaves its darken'd dust behind.
Then, unembodied, doth it trace
By steps each planet's heavenly way?
Or fill at once the realms of space,
A thing of eyes, that all survey?

The "Pure Lyrics" are not Biblical in nature and neither do they have a single, unifying theme or idea. "She Walks in Beauty" was "written by Lord Byron on returning from a ballroom where he had seen Mrs. (now Lady) Wilmot Horton, the wife of his relation, the present Governor of Ceylon. On this occasion Mrs. W. H. had appeared in mourning, with numerous spangles on her dress."
"Sun of the Sleepless" called forth these eulogistic remarks from Nathan: "As a moralist, Lord Byron often calls in the works of nature, and the more sublime parts of the universe as a proof of the Supreme Being: the harmony of the solar system, the sun, moon, and stars are duly appreciated, as secondary to their original cause: who can read those sublime lines, and for a moment conceive that his Lordship was the least atheistical in his opinions of things?" This is reminiscent of the remarks on "When Coldness Wraps This Suffering Clay," as is the imaginative treatment of the celestial body in the poem itself:

Sun of the sleepless! melancholy star!  
Whose tearful beam glows tremulously far,  
That show'st the darkness thou canst not dispel,  
How like thou art to joy remember'd well!

In submitting "Oh! Snatched Away in Beauty's Bloom" to Byron's judgment, Nathan asked in what manner it might refer to any scriptural subject. Byron replied, "Every mind must make its own references; there is scarcely one of us who could not imagine that the affliction belongs to himself, to me it certainly belongs....She is no more, and perhaps the only vestige of her existence is the feeling I sometimes fondly indulge." This may be another reference to the mysterious Thyrza.

"I Saw Thee Weep" seems to be significant in no way and

65 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., p. 80
66 Ibid., p. 30
to no one; however, for this investigator, it contains the four most beautiful verses found in the Hebrew Melodies:

I saw thee weep—the big bright tear
Came o'er that eye of blue;
And then methought it did appear
A violet dropping dew——
Chapter IV
The Hebrew Element

That Byron was inclined favorably toward Oriental subjects is brought to light in a letter to Moore in 1813:
"Stick to the East;--the oracle, Stael, told me it was the only poetic policy. The North, South, and West, have all been exhausted; but from the East, we have nothing but Southey's unsaleables..."67 This is significant if it is remembered that the Melodies were written during 1813-1815. This attitude toward the East undoubtedly played a part in their composition, and it may account for Byron's professed preferment of the Old Testament to the New, for the New does not have the Oriental flavor and atmosphere of the Old:
"I am a great reader and admirer of those books, and had read them through and through before I was eight years old--that is to say, the Old Testament, for the New struck me as a task, but the other as a pleasure."68 This was not an altogether strange stand, for Byron was a literary man and scholarly opinion is in agreement upon the superior merit, as literature, of the Old Testament.

A contemporary Jewish historian sees in Byron's treatment of the Hebraic theme a beginning of the end of the persecution of the Jews in England: "Byron had seen much

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67 Byron, George Gordon: Works, Letters and Journals V. 2, p. 255
68 Ibid.: V. 5, p. 391
in his Eastern wanderings, and by his Hebrew Melodies had constituted himself in some sort the laureate of Disraeli's own race. There is in his work an intensity of grief and yearning, a vigour of thought combined with enchanting beauty of imagination, a tenderness which make him comparable only to the sweet Hebrew muse of Jehudah Halevi. Zionist poetry owes more to Byron than to any other Gentile poet. His Hebrew Melodies, which are among the most beautiful of his productions, have been translated many times into Hebrew, and there are no lines more popular and more often quoted than:

'The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country, Israel but the grave,'

"Oh! Weep for Those"

which might well have been a Zionist motto."69

Although the above is probably an exaggeration, there is a great deal of evidence that Byron's attitude toward the Jews was one of extreme toleration if not veneration:

"Throughout these melodies it will be observed... that Lord Byron has exhibited a peculiar feeling of commiseration toward the Jews. He was entirely free from the prevalent prejudices against that unhappy and oppressed race of men."70

In a parliamentary debate Byron rose and said, "It was said

69 Sokolow, Nahum: History of Zionism, 1600-1918 2 V. London: Longman's 1919, V. 1, p. 95
70 Nathan, Isaac: op. cit., V. 24 p. 342
by somebody in a former debate... if the Catholics are emancipated, why not the Jews? If this sentiment was dictated by compassion for the Jews, it might deserve attention."71 Again, when writing of his conversations on religion with Dr. Kennedy, he said, "I have found, indeed, one indisputable text in St. Paul's epistle to the Romans (Chapter 10th, I believe) which disposes me much to credit all of the rest of the dicta of that powerful Apostle. It is this (see the Chapter)---"For there is no difference between a Jew and a Greek." The rest of Romans 10:12 is:

"...for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." Finally, a commentary on Childe Harold, reported by Beutler, yields: "The Greeks... appear to have as small a chance of redemption from the Turks, as the Jews have from mankind in general."73

This is a rather staggering amount of evidence for Byron's benevolent attitude toward the Jews and their culture; however, it may be argued that it was simply Byron's desire to succor oppressed peoples, as witness his statements and actions for the Irish, Greeks, Catholics, and frame-breakers: for the Catholics, "It is indeed singular, that we are called together to deliberate, not on the God we

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71 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 2, p. 438
72 Ibid.: V. 6, p. 271
73 Beutler, Karl Adolf: op. cit., pp. 14-15
adore, for in that we are agreed...but... how far believing not too little, but too much (the worst that can be imparted to the Catholics) how far too much devotion to their God may incapacitate our fellow-subjects from effectually serving their king."\(^{74}\) For the frame-breakers, "When a proposal is made to emancipate or relieve, you hesitate, you deliberate for years, you temporize and tamper with the minds of men; but a death-bill must be passed off-hand, without a thought of the consequences,"\(^{75}\) For the Irish, "I subscribed at Leghorn two hundred Tuscan crowns to your Irishism committee."\(^{76}\)

-His exploits for the Greek cause are world-renowned.

Occasionally these democratic ideals clashed with the poet's interpretation of the Bible, and usually, as in one of his conversations with Dr. Kennedy, it is plain that his humanitarianism had the upper hand: "He had made it, he said, his business to converse with, and inquire into, the history of many wretched and deformed creatures with whom he had met, and he generally found their history a record of unvarying misery from their birth. 'How had these offended their Creator to be thus subjected to misery? and why do they live and die in this wretched state, most of them without the Gospel being preached to them and apart from

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\(^{74}\) Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 2, p. 431  
\(^{75}\) Ibid.: V. 2, p. 430  
\(^{76}\) Ibid.: V. 6, p. 96
It seems likely that Byron’s sympathy for the oppressed, together with his respect and appreciation for Jewish culture, was responsible for his championing of the Jews, and outbursts like the following were called forth by his irritation upon being twitted by Moore as to the manner in which some of the Melodies were set to music:78 “Curse the Melodies and the Tribes to boot. Braham is to assist—or hath assisted—but will do no more good than a second physician. I merely interfered to oblige a whim of Kinmaird’s, and all I got by it was ‘a speech’ and a receipt for stewed oysters.”79 In the same petulant vein is “Sun-burn Nathan! why do you always twit me with his vile Ebrew nasalities? Have I not told you it was all Kinmaird’s doing and my own exquisite facility of temper?”80

There is evidence that Byron possessed some scholarly knowledge of the Bible. In a letter to Murray in 1813, he rebukes the publisher for an erroneous correction he made of Byron’s Biblical allusions in Cain (he had put the name of Cain in the mouth of a Musulman.): “Do you suppose that no one but the Galileans are acquainted with Adam, and Eve, and Cain, and Noah?...—When you know that Zuleika is the Persian poetical name for Potiphar’s wife...this will not

77Kennedy, James: op. cit., p. 56
78Byron, George Gordon: Works, Poetry V. 3, p. 376
79Byron, George Gordon: Works, Letters and Journals V. 3, p. 180
80Ibid.: p. 184
surprise you." In a letter from Pietro Gamba to Dr. Kennedy, written after Byron's death, is a statement documenting Byron's familiarity with the Scriptures: "For the Bible he had always a particular respect. It was his custom to have it always on his study table, particularly during those last months; and you well know how familiar it was to him, since sometimes he knew how to correct your inaccurate citations." Indeed the learned doctor knew, and he made haste to explain that Byron's text was an unorthodox one; so that he (Kennedy) could never find the passage under discussion. Another statement which Dr. Kennedy recorded gives evidence of Byron's careful perusal of the Bible: "I am not convinced of the justice of your opinions respecting the ghost-scene in Samuel. I have been looking at the passage again, and do not see that distinction you make about the witch of Endor having been afraid when Samuel's ghost appeared, as an apparition which she did not expect."

In 1817, Byron spent some time translating into English from the Armenian Bible: "Did I tell you that I have translated two Epistles—a correspondence between St. Paul and the Corinthians, not to be found in our version, but

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81 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 2, p. 282
82 Kennedy, James: op. cit., p. 378
83 Ibid., p. 233
the Armenian."\(^{84}\) This leads one to believe that Byron had a passionate interest in the Bible, for the overcoming of his self-admitted laziness to the extent of translation speaks for unusual stimulation. He became so interested in his Armenian studies that he allocated the Garden of Eden to that country: "If the Scriptures are rightly understood, it was in Armenia that Paradise was placed—Armenia, which has paid as dearly as the descendants of Adam for that fleeting participation of its soil in the happiness of him who was created from its dust. It was in Armenia that the flood first abated, and the dove alighted. But with the disappearance of Paradise itself may be dated almost the unhappiness of the country; for though long a powerful kingdom, it was scarcely ever an independent one, and the satraps of Persia... desolated the region where God created man in his own image.\(^{85}\) And so again is found the note of compassion for the ruled, for those who do not have complete freedom.

Some critics have interpreted much of Byron's poetry in the light of the latter's Hebraic rather than Christian approach to religion. Marjarum feels that Byron's conception of the Deity was Hebraic as shown by his lack of interest in the New Testament and his infrequent mention of

\(^{84}\) Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 3, p. 90
\(^{85}\) ibid.: V. 4, p. 45
Christ in his poetry, and his refusal to accept the atonement as a universal act of expiation."86 This is borne out in no uncertain terms in a letter to Hodgson in 1811: "The basis of your religion is injustice; the Son of God... is sacrificed for the Guilty. This proves His heroism; but no more does away with man's guilt than a schoolboy's volunteering to be flogged for another would exculpate the dunce from guilt."87 So it is not strange, then, to find men asking, "Was he not himself, both in his intellect and his emotions, a man of the Old Testament type? In his soul resounded lamentations like those of Job when he was comforted and reproved by his friends, and cries for vengeance like those in the Psalms. The Hebrew Melodies prove how naturally the Jewish garment accommodated itself to the forms of his feeling."88

Even as a child Byron had deep regard and respect for the Bible, partly because of his rigid Calvinistic training in the Scotch school: "...being early disgusted with a Calvinistic Scotch school, where I was cudgelled to Church for the first ten years of my life, afflicted me with this malady; for, after all, it is, I believe, a disease of the mind as much as other kinds of hypochondria."89 He was

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86 *Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 4, p. 45
87 Ibid.: V. 2, p. 35
88 Brandes, George: *Main Currents in Nineteenth-Century Literature* 6 V.
   London: MacMillan 1905, V. 4, p. 312
89 *Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 2, p. 222*
speaking of man's aspirations for immortality. Many critics believe these early years of training determined his religious position for the rest of his life: "His early years had been spent, not in aristocratic, but in middle-class and pious circles. At Aberdeen he acquired the elements of that intimate knowledge of the Bible which he manifested throughout his life, and imbibed the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. For him to be religious meant to be Evangelical or Methodist."\(^9\) Even Lovelace had to respect Byron's religious views, but he accounted for them by a feline reference to the early training: "His views of nature were profound and poetical and so were those he took of the Bible; but for the latter he was indebted to the ennui he suffered from it at school."\(^9\)

There is evidence, however, that Byron's regard for the Bible went deeper than superimposed dogma is wont to do:

"'Old Nanny' [a servant at Newstead] often spoke of the reverence and love Lord Byron had for his Bible, and states that in his quieter moments he could often be seen reading it. The verse Byron wrote on the fly-leaf of his Bible was taught to William Smith, when quite a boy, by his mother. It runs as follows:

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\(^9\)Grierson, H. J. C.: "Byron and English Society"

Byron the Poet, Briscoe, W. A., Ed.

London: George Routledge 1924, p. 67

\(^9\)Lovelace, Ralph Milbanke: Astarte

London: Christophers 1921, p. 22
Within this sacred volume lies
The mystery of all mysteries.
Oh! unhappy he of human race
To whom our God hath given grace—
To read, to learn, to watch, to pray,
To lift the latch, to force the way.
But better he had never been born
Who reads to doubt, who reads to scorn."

A touching story from Moore is another indication that the youthful Byron took his Bible seriously: "Moore tells... of a poor woman who came into the bookseller's shop to buy a Bible...The cost proved to be beyond her means...She was going away when the boy [Byron] (for this was in the early days of durance) called her back, bought the Bible, and made her a present of it." It was about this time that Byron's nurse, Mary Gray, when putting on the appliances which his little twisted limb required, would teach him to repeat the first and twenty-third Psalms. Beutler quotes a certain Professor Wilson (without giving the title of his work either as footnote or bibliography) as saying of this instruction: "Out of these lessons arose, long afterwards, the 'Hebrew Melodies!'; but for them never would they have been written, though Byron had studied Lowth on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews all his life."

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93 Mayne, Ethel Colburn: *op. cit.*, V. 1, p. 84
94 Ibid. p. 24
95 Beutler, Karl Adolf: *op. cit.*, p. 10
Chapter V

The Christian Element

The pious spirit and tone of the Hebrew Melodies have puzzled many critics because of their belief that Byron was a kind of poetic demon, carrying all who listened before him in a whirlwind descent into the Pit. This mistaken idea has arisen from a lack of understanding of Byron's essential belief in predestination and its active influence on his life. It was this belief that enabled him to excuse all his sinful acts since he was not one of God's chosen. That is, he was foredoomed to sin and to be destroyed without hope of reprieve; so he did not fight against his supposedly irresistible evil desires, though at the same time he held the deepest of religious and moral tenets. An attempt will be made here to show that many critical statements are false and are the result of confusion concerning the poet's religious position: "...la corde qu'il a voulu toucher dans le coeur humain est antipoétique; pour tout dire d'un mot, 'le christianisme lui a manqué'.'"\(^{96}\) Such statements are not only untrue but grossly unfair. However, even his closest friends were deceived by the apparent flagrant contempt for things sacred: "The publication of Childe Harold

\(^{96}\) Estèbe, Edmond: Byron et le Romantisme Français
Paris: Librairie Hachette 1907, p. 249
was followed by consequences which seemed to have closed his heart against the long-tarrying spirit of God...Never was there a more sudden transition from the doubtings of a mind to which Divine light was yet accessible, to the unhesitating abandonment, to the blindness of vice. Lord Byron's vanity became the ruling passion of his mind. He made himself his own god; and no eastern idol ever received more abject or degrading worship from a bigoted votary."

Apparently a great difficulty lies in reconciling Byron's distaste for and distrust of humanity with Christian principles. A letter to Miss Milbanke states and clarifies his opinion of both: "I believe doubtless in God, and should be happy to be convinced of much more. If I do not at present place implicit faith in tradition and revelation of any human creed, I hope it is not from want of reverence for the Creator but the created...but the moral of Christianity is perfectly beautiful—and the very sublime of virtue—"

This distinction between the Creator and the created clarifies the confusion of Churchman, who contrasts the skepticism of Don Juan with "the generally respectful tone of the Hebrew Melodies... especially is this true of the lines beginning When Coldness Wraps this Suffering Clay, with their apparent acceptance of immortality—unless they must be thought wholly

97 Dallas, R. C.: Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron. London: Charles Knight 1824, p. 331
98 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 3, p. 403
objective. Count Gamba reports a conversation in which Byron said: 'How, raising our eyes to heaven, or directing them to earth, can we doubt of the existence of a God?—or how, turning them within us, can we doubt there is something more noble and durable than the clay of which we are formed.' Such remarks were not a part of Byron's literary legacy. The contrast between this mood and the bitter mockery of Don Juan gives the key to Byron's religious and philosophical position—waverer and at bottom, I fear, not wholly serious."99

True, such remarks were not part of Byron's literary legacy, but that does not preclude them from being a part of his honest religious and philosophical position. The key to the matter lies in the fact that his poetic productions were directed mainly against man and his stupidity, and they were often contradictory and trifling. But they were not sacrilegious in any way, unless anti-Calvinism can be called sacrilege. In this respect, especially in the drama Cain, "Byron did more to overthrow... the evil views of God as the omnipresent Tyrant, and of original sin as the evil he had inflicted upon mankind, in order to get men into His power that He might torment them, than was done by all the labors of philosophical theologians."100 It is in

99 Churchman, Philip H.: "Byron and Espronceda"
Revue Hispanique, XX
March (1909), pp. 25-26
100 Brooke, Stopford: "Byron's Cain"
Hibbert Journal, XVIII
(1919), p. 77
the poet's letters and journals, not intended for publication, that example after example may be found testifying to the uniform seriousness of his religious position: "Of the immortality of the soul it appears to me that there can be but little doubt, if we attend for a moment to the action of the mind."

"Matter is eternal, always changing, but reproduced, and, as far as we can comprehend Eternity, Eternal; and why not Mind? Why should not the Mind act with and upon the Universe? as portions of it act upon and with the congregated dust called Mankind?"

"Christianity appears to me essentially founded upon the Soul." These are not the words of one who takes Christianity, or any religion, lightly.

Shelley, it seems, found Byron religious in the latter's serious moments: "By what he said last night in talking over his Cain...I do believe, Mary, that he is little better than a Christian." Certainly the Countess Guiccioli thought of him as a Christian, especially in "those delicious 'Hebrew Melodies,' in which a belief in spirituality and immortality is everywhere manifest, and in which is to be found the moral indication if not the metaphysical proof, of the working of his mind in a religious point of view.

101 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 5, pp. 456-7
102 Ibid.: p. 458
103 Loc. cit.
104 Trelawny, E. J.: Records of Shelley, Byron and the Author London: George Routledge 1878, p. 45
as he matured in years. Two of these Melodies, especially the third ["If That High World"] and the fifteenth ["When Coldness Wraps this Suffering Clay"] contain so positive a profession of faith in the spiritualistic doctrines, and carry with them the mark of so elevated a Christian sentiment, that I cannot forbear quoting them in extenso.\textsuperscript{105}

To support the Countess's assertions, Medwin announces that "his wavering never amounted to a disbelief in the divine founder of Christianity."\textsuperscript{106}

Byron's belief in Christianity is not necessarily contradictory to what has been said in this study concerning his Old Testament propensities. As Marjarum points out, his acceptance of Christ was a development later in life and he accepted Him as a divine teacher rather than as a redeemer.\textsuperscript{107}

It remains true that the superior literary merit of the Old Testament did appeal to him, and it is also true that his treatment of the Divinity as a Person rather than as a principle or trinity is Hebraic.\textsuperscript{108} The "Hebrew...self-conscious Unitary Creator."\textsuperscript{109} This is corroborated by a

\textsuperscript{105} Guiccioli, Teresa: \textit{My Recollections of Lord Byron} 2 V. London: Richard Bentley 1869, V. 1, p. 152
\textsuperscript{106} Medwin, Thomas: \textit{Conversations of Lord Byron} London: Henry Colburn 1824, p. 85
\textsuperscript{107} Marjarum, Edward Wayne: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 12
\textsuperscript{108} A Jewish tract, \textit{What Do You Believe?}, by H. G. Enelow, informs one (p. 4) that "Judaism lays stress on the Oneness of God, and, if I may say so, the Uniqueness of God. Oneness, in the sense that true Judaism has never admitted the possibility of more than one God, or of the division of the Deity into different parts, powers, or forms."
\textsuperscript{109} Marjarum, Edward Wayne: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 13
remark to Kennedy that "the doctrine of the Trinity... is alone quite appalling." However, Byron was able to retain this belief in the nature of God, and still respect the divinity and wisdom of Christ. This he accomplished, as noted above, by the acceptance of Christ as a divine teacher or as an emanation from the Creator, and not as a distinct and separate entity: "As it is necessary in these times to avoid ambiguity, I say that I mean by 'Diviner still,' Christ. If ever God was man—or man God—he was both. I never arraigned his creed, but the use—or abuse—made of it." The above is a note to Don Juan, canto XV, stanza 18, which reads:

Was it not so, great Locke? and greater Bacon? Great Socrates? And thou, Diviner still, Whose lot it is by man to be mistaken, And thy pure creed made sanction of all ill?

It is this mistaken creed that Byron had in mind when he asked Kennedy, "But why are you so anxious to maintain and prove the eternity of hell punishments? It is certainly not a humane doctrine, and appears very inconsistent with the mild and benevolent doctrines of Christ." Undoubtedly, Byron had in mind Calvinism, and a further perusal of his attitude toward this harshest of dogmas may clarify his ultimate religious position.

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110 Kennedy, James: op. cit., p. 176
111 Byron, George Gordon: The Complete Poetical Works, p. 1041
112 Kennedy, James: op. cit., p. 227
Chapter VI
The Calvinistic Element

At times, it appears that Byron accepted the Calvinistic doctrine of total depravity: "Of the wickedness and depravity of human nature, I have no doubt; I have seen too much of it in all classes of society." After an exchange of letters dealing mostly with religious subjects, Dallas wrote to Byron, "You do not deny the depravity of the human race—well, that is one step gained—it is allowing that we are cast away—" Later, when commenting on these letters and trying to arrive at a conclusion, Dallas remarked that "after having seen mankind in many nations and characters, he [Byron] unrestrainedly conveys his opinion, that human nature is everywhere corrupt and despicable."

Although Byron fought against and detested the doctrine of original sin (see remarks on Cain in chapter IV), his early belief, indoctrinated in the Scotch school, maintained a degree of influence throughout his life. Byron, in a letter to Sir Walter Scott, when speaking of the death of his natural daughter Allegra, wrote: "...for her few years

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113 Kennedy, James: op. cit., p. 139
114 Dallas, R. C.: op. cit., p. 136
115 Ibid.: p. 326
(only five) prevented her from having incurred any sin, except what we inherit from Adam."¹¹⁶ He was actually preaching against and trying to point at, in Cain, the stupidity of a doctrine that he believed in too firmly to relinquish.

Lady Byron wrote, "I, like all connected with him, was broken on the rock of Predestination."¹¹⁷ This most ruthless of the Calvinistic doctrines was a determining factor in Byron's religious and moral life. He felt that every event in his life was foreordained by a higher power against which it was useless to struggle. He soon discovered that many of the events in his life were sinful, but he felt relieved of the responsibility of these sins because they were predestined in the realm of earthly events: "...from the whole tenor of Lord Byron's feelings, I could not but conclude he was a believer in the inspiration of the Bible, and had the gloomiest Calvinistic tenets. To that unhappy view of the relation of the creature to the Creator, I have ascribed the misery of his life. It is enough for me to remember, that he who thinks his transgressions beyond forgiveness (and such was his own deepest feeling) has righteousness beyond that of the self-satisfied sinner."¹¹⁸ That is to say that Byron felt himself not responsible for

¹¹⁶ Byron, George Gordon: Works, Letters and Journals, V.6, p. 57
¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 262
¹¹⁸ Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., p. 262
his character or nature. As he had been created, so was he: "To call a conscious being into existence seems to him [Byron] to involve moral obligations for a righteous Creator. Man's free-will is not, experience and thought seem to indicate, thus absolute. If Satan rebelled it was in virtue of something in his nature, the nature which he did not himself make, but received."119

Byron told Kennedy, "On predestination... it appears to me, just from my own reflections and experiences, that I am influenced in a way which is incomprehensible, and am led to do things which I never intended... But I have never entered into the depths of the subject, but contented myself with believing that there is a predestination of events, and that that predestination depends on the will of God."120 This, indeed, is a far cry from Lovelace's psychopathic accusations on the same subject: "He was in turn dominated by frenzy and master of his frenzy, able to direct it to a purpose. He had a fancy for some Oriental legends of pre-existence, and in his conversations and poetry took up the part of a fallen or an exiled being, expelled from heaven, or sentenced to a new Avatar on earth for some crime, existing under a curse, predoomed to a fate really fixed by himself in his own mind, but which he seemed determined to fulfil. At times this dramatic imagination

119 Grierson, H. J. C.: *op. cit.*, p. 72
120 Kennedy, James: *op. cit.*, p. 189
resembled a delusion; he would play at being mad and gradually get more and more serious, as if he believed himself destined to wreck his own life and that of everyone near him.**121

Marjarum expresses more clearly a similar belief on Byron's idea of being cursed in this life: Byron is conscious of a strange fatality which pursues him and has always pursued his family for their misdeeds. He felt his deformity was part of the Nemesis which pursued the Byrons.**122 Du Bos goes further and claims, "Unless we clearly perceive that fatality was for him the one necessary condition, that his whole life was wrought upon by this idea, that he declared himself, believed himself, wished himself to be, and in fact prodigiously was, the fatal being, we shall never understand the problem... of Byron."**123

This idea of fatality was not a purely imaginative one with Byron. There were certain elements in his background that contributed to this belief: the wicked and passionate lives of his forbears, his sudden elevation to the peerage, his fame, his affliction, and his beauty, which seemed to be the cause of much unhappiness. Indeed, it has been said that "His story has something in common with that of Oedipus, a descendant of kings, reared amid

121 Lovelace, Ralph Milbanke: op. cit., p. 117
122 Marjarum, Edward Wayne: op. cit., pp. 17-19
123 Du Bos, Charles: Byron and the Need of Fatality
London: Putnam 1932, p. 15
humble surroundings... If Oedipus was a predestined being, so was Byron.124 In the poet's letters are found statements of a belief in a kind of supernatural force that may be invoked to perform the services of the Greek Nemesis, or that metes out justice independent of humanity: "It was not in vain that I invoked Nemesis in the midnight of Rome from the awfulest of her ruins."125 "You see the Nemesis is not yet extinct, for I had not yet forgot Sir S. in my imprecation, which involved many."126 "It seems his Claimants are American merchants? There goes Nemesis! Moore abused America.... It is an odd World; but the Watch has its mainspring, after all."127 "However, time and Nemesis will do that.... No one was ever even the involuntary cause of great evils to others, without a requital."128 The first two citations were evoked by the suicide of Sir Samuel Romilly, Lady Byron's lawyer, the third by a lawsuit brought against Thomas Moore, and the fourth is directed to his wife for her unforgiving attitude.

Although Byron believed in the power of Nemesis, yet he fought against it in establishing his personal philosophical position. Fatalism is a not unnatural outgrowth of Calvinistic determinism and is perfectly

124 Quennell, Peter: Byron: The Years of Fame London: Faber and Faber 1935, p. 200
125 Ibid., p. 275
126 Ibid., p. 269
127 Ibid., p. 344
128 Ibid., p. 68
acceptable to a man living in a nonindividualistic age, an age that looks to authority for every spiritual or physical want; but Byron was living in an antithetical age where a man could determine his earthly status by the amount of effort he put forth, therefore, why not also the spiritual status?--"His thought, as philosophical thought, was Calvinistic determinism, which implies a profound fatality. Calvin and Jonathan Edwards were content to live in a world that was predestined and predetermined, and submitted themselves to it in all patience of heart and mind. Byron, living in a Revolutionary and individualistic age, cried out for a self-destined and self-determined world."129

It is not the Deity that Byron deprecated in his so-called blasphemous outcries, but rather the interpretation by man of that Deity, the doctrines laid down by the interpreters: "It is plain enough that Byron meant to express his hatred of certain doctrines concerning the action of God and the Origin of Evil, and that his hatred of the doctrines was all the deeper because he believed in them."130 This gives rise, however, to a difficult paradox. A god who is good and perfect can hardly predestine a mortal to evil in life and hell hereafter; yet this is the doctrine that provoked Byron's Cain. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, the poet felt that the calling of a human being into existence.

129 Gingerich, Solomon Francis: Essays in the Romantic Poets
   New York: MacMillan 1924, p. 255
130 Brooke, Stopford: op. cit., p. 74
involved moral obligations for a righteous creator. It seems impossible to reconcile Byron's statements for a benign creator with his strong Calvinistic propensities.

The poet's struggle with the doctrine of original sin and his apparent hatred of it does not indicate any denial of God. Rather it was denial of "a false idol which man has made out of Him...when he attacked this theology, it was to defend religion. The evil of Byron's work was that it cast out devils and put no divine thing in their place. It gave nothing to the soul to reverence and love, and that is even worse than reverencing and loving unworthy things." 131 However, if Byron believed the doctrine of original sin, and it is obvious that he did, it must have been a part of his idea of God, which again introduces the inevitable paradox: his beliefs, whether he respected them or not, had to form the basis for his concept of the Deity.

Many exaggerated and untrue opinions have been voiced on Byron's Calvinism: "His Calvinistic teaching peopled his thoughts with the malevolence of deity, whose victims were men and burnt sacrifice was hell." 132 It was not the malevolence of deity but of doctrine. How different are Byron's words to Kennedy on the nature of God: "...it would be a most desirable thing, could it be proved, that

131 Brooke, Stopford: op. cit., p. 76
132 Massingham, H. J.: The Friend of Shelley
New York: Appleton 1930, p. 60
ultimately all created beings were to be happy. This would appear to be most consistent with the nature of God, whose power is omnipotent, and whose principal attribute is love.133

It is interesting to contrast Byron's treatment of an idea with Shelley's. With characteristic pessimistic fatalism Byron declaims in Childe Harold:134

The thorns which I have reaped are of the tree
I planted—they have torn me—and I bleed;
I should have known what fruit would spring
from such a seed.

Shelley sings passionately, without a taint of fatalistic despair, in "Ode to the West Wind:"135

Oh, lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!
A heavy weight of hours has chained and bowed
One too like thee: timeless, and swift, and proud.

Shelley had read, undoubtedly, Byron's lines quoted above and it is possible that he was influenced by them, for the "Ode" was written more than a year after the publication of the fourth canto of Childe Harold.

Byron's dislike for Calvinism may have been the reason for his Catholic propensities, which he expressed at various times. In Sir Walter Scott's Recollections of Byron there is a passage in which the novelist repeats part of a conversation that took place between the poet and himself in 1815: "He [Byron] answered, rather sharply, 'I suppose you

133 Kennedy, James: op. cit., p. 228
134 Canto IV, stanza 10
135 Stanza IV, lines 53-56
are one of those who prophesy I will turn Methodist.'

I replied, 'No; I don't expect your conversion to be of such an ordinary kind. I would rather look to see you retreat upon the Catholic faith, and distinguish yourself by the austerity of your penances...' He smiled gravely, and seemed to allow I might be right."136 In 1817, half jestingly to Murray, Byron wrote, "Besides when I turn thirty, I will turn devout; I feel a great vocation that way in Catholic churches, and when I hear the organ."137 While defending Cain to Thomas Moore in 1822, he said, "I am no enemy to religion, but the contrary... for I think people can never have enough of religion, if they are to have any. I incline, myself, very much to the Catholic doctrines; but if I am to write a drama, I must make my characters speak as I conceive them likely to argue."138

Catholicism would have appealed to Byron because of its stand against predestination and its support of free will. In his fight against his belief in predestination, a philosophy that offered an intellectual obstacle to the theory of the predestined world must have been exceedingly welcome: "Free will is simply... elective power. Infinite good is not visible to the intellect in this life. There are always some drawbacks and deficiencies in every good presented to us. None of them exhausts our intellectual

136 Byron, George Gordon: op. cit., V. 3, p. 412
137 Ibid.: V. 4, p. 99
138 Ibid.: V. 6, p. 32
capacity of conceiving the good. Consequently, in deliberate volition, not one of them completely satiates or irresistibly entices the will. In this compatibility of the intellect for conceiving the universal lies the root of our freedom. But God possesses an infallible knowledge of man's future actions. How is this prevision possible, if man's future acts are not necessary? God does not exist in time. The future and the past are alike ever present to the eternal mind. 139 There is no evidence that Byron fully realized this Catholic reconciliation of free will and necessity. If he had it seems quite logical that it might have offered a refuge from the storm of theological controversy that tormented his intellect.

Brecknock records an amusing and perhaps significant event which occurred while Byron was waiting to board the ship that was to take him to the continent for the first time. The poet chased a servant girl into the house of an elderly gentleman, and, upon encountering his "host," he asked him to produce cards or a novel. Instead the Bible was brought forth, and in the words of the old man: "I opened the Bible before me. He started; the gay life passed away from his countenance, and he was silent and thoughtful, while I gave him some lessons on the Bible and from the Bible." 140 Brecknock wonders: "Who can tell how

140 Brecknock, Albert: Byron, A Study of the Poet in the Light of New Discoveries pp. 79-80
far that quiet conversation 'on the Bible and from the Bible' influenced Byron's thoughts and feelings when afterwards he wrote Hebrew Melodies?\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{141}Brecknock, Albert: \textit{Byron, A Study of the Poet in the Light of New Discoveries} pp. 80
Chapter VII

Conclusion

The Hebrew Melodies seem to be sincere evocations of Byron's personal religion. They were written during the years 1813-1815 and derive from the poet's Biblical studies as well as a desire to please his religious young fiancée and wife. Their Biblical nature, pointed out in the chapter on sources, indicates a thorough familiarity and an intense preoccupation with the Bible. That this preoccupation was occasioned by religious impulses is borne out by many statements of the poet concerning his profound interest in religion and sincere belief in God. This is not to say that there was no artistic impulse behind Byron's Biblical studies. But it was a lesser impulse, the impulse that forces any littératour to a perusal of the Scriptures. Byron may have realized that the Melodies, his only work that received the full richness of his spiritual position, would be neglected when he said, "No man is more of a Christian than I am, whatever my writings may have led... others to suspect."\(^{142}\)

There exists some affinity between certain characters that appear in the Melodies and Byron himself. This is interesting because it indicates the poet's extreme preoccupation with his own destiny and an attempt to identify himself with characters whose lives would aid his self-

\(^{142}\) Medwin, Thomas: op. cit., p. 95
analysis. David's sudden rise to power on the notes of his lyre resembles the poet's own meteoric fame after the publication of *Childe Harold*. Saul's gloomy and tragic existence is akin to much of Byron's suffering. Ecclesiastes and Byron find life to be equally unfruitful. The low estate of mankind expressed by the vision of Job's friend Eliphaz is accordant with Byron's opinion on the subject.

The poet's belief in the oneness of God and his failure to accept the atonement seem to place him within the confines of the Hebrew faith. He had many Oriental propensities and has been hailed by some as the English prophet of the Jews. At least it is certain that his championing of the Jews was sincere and fervent. Mention of Christ does not appear at all in the poet's early poetry, and, when the Nazarene is accepted, it is not as the son of God or the redeemer of man, but as a prophet or as God himself. This is fairly consonant with the Hebraic approach to the interpretation of Byron's religious views, for the necessity of the Trinity is obviated. The scholarly knowledge of the Bible evinced by the poet from time to time is an indication of a sincere attempt on his part to understand and appreciate Hebrew theology. The other ramifications of Byron's religion must be considered, however, before any conclusion is possible.

As mentioned above, Byron accepted Christ as a prophet, and after the early years he occasionally eulogized Him in his poetry. Any arraignment of Christ's creed in Byron's
writings comes from man's interpretation and not from the original doctrines of the Saviour. Moreover, it must be born in mind that the poet considered much of his literary output as frivolous, which accounts for many inconsistencies. The letters and journals do not divulge these inconsistent elements. The two Melodies pointed out by the Countess Guiccioli, "If That High World" and "When Coldness Wraps this Suffering Clay," are certainly professions of faith, belief in immortality, and Christian sentiment.

A task that proved too difficult for Byron was the reconciling of the idea of a benevolent creator, whose existence he never doubted, with the harsh dogma of Scotch Calvinism which had been indoctrinated during his youth. It was this conflict that gave birth to the drama *Cain* with its condemnation of predestination, the creed that Byron hated yet could not escape. And it was this conflict that was to manifest itself so clearly toward the close of the poet's life in his conversations with Dr. Kennedy at Cephalonia. He believed, too, in the total depravity of mankind, and this, combined with the idea of necessity, brought him to the comfortless conclusion that he was a fatal being, destined to sin, beyond forgiveness, and that no action of his could rescue him. That is, he felt that men were created either good or bad, and he was bad. This conception left Byron with a paradox which he never could resolve: can a benevolent creator predestine a mortal to evil in life and
hell hereafter? The idea of moral obligations on the part of the Deity cannot be integrated with Calvinistic doctrines.

With characteristic human ingenuity in such matters, Byron used his uncomfortable conclusion as to his own fatality as an excuse for his reprehensible conduct, especially his life in Italy. A predestined being, in Byron's eyes, could not be considered culpable nor held responsible for any of his actions. This offered him a convenient, if not admirable, solution to the moral question.

It is to be regretted that Byron did not realize the reconciliation in the Catholic Church of necessity, and free will. That is, man's future acts are not necessary, but God has prevision of them because the past and future are ever present to his mind. It has been pointed out that the poet had Catholic propensities; so it is probable that he would have settled on Catholicism had he understood it better.

In chapter VI of this study, statements from every period of Byron's life have been adduced indicating his belief in the doctrines of total depravity, original sin, and predestination. These doctrines are directly opposed to fundamental Hebrew dogma: "We do not believe in a great many of the doctrines that are current among other people, as the doctrine of original sin, the fall of man, the need
of vicarious atonement, and such like."\textsuperscript{143} But it has been said that Byron was an Old Testament man, that the basis of his belief was Hebraic. (The Hebrew stand on vicarious atonement does agree with Byron's.) Obviously, there were two main branches to his theological thought which were irreconcilable to him and are so to scholars now: Hebraism and Calvinism.

His occasional bursts of respect for Christ and Catholicism must have been caused by periodic attempts to escape the horns of his dilemma, to arrive at a middle ground between Hebraism and Calvinism, to fight off the trammels of the "fatal being." The final pronouncement on Byron's religious beliefs must be one of confusion and bewilderment wherein the poet battles his unshakable beliefs in a detestable doctrine and Hebraism offers an unsatisfactory road of escape.

\textsuperscript{143} Enelow, H. C.: \textit{What Do Jews Believe?}
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