Byron's Consciousness of Incestuous Sin in *Manfred* and Its Symbolical Meaning

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I

It was in 1905, one year after the publication of the definitive edition of Byron's poetical works, that Earl of Lovelace, Byron's own grandson, reopened "the Byron Mystery"[1] and charged Byron by publishing his revelatory book. In the book Byron's incest with his half-sister Augusta was malignantly unveiled by the use of documentary evidence consisting mainly of letters. Significantly the Earl of Lovelace entitled the book *Astarte*, which is the name of the dead lady who was loved legitimately or illegitimately by Manfred in *Manfred*. The reason he used Astarte as the title of his book is, needless to say, that he wanted to symbolically disclose Byron's sinful relationship with Augusta by referring to Manfred's with Astarte. But he is not the first to note this aspect as even in Byron's own time some critics perceived and censured the allusions to an incestuous passion between Manfred and Astarte.[2]

Before discussing the problem, we need to survey Byron's circumstances during the production of *Manfred* and his motives for writing it.

During his stay in Switzerland from 25 May 1816 to 6 October 1816 after self-exile from England, Byron wrote some remarkable poems, such

as *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* III, *The Prisoner of Chillon*, *The Dream*, *Monody on the Death of the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan*, 'Darkness' and *Manfred*. The composition of the first two acts of *Manfred*, according to Ernest Hartley Coleridge,[3] seems to belong to the tour in Bernese Alps (September 17-29) or to the last days at the Campagne Diodati (September 30 to October 5). The original third act was written in Venice. While the first two acts were highly praised by William Gifford, the chief editor of the *Quarterly Review*, the third act was severely criticized by him for containing maliciously satirical caricatures of Christianity and differing in style from the first ones (which undoubtedly came from Byron's different state of mind in Switzerland and in Venice[4]). As the result of this criticism, he revised it successfully in Rome,[5] sent it back to John Murray on 5th May 1817, and *Manfred* was published about forty days after.

As for the motives for *Manfred*, Byron wrote to Murray in 1817, "... as to the germs of *Manfred*—they may be found in the Journal which I sent to Mrs. Leigh...." [6] or in his letter to the same publisher in 1821, "... a Journal which you must get from Mrs. Leigh, of my journey in the Alps, which contains all the germs of *Manfred*". [7] The Journal, which Byron mentioned here, is his second Journal (September 17, 1816 to September 29, 1816) which is commonly called 'Swiss Journal'. [8] It appropriately tells us what Byron means by "the germs of *Manfred*":

> I am a lover of Nature and an admirer of Beauty. I can bear fatigue and welcome privation, and have seen some of the noblest views in the world. But in all this—the recollections of bitterness, and more especially of recent and more home desolation, which must accompany me through life, have preyed upon me here; and neither the music of the Shepherd, the crashing of the Avalanche, nor the Cloud,

have for one moment lightened the weight upon my heart, nor enabled me to lose my own wretched identity in the majesty, and the power, and the Glory, around, above, and beneath me.[9]

Although the poet does not mention the name of *Manfred* in this passage, we can easily feel the mood that pervades the play: his love of the beautiful landscape in the Alps, his inextinguishable suffering and his deep-rooted recognition of the inefficacy of Nature as a cure. Byron's viewpoint in this passage is briefly summarized in the next sentence through which we also see that *Manfred* was composed under the considerable influence of his mental state expressed in the Journal: "I was half mad during the time of its composition [of Manfred], between metaphysics, mountains, lakes, love unextinguishable, thoughts unutterable, and the nightmare of my own delinquencies."[10] Even "some of the noblest views in the world"—"the crashing of the Avalanche", "the torrent", "mountains", "lakes", "the Glacier", "the Forest", and "the Cloud"—were incapable of expunging Byron's own "recollections of bitterness", "wretched identity", "love unextinguishable", and "thoughts unutterable", which were without doubt the ultimate sources of *Manfred*. And nobody can deny that the phrase "love unextinguishable" suggests Byron's love of his half-sister Augusta. Andrew Rutherford is, therefore, right in saying that what "made him [Byron] write it [*Manfred*]" was "his relations, real or imagined, with Augusta, and their psychological aftermath" and besides "incestuous guilt, or at least the idea of such guilt, seems to have been the mainspring of his inspiration".[11] Refraining from using directly the adjective 'incestuous', E. H. Coleridge also admits that "the motif of *Manfred* is remorse—eternal suffering for inexpiable crime."[12] In a broader interpretation of Byron's mental suffering, L. A. Marchand differs somewhat:

he regards it as "the whole complex of guilt, remorse, and frustration growing out of the separation, his relations with Augusta, his exile, and the blasted hopes of an ideal career in politics or poetry",[13] but as a whole he accepts the understanding that Byron's incestuous guilt had the most important part in producing *Manfred*.

Manfred is, indeed, an autobiographical drama as the above mentions briefly, but at the same time it has many links with other literary works. There appears to be, according to Samuel C. Chew, traces of Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, Chateaubriand's *Renè*, Goethe's *Faust*, Beckford's *Vathek*, Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* and *the Mysterious Mother*, Lewis' *Monk* and so on.[14] Among these parallels Goethe's *Faust* is noteworthy because Byron himself acknowledged that he became acquainted with it by "Monk" Lewis' verbal translation and was strongly impressed by it. Let us cite from his letter to Murray on 7th June 1820:

> His [Goethe's] *Faust* I never read, for I don't know German; but Matthew Monk Lewis, in 1816, at Coligny, translated most of it to me *vivâ voce*, and I was naturally much struck with it; but it was the *Staubach* and the *Jungfrau*, and something else, much more than Faustus, that made me write *Manfred*. The first Scene, however, and that of Faustus are very similar.[15]

Byron confesses that the opening scene of soliloquy of *Manfred* is very similar to that of Goethe's *Faust*, although he insists that the Staubach, the Jungfrau, and "something else" (his consciousness of incestuous guilt) played a more crucial role in writing *Manfred* than *Faust*. We know that Goethe himself justifies Byron's confession. Relating to the link between *Manfred* and *Faust*, the great German poet insightfully points out that

Byron has extracted from *Faust* "the strangest nourishment for his hypochondriac humour" and "has made use of the impelling principles in his own way and for his own purposes so that no one of them remains the same."[16] Speaking of *Faust*, we remember another story of Faustus written by Christopher Marlowe. It was John Wilson who persisted in Byron's borrowing the general conception of *Manfred* from Marlowe's *Tragical History of Dr. Faustus*.[17] In this case, however, Byron refuted Wilson's statement: "as to the 'Faustus of Marlow [Marlowe]'—I never read—never saw—nor heard of it—".[18] All that we conclude about the matter of parallels in *Manfred* is that even if there are parallels with other literary works it is not because they were created intentionally, but because their themes chimed with his own preoccupations.

We have given our consideration to some fundamental motives, biographical or literary, in *Manfred*; in particular, his consciousness of incestuous sin. In this first section, however, our consideration has not been directed towards the poem itself at all. Having obtained a general survey of the background circumstances of the composition of *Manfred*, we must examine in the second section how Byron's consciousness of incestuous sin is cathartically expressed in the lines of the poem and in the third section try to elucidate its symbolical meaning as a Romantic myth.

II

It is very important for Byron to begin the dramatic poem with the protagonist's soliloquy at midnight, because darkness at night is the essential background for emancipation of subconscious-self from right and moral reason which is represented by light in the daytime.[19] This clearly explains why the poet who felt a bitter and inextinguishable remorse for his incestuous sin with Augusta inevitably made Manfred stand alone in the

darkness of night, to whom "the Night / Hath been... a more familiar face / Than that of man;" (III, iv, 3-5). For Manfred, sleep, which is commonly connected with night, does not mean quiet repose but unconscious remorse. We can understand it from the following soliloquy in the opening scene:

> My slumbers—if I slumber—are not sleep,
> But a continuance of enduring thought,
> Which then I can resist not: in my heart
> There is a vigil, and these eyes but close
> To look within;... (I, i, 3-7)

Sleep seems to him to be nothing but a starting point for entering into the unconscious from the conscious.

When the world of the unconscious is indelibly tarnished by something sinful, one is deprived of sleep as quiet repose. Manfred says to the witch of the Alps, "I tell thee, since that hour—/...;—I have gnashed / My teeth in darkness till returning morn, / Then cursed myself till sunset;" (II, ii, 127, 131-133). It is surely unconscious remorse and waking reason that makes him gnash his teeth till next morning and curse himself in the daytine. This has already been discussed. Here we turn our gaze to "since that hour" in the lines. By the demonstrative pronoun "that" is nothing specific stated on the text, so that the ambiguity of the pronoun consequently brings forth the effect of suspense[20]; and yet in fact it results from the poet's mental oscillation between the impulse to be freed from the burden of incestuous sin by revealing it and the anxiety about the fatal degradation of his honour as a nobleman. It may be said that the adverbial phrase "since that hour" suggests the time when Manfred's soul was

indelibly tarnished by something sinful.[21] The similar phrase can be found in the other places:

...:—Good—or evil—life—
Powers, passions—all I see in other beings,
Have been to me as rain unto the sands,
Since that all-nameless hour. (I, i, 21-24)

In these lines the protagonist monologizes that everything he has sought after becomes useless and unavailing just like rain on the sands "since that all-nameless hour". The ambiguity of the demonstrative pronoun "that" is further emphasized by the implicative adjective "all-nameless". Just after these lines cited above, Byron writes, "I have no dread, / And feel the curse to have no natural fear". What is deeply interesting is that he tends to use the word "curse" with "since that hour" or similar ones. But it does not yet explain precisely why and how Manfred cursed himself "since that all-nameless hour".

Something sinful happened at a certain time, causing Manfred to curse himself. What is 'something sinful'? To resolve the question, let us quote Manfred's words in a hunter's cottage among the Bernese Alps:

I say 'tis blood—my blood! the pure warm stream
Which ran in the veins of my fathers, and in ours
When we were in our youth, and had one heart,
And loved each other as we should not love,
And this was shed:... (II, i, 24-28)

From these lines we can judge that Manfred and another person had a

blood relationship and they "loved each other" as they "should not love". This phrase suggests that 'something sinful' was incestuous sin. In response to the protagonist, the chamois hunter says surprisingly, "Man of strange words, and some half-maddening sin" (II, i, 31). The unpardonable love is called "half-maddening sin" by the virtuous hunter and "the deadliest sin" (II, iv, 123) by Manfred himself. The lady who was "like me [Manfred] in lineaments" (II, ii, 105) and formed "the core of my [Manfred's] heart's grief" (II, ii, 99) and was "a sufferer for my sins" (II, iii, 196) is at last revealed to be Astarte, who "had the same lone thoughts and wanderings" (II, ii, 109) and was "the sole companion of his wanderings" (III, iii, 43). Under these circumstances nobody can any longer doubt incest between Manfred and Astarte.

Byron's oscillatory feelings between self-revelation and self-concealment of his incestuous sin produces the most excellent image in *Manfred*. These feelings are symbolized by a comet. The Seventh Spirit ruling the stars, who was conjured up by Manfred's spell, describes the destiny of the cursed nobleman like this (the length of this quotation may be said to indicate the degree of its improtance):

> The Star which rules thy destiny
> Was ruled, ere earth began, by me:
> It was a World as fresh and fair
> As e'er revolved round Sun in air;
> Its course was free and regular,
> Space bosomed not a lovelier star.
> The Hour arrived—and it became
> A wandering mass of shapeless flame,
> A pathless Comet, and a curse,

The menace of the Universe;
Still rolling on with innate force,
Without a sphere, without a course,
A bright deformity on high,
The monster of the upper sky! (I, i, 110–123)

The phrase "The Hour arrived" in the middle of these lines easily reminds us of "since that hour" and "since that all-nameless hour" discussed in the above. In these lines Byron does not directly leak his consciousness of incestuous sin in the least. Consistently is the organic development of the image maintained, unusually without being interrupted by the confessional digression. But if we scrutinize the change in the star ruling Manfred's destiny which happened after "The Hour", we have no difficulty in identifying the lovely star pursuing its free and regular course with the sinless protagonist before incest and the pathless comet wandering in the space with the sinful protagonist after incest.[22] This understanding is supported by the fact that the word "curse" is, like the other examples, used after "The Hour arrived".[23] The star, in other words, was bound to lose its course and wander in the space when it violated the law of the cosmos, just as one is forced to be alienated by the community when he violated the society's taboo by committing incest; to use Jung's term, the most archetypal sin of human beings. It is clear to us that the comet image has both personal and impersonal sides. The impersonal side of the image will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

From the context we can sense the special meaning in the word "wander". The star ruling Manfred's destiny, according to Seventh Spirit, "became / A wandering mass of shapeless flame" after "The Hour". In the opening soliloquy, also, Byron makes Manfred say the similar

words:

> ..., a tyrant-spell,
> Which had its birthplace in a star condemned,
> The burning wreck of a demolished world,
> A wandering hell in the eternal Space;
> By the strong curse which is upon my Soul,[24]
> The thought which is within me and around me, (I, i, 43-48)

Manfred utters "a tyrant-spell" to conjure up the spirits of earth and air; at this moment the protagonist seems to be displaced by the author. Byron's confessional digression brings forth "a star condemned" which is nothing but "A pathless Comet". The star is compared to "The burning wreck of a demolished world" and "A wandering hell in the eternal Space". This image is the same as in the above quotation (I, i, 117-123). Here Byron does not manifest the star before being condemned (before "The Hour", "that hour" and "that all-nameless hour"); that is, sinless Manfred before committing incest. But the last two lines tell us of the close connection between the wandering star and Manfred's own cursed soul. The cursed star is doomed to eternal wandering outside its regular orbit, in a broader sense, banished from the moral system of the society.[25] In addition, Manuel, one of Manfred's dependents, witnesses that Astarte was "The sole companion of his [Manfred's] wanderings" (III, iii, 43)[26]. This denotes that the pair's wandering meant not only a mere ramble but also a deviation from the moral system of the society caused by their incest.

Before we close this section, we think it necessary to refer to Byron's way of achieving the catharsis of his consciousness of incestuous sin. Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, gives a definition of tragedy: "Tragedy, then, is an

imitation of an action... through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation [catharsis] of these emotions."[27] He maintains that tragedy and also certain kinds of music tend to purify ("catharsis" can be translated into "purgation" or "purification") the spectators and listeners by artistically exciting certain emotions such as "pity and fear". This, to be sure, applies to the writer of literary works. Expressing the poet's own emotions (in Byron, the consciousness of sin) gives him some sort of purification. The more grossly is his consciousness of sin exaggerated, the more easily can catharsis be achieved. In Byron's case, he tries to achieve catharsis by idealizing Astarte (a projected image of Augusta) and torturing Manfred (a projected image of himself). To begin with, the striking instance of his idealization of Astarte is afforded in the lines (II, ii, 109-119). She is described as the lady who searches for "hidden knowledge" and has the mind to "comprehend the Universe", the "gentle powers" of "Pity, and smiles, and tears", "tenderness" and "Humility". This was evidently an idealization of Augusta by the author as well as Astarte by Manfred.[28] Manfred as a self-torturer, secondly, likes to exaggerate his own sinfulness, examples of which we think it unnecessary to quote because we have already done so, but to quote instead from Mario Praz:

> Maurois, *Byron*, , maintains that Byron's incest was an imaginary crime, because Augusta was only a half-sister and Byron did not know her until they were both quite grown-up. An imaginary crime, possibly, but Byron from the first sought to represent it as a crime, and what counts is not the actual incest but the consciousness of committing it.[29]

Praz rightly insists that in Byron the consciousness of committing incest is

of more importance than the actual incest.[30] Byron had to lay stress on the awareness of the act in order to purge his guilty sense of having destroyed Augusta's reputation. Manfred's thirst for death is also a kind of self-torture. In the last scene his thirst for death, once interrupted by a chamois hunter, is satisfied by his own choice, and at this stage his tragedy is completed with the achievement of catharsis.

III

As we mentioned in the second section where we have mainly examined how Byron's personal consciousness of incestuous sin found expression in the comet image, we will , in the third section, elucidate the symbolical and impersonal meaning of incest and then think of *Manfred* as a Romantic myth.

Byron's incest with his half-sister Augusta is purely personal, but on the other hand the incest-theme itself has a long history. It appears, according to B. G. Tandon, in Homer's *Iliad* (the ninth song), Sophocles' *Oedipus*, Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Seneca's *Phaedra* and *Oedipus*, the Old Testament, Shakespeare's *Pericles*, Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King*, Ford's *'Tis Pity She is a Whore*, Walpole's *The Mysterious Mother*, Shelley's *Cenci*, and in numerous other works.[31] There is, therefore, nothing unusual about Byron's treatment of the incest-theme in *Manfred*; unusual as an actual experience. Since incest is one of the most archetypal taboos in human society, it is, in a sense, natural that the incest-theme should have been selected by a lot of writers whose literary demons tend to be fond of defying the moral system in human society. In this regard, Joseph's opinion is right:

But the question of Manfred's remorse remains a distracting one,

> whether it is borrowed from personal experience or from the Gothic tradition; the guilt is peculiar to him, yet his predicament is general. His incest (if it is such) is too much of a special case; Manfred's real guilt is that he is a member of the human race.[32]

His remarks are so clear that we may not need to explain them further, and yet one question is left unanswered; in what kinf of age the incest -theme becomes more popular.

Incest, we admit, is unchangeable as an archetypal taboo, but the viewpoint on incest is changeable with the mutation of the spirit of the age. On this point Mario Praz insists on the significant connection between the incest-theme and the Romantics. It is well worthwhile to quote:

> Incest itself also, ennobled already by Prèvost in *Cleveland* (1731) thanks to the principle of the 'divine right' of passion, became a theme dear to the Romantics, and in a special way to Chateaubriand, who invested incestuous love between brother and sister with poetic charm and sentimental dignity, elaborating certain events of his own life—though to what extent cannot be verified.[33]

He definitely tells us of the reason why Romantics tried to fathom a profounder meaning in incest. It was "the principle of the 'divine right' of passion" that made them seek after the theme. To the neo-Classicists who respect reason as a golden rule, incest is an abnormally cursed action threatening reasonable life; on the other hand, to the Romantics who respect passion as a divine right it is an authentic, if illicit, action resulting from unbearable and spontaneous feeling. When the spirit of the age changes from Classical to Romantic, the viewpoint on the incest-theme

seems to, roughly speaking, change from antipathetic to sympathetic, within the literary circle, at least. Concerning Chateaubriand, it is enough for us to bear in mind that he invested incestuous love between brother and sister with poetical expression in advance of Byron.[34]Shelley, one of the representative English Romantics, gives an excellent insight into its symbolical meaning behind the incest-theme:

> Incest is, like many other incorrect things, a very poetical circumstance. It may be the defiance of everything for the sake of another which clothes itself in the glory of the highest heroism, or it may be that cynical rage which, confounding the good and the bad in existing opinions, breaks through them for the purpose of rioting in selfishness and antipathy .[35]

This passage appears to represent the Romantic viewpoint on incest. He calls incest "a very poetical circumstance" and even feels the emotinal nuance of "heroism". More importantly he indicates that the poetical meaning of incest exists in its ability to confound the good and the bad in society. Like many Romantics, he detects the artificial deception in the social norm which, without our knowledge, forces us to distinguish good from bad. That is why Shelley pays special attention to incest which is branded as an incorrect (immoral or sinful) thing by a deceptive social norm.

We will now begin to consider *Manfred* as a new departure for Byron's making Romantic myths.[36] It may be helpful to start from the definition of myth. "Myth", J. A. Cuddon writes in his *Dictionary*, "explains how something came to exist"and "embodies feeling and concept —hence the Promethean or Herculean figure, or the idea of Diana, or

the story of Orpheus and Eurydice." His subsequent words are as follows:

> Many myths or quasi-myths are primitive explanations of the natural order and cosmic forces.
>
> Classical writers had a 'ready-made' mythology. Others have not been so fortunate and some have felt a great need to invent or somehow contrive a mythology which shall be the vehicle of their beliefs. ... A good example of a poet who has 'invented'mythology akin to the traditional kind is William Blake. He said that he felt obliged to create a system: otherwise he would be enslaved by someone else's.[37]

There are two noteworthy points in his explanation: one is that myth, in an essential sense, is a fundamental interpretation of "the natural order and cosmic forces" including human society, and the other is that there exists a notable difference of viewpoint on myths between Romantic writers and Classical writers. With the change of the order in the universe, a 'ready-made' mythology cannot but transform itself into another type of mythology based on the newly-made order in the human society. When some literary figures "feel a great need to invent a mythology" as "the vehicle of their beliefs", 'ready-made' mythology has already become out of date . And the Romantics(Cuddon exemplifies the names of S. T. Coleridge and W. Blake) were those who earnestly felt the great need to do so. It goes without saying that Byron was also one of them. Self-exile from England seemed to heighten his impulse to create a mythology for his own sake. For Byron, travelling on the continent as a lone wanderer, it was necessary to establish a new order out of a chaotic state of mind. But his

departure for a mythology may, in consequence, be said to be unsuccessful, because, to use Rutherford's words, "he had no talent for this kind of thinking".[38] Here we think it very interesting to quote again Blake's words in the *Dictionary*: "He[Blake] said that felt obliged to create a system: otherwise he would be enslaved by someone else's." Blake uses the word "system". Mythology is , to be sure, a kind of systematization of the newly-made order in the universe. Concerning the "system" indispensable to myth-making, Byron wrote to Moore after reading Leigh Hunt's manuscript of *Rimini*: "I told him that I deemed it good poetry at bottom, disfigured only by a strange style. His answer was, that his style was a system, or *upon system*, or some such cant; and, when a man talks of system, his case is hopeless."[39] No doubt Byron had a deep distrust for system. It follows from this that, among the English Romantics, Blake was eager to create a system and succeeded in creating Romantic myths; on the contrary, Byron who had a deep distrust of system, as a result, did not succeed in myth-making so brilliantly as Blake.

Byron's personal experience of committing incest plays the crucial role for his departure for myth-making. By violating the archetypal taboo of human society, he must be unwittingly confronted with the order of the universe. That is the starting point to create his own mythology. In *Manfred*, however, the poet's greatest interest lies mainly in achieving the catharsis of his consciousness of incestuous sin. As this result, he is too subjective to succeed in creating a mythology. Myth-making requires the poet's objective viewpoint which enables him to survey "natural order and cosmic forces" in his time. In other words the subjective(personal) feelings of the poet should be absorbed and integrated into the objective(impersonal) interpretation of the universe. This defect in *Manfred* is pointed out by some scholars. Watson, for example, states:

> ... his〔Manfred's〕 character is entirely lacking in the radiance and benevolence of Shelley's Prometheus. This is principally because Manfred is entirely uninterested in the fate of others: he is successor to Childe Harold and to Bonnivard in his inability to see beyond his particular problems.[40]

Similarly comparing with Shelley's Prometheus, Rutherford also remarks that Manfred is an entirely private martyrdom, and he cannot represent humanity or the mind of mankind, and moreover his problems are peculiar to himself.[41] Both scholars express almost the same opinions about Byron's defect of being too subjective in *Manfred*. The dramtic poem can be nothing but a departure for myth-making. Until Byron can see beyond his particular problems and represent humanity or the mind of mankind, we have to wait the appearance of *Cain* in which he succeeds in creating a Romantic myth characterized by the Cosmic rebellion and the defiant Titanism.

〔Notes〕

1. The first discloser of "the Byron Mystery" after Byron's death is Harriet Elizabeth Stowe who is generally known to us as the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. At first in 1869 she published "The True Story of Lady Byron's Married Life" in *Macmillan's Magazine*(September 1869) and then in 1870 published *Lady Byron Vindicated* after some necessary corrections.
2. Francis Jeffrey, for example, reviewed *Manfred* in *Edinburgh Review*(September 1817, XXVIII), "Its worst fault, perhaps, is, that it fatigues and overawes us by the uniformityof its terror and solemnity. Another is the painful and offensive nature of the circumstances on which its distress is ultimately founded. It all springs from the disappointment or fatal issue of an incestuous passion; and incest, according to our modern ideas—for it was otherwise in antiquity—is not a thing to be at all brought before the imagination." Extracted by Andrew Rutherford in *Byron:The Critical Heritage*(Routledge & Kegan Paul,

1970), p. 117.

3. See J. R. Watson, *English Poetry of the Romantic Period 1789-1830*(Longman, 1985), p. 206: "*Manfred* was finished in Venice, after Byron's move there seems to have quieted the disturbed spirit that is at the centre of the 1816 poems. Venice suited Byron, and he it;"
4. See 'Introduction to *Manfred*' in *Poetical Works of Lord Byron* IV edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge(1898-1904; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1966). The text of *Manfred* is also taken from this edition, and the number of act, scene and line will be given within the text.
5. E. H. Coleridge quoted Byron's words"new third act of *Manfred*—the greater part rewritten" in *Poetical Works*, IV, p. 80.
6. Rowland E. Prothero (ed.), *The Works of Lord Byron; Letters and Journals*(1898-1901; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1966), IV, p. 174. This letter was dated October 12, 1817. Hereafter cited as *L & J*. Let me add, for reference, that this letter is not collected in *Byron's Letters and Journals* 12 vols edited by Leslie A. Marchand(John Murray, 1973-1982).
7. Letter to John Murray, Ravenna, August 10, 1821(*L & J*, V, p. 342).
8. The first Journal was written from November 14, 1813 to April 19, 1814.
9. *L & J*, III, p. 364. The date is September 29. This passage is quoted by Andrew Rutherford in *Byron: A Critical Study*(1961; Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 77.
10. Letter to Thomas Moore, Venice, January 28, 1817(*L & J*, IV, p. 49). Quoted in Watson, p. 205.
11. Rutherford, *Study*, p. 78. Cf. Paul G. Trueblood, *Lord Byron*(Twayne Publishers, 1977), p. 85: "Byron ... felt that he must first purge his mind and spirit: all his suffering, guilt, and remorse he would pour into a new work conceived in the Alps."
12. E. H. Coleridge's'Introduction to *Manfred*', p. 82. This sentence has been very often mentioned by many Byron scholars.
13. Leslie A. Marchand, *Byron's Poetry: A Critical Introduction*(1965; Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 76.
14. Samuel C. Chew, *The Dramas of Lord Byron: A Critical Study*(Russell & Russell, 1964), pp. 60f. Cited in B. G. Tandon, *The Imagery of Lord Byron's Plays*(Universität Salzburg, 1976), p. 21.
15. *L & J*, V, p. 37.
16. Goethe's review of *Manfred* in *Kunst und Alterthum*(June, 1820). Cited in E.

H. Coleridge(ed.), p. 81.

17. John Wilson's review of *Manfred* in *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*(June, 1817), I, pp. 289-95.
18. Letter to John Murray(12 October 1817) in *L & J*, IV, p. 174.
19. Cf. Tandon, p. 33: "..., all these facets of Manfred's grief are usually shown against the background of night, and rightly so, for the pangs of remorse are sharper in the hours of night than in the light of day."
20. Francis Jeffrey, at the same time, pointed out the effect of obscurity in *Manfred*, who seemed to me to take it for Byron's intentional device in favour of Byron: "Its[*Manfred*'s] obscurity is a part of its grandeur; and the darkness that rests upon it, and smoky distance in which it is best, are all devices to increase its majesty, stimulate our curiosity, and to impress us with deeper awe." Extracted in Rutherford, *Heritage*, p. 117.
21. W. P. Elledge extends the sense of the phrase "that all-nameless hour" and remarks: "The time alluded to here is, perhaps, a kind of Blakean moment of creation in which the individual personality as it existed in a precreative state was fragmented into various parts; but subsequently each part of that personality retained some recollection of the unity it had once known." in *Byron and the Dynamics of Metaphor*(Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), p. 86.
22. Tandon clearly states: "... star imagery is used to describe the guiltless and guilty Manfred"; p. 38. In using some interrogative sentences, Rutherford remarks a little bitterly: "If this Spirit rules the star under which Manfred was born, has he controlled or influenced the hero's life? Was it he, or some external Fate, who was responsible for the dire change in the star, and was this change the cause of Manfred's sin? Or was "the Hour" not predetermined by any agency, supernatural or astrological? Was it simply the hour of sin, committed of the hero's own accord, and is the change in the star a mere symbolical description of the change in Manfred's soul? These questions are unanswered and unanswerable, so that there is a serious confusion or obscurity in the play's metaphysics, and these are still further complicated by the Spirit's later comments which suggest a devil trying to win the hero's soul."; *Study*, pp. 80-81.
23. The comet image symbolizes not only Byron's consciousness of incestuous sin but also his longing for a driving force to live in the sceptical world as a sinful man. The latter part, which we do not discuss in this article, seems to be expressed in the following words;"flame", "menace", "innate force", "bright" and "monster".

24. E. H. Coleridge compares this line with "Pleasure's palled Victim! life-abhorring Gloom / Wrote on his faded brow curst Cain's unresting doom." in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*(Canto I. stanza lxxxiii. lines 8, 9). In his view "the strong curse" can be traced to the Calvinistic teaching of his boyhood. And he cites there Lady Byron's words from her letter to H. C. Robinson(March 5, 1855); "Not merely from casual expressions, but from the whole tenour 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 always ascribed the misery of his life. ... Instead of being made happier by any apparent good, he felt convinced that every blessing would be 'turned into a curse' to him. Who, possessed by such ideas, could lead a life of love and service to God or man? They must in a measure realize themselves. 'The worst of it is, I *do* believe,' he said. I, like all connected with him, was broken against the rock of predestination." III, p. 74fn.
25. Cf. Tandon, p. 33: "The Wandering-Jew theme of deathlessness and hopeless rambles in search of peace, is stated recurrently and underlies numerous references to his nocturnal vigils and wanderings."
26. Similar examples are as follows: "She[Astarte] had the same lone thoughts and wanderings"(II, ii, 109) and "I should / Recall a noble spirit which hath wandered, / But is not yet all lost."(III, iv, 51-53).
27. Quoted in Rintaro Fukuhara (ed.), *A Dictionary of Literary Terms*(Kenkyusha, 1978), p. 49.
28. Cf. Marchand, p. 80fn.
29. Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony*(Oxford University Press, 1933), Notes to Chapter III, p. 88.
30. We, however, must not fail to notice that Praz writes this sentence from the distorted viewpoint of erotic sensibility.
31. Cf. Tandon, p. 60. Of course Chateaubriand *Renè* is one of them. See Praz, pp. 68-69.
32. M. K. Joseph, *Byron the Poet*(Victor Gollancz, 1964), p. 106.
33. Praz, p. 109.
34. See Praz, p. 69: "There are some who even go so far as to say that Byron's incest with his half-sister was a plagiarism, because Byron committed in reality the crime of which Renè had conceived the horrible possibility. But the subject of incest is by no means confined to Chateaubriand."
35. Shelley's letter to Mrs. Gisborne(November 16, 1819). Quoted in E. H. Cole-

ridge(ed.), p. 100fn.

36. Cf, Rutherford, *Study*, p. 78.
37. J. A. Cuddon, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms*(1977; Penguin Books, 1982), pp. 408-9.
38. Rutherford, *Study*, p. 91.
39. *L & J*, IV, p. 237. Letter of June 1, 1818. Quoted in Marchand, p. 2.
40. Watson, p. 206.
41. Rutherford, *Study*, p. 89.