

DON JUAN CANTO FIFTH

edited by Peter Cochran

(fair copy): Begun Ravenna Octr 16th 1820

1.

When amatory poets sing their Loves
 In liquid lines mellifluously bland,
And pair their rhymes as Venus yokes her doves,
 They little think what mischief is in hand;
The greater their success the worse it proves, 5
 As Ovid's verse¹ may give to understand;
Even Petrarch's² Self, if judged with due Severity,
Is the Platonic³ pimp of all posterity.

2.

I therefore do renounce all amorous writing,
 Except in such a way as not to attract; 10
Plain – simple – short, and by no means inviting,
 But with a moral to each error tacked,
Formed rather for instructing than delighting,
 And with all passions in their turn attacked;
Now, if my Pegasus⁴ should not be shod ill, 15
This poem will become a moral model.

¹: *Ovid's verse*: see above, canto I, 329: *Ovid's a rake, as half his verses show him*. B.'s reference here is to *Amores*, I ii 23: *necte comam myrto, maternas iunge columbas* (*Bind thy locks with the myrtle, yoke thy mother's doves*). Ovid is addressing Cupid (Venus' son) and consenting to be led in triumph by him, with Modesty and Conscience both fettered.

²: *Petrarch*: Italian Renaissance poet of Platonic love: see above, III, ll.63-4.

³: *Platonic*: Byronic shorthand for "pseudo-spiritual": see above, I, ll.629, 885 and 921.

⁴: *Pegasus*: the mythical winged steed, emblematic of a poet's inspiration: see above, IV, l.3.

3.

The European with the Asian Shore
Sprinkled with palaces; the Ocean Stream
Here and there studded with a Seventy-four;⁵
Sophia's Cupola⁶ with golden gleam; 20
The Cypress Groves; Olympus high and hoar;
The twelve Isles, and the more than I could dream,
Far less describe, present the very view
Which charmed the charming Mary Montagu.⁷

* This expression of Homer has been much criticised – it hardly answers to our Atlantic ideas of the *Ocean* but is sufficiently applicable to the Hellespont and the Bosphorus with the Ægean intersected with Islands.⁸

⁵: *a Seventy-four*: a warship with seventy-four guns.

⁶: *Sophia's Cupola*: the dome of the Hagia Sophia, the great Byzantine Cathedral of Constantinople, converted by the Turks into a mosque. B. was in Constantinople from May 13 to July 14 1810, and inspected most of its important buildings.

⁷: *Mary Montagu*: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) famous for independence, wit and travelling; her husband was the British Ambassador to Constantinople from 1716 to 1718. Her Turkish Embassy Letters are classics, and B. (who read them when young: see CMP 220) had them with him on his own stay in Constantinople in 1810. See BLJ I 250: “... **by the bye, her Ladyship, as far as I can judge, has lied, but not half so much as any other woman would have done, in the same situation.**” He affected, at least, to be more interested in her subsequent relationship with Pope: see CMP 125-6 and 172. The passage to which he here refers has been identified: ... *for twenty miles together down the Bosphorus, the most beautiful variety of prospects present themselves. The Asian side is covered with fruit trees, villages, and the most delightful landscapes in nature; on the European, stands Constantinople, situated on seven hills. — The unequal heights make it seem as large again as it is, (tho' one of the largest cities in the world) shewing an agreeable mixture of gardens, pine and cypress trees, palaces, mosques, and public buildings, raised one above another, with as much beauty and appearance of symmetry as your ladyship ever saw ...* (1803 Paris edition, II pp.29-30). B.'s early mention of Montagu gives opportunity to list the other books on the Levant which we either know or may infer him to have read, and made use of in the writing of Cantos V and VI. They are, in chronological order: Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1621: see CMP 3, 4 and 220; also this Canto, 1175) Paul Rycout, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668: see CMP 3, 4 and 219-20) Aubry de la Moutraye, *Voyages en Europe, Asie et Afrique* (1727) Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decline of the Othman Empire* (1734: see CMP 3, 4 and 220; this canto, 1175 and canto VI, 245) J.P. de Tournefort, *A Voyage to the Levant* (1741) Baron de Tott, *Memoirs* (1784: see CMP 220, and canto VI, 245) F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Travels in the Morea* (1806) and Thomas Thornton, *The Present State of Turkey* (1809). Knolles, Rycout and Cantemir he had read when young: the only one he mentions in his letters is the last, Thornton, and then in hostile terms: see BLJ II 106 and 115. The misleading nature of the evidence becomes clear when we realise how much he owes to Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes* (1721) which he never mentions at all (see this Canto, 1008n); and none of the authors referred to are as important in the local details of the canto as *A Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence in Tripoli* (referred to in the notes to canto III above) is to canto III itself.

⁸: *the Ocean Stream*: the phrase is used by Homer at *Iliad* XIV 245, and only there. The goddess Sleep is telling Hera of her powers: “*I would lightly put to sleep, even the stream of that River / Okeanos, whence is risen the seed of all the immortals*” (Richmond Lattimore's translation). Notice the seminal image.

4.

I have a passion for the name of “Mary,” 25
 For once it was a magic sound to me;⁹
 And still it half calls up the realms of Fairy,
 Where I beheld – what never was to be;
 All feelings changed, but this was last to vary,
 A Spell from which even yet I’m not quite free; 30
 But I grow sad – and let a tale grow cold,
 Which must not be pathetically told.

5.

The Wind swept down the Euxine, and the Wave
 Broke foaming o’er the blue Symplegades;¹⁰
 ’Tis a grand sight from off the “Giant’s Grave” * 35
 To watch the progress of those rolling Seas
 Between the Bosphorus, as they lash and lave¹¹
 Europe and Asia, you being quite at ease;
 There’s not a Sea the Passenger e’er pukes in,¹²
 Turns up more dangerous breakers than the Euxine. * 40

“The Giant’s Grave” is a height on the shore of the Bosphorus – much frequented by holiday

⁹: *For once it was a magic sound to me*: biographers count at least three Marys among B.’s early adolescent loves: an otherwise nameless Mary, Mary Duff, and (the one who had moved him most) Mary Chaworth. Poems addressed to them are at CPW I 2, 3, 50, and 132.

¹⁰: *the blue Symplegades*: two islands in the Sea of Marmara, at the southern entrance to the Bosphorus. Before Jason navigated them in the Argo (see above, II, ll.527-8, or III ll.435-6) they would come together and crush passing vessels. A famous erotic image, they are immortalised by Martial in one of his more *nauseous Epigrams* (see above, I l.344) specifically Book XI, no 95:

*De cathedra quotiens surgis (iam saepe notavi),
 pedicant miserae, Lesbia, te tunicae.
 quas cum conata es dextra, conata sinistra
 vellere, cum lacrimis eximis et gemitu:
 sic constringuntur magni Symplegade culi
 et nimias intrant Cyaneasque natis.
 emendare cupis vitium deforme? docebo:
 Lesbia, nec surgas censeo nec sedeas.*

(Whenever you get up from your chair, Lesbia – I have often noticed it – your dress buggers you. When you try, now with your left hand, now with your right, to free it, you pull it out with weeping and laments: it is gripped by the Symplegades of your great bottom, and sticks fast between your impassable Cyanean buttocks. What to do about such an embarrassment? Try just staying horizontal ... If in doubt, the reader should look further at Martial, VII 19: or Ovid, *Tristia*, I, 10 (a highly relevant passage); *Metamorphoses*, XV 335-5; or Medea’s words to Jason at *Heroides*, XII 121-2. Compare also *CHP* IV, Stanzas 175-6.

¹¹: *the Bosphorus*: the waterway between the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea (*the Euxine* – line 40). The rude configuration of the Marmara, a sea with two entrances, cloacal, vaginal or anal, depending on one’s imagination, is clear from any map.

¹²: *pukes in*: recalls above, II sts.19-23.

parties – like Harrow and Highgate.

6.

'Twas a raw day of Autumn's bleak beginning,
When Nights are equal, but not so the days;
The Parcae¹³ then cut short the further spinning
Of Seamen's¹⁴ fates, and the loud tempests raise
The Waters, and repentance for past sinning 45
In all, who o'er the great deep take their ways;¹⁵
They vow to amend their lives, and yet they don't;
Because if drowned, they can't – if spared, they won't.¹⁶

¹³: *the Parcae then cut short the further spinning / Of seamen's fates*: the Parcae are the Fates or Destinies. For a version of them tormenting sailors, see *Macbeth*, I iii.

¹⁴: *Seamen* may be a pun.

¹⁵: Three writers are often quoted as having provided sources for the two Harem Cantos are Cervantes, le Sage and Casti. In Chapters 39-41 of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605) a Spaniard escapes from Algiers with his adoring Moorish love Zoraida; in Chapter 15 of le Sage's *Le Diable Boîteux* (1707) two noble Spanish lovers, Don Juan and Donna Theodora, have a similar adventure; and in the first Canto of the *Poema Tartaro* of Giammbatista Casti (1797) the long-nosed young Irishman Tommaso Scardalasse is assisted to escape from the Seraglio by his resourceful love Zelmira, the Caliph's favourite concubine – just in time, for he is danger of being promoted to Chief Eunuch. Mention might be made also of two operas: Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and Rossini's *L'Italiana in Algeri* (see above, B.'s note to IV 1.640). In all these works, however, the stress is on the courage and constancy displayed by the Christian protagonists: not so in B., who peripheralises the traditional plot, and is not finally interested in how the lovers escape, or even in precisely which female lovers *do* escape (see below, VII ll.474-5).

¹⁶: *Because if drowned, they can't – if spared, they won't*: see above, II ll.347-9, note on Erasmus.

7.

A Crowd of shivering Slaves of every Nation,
 And Age, and Sex, were in the Market ranged;¹⁷ 50
 Each bevy with the Merchant in his Station;
 Poor Creatures! their good looks were sadly changed;
 All save the Blacks seemed jaded with vexation,
 From friends, and home, and freedom far estranged;
 The Negroes more philosophy displayed, – 55
 Used to it, no doubt, as Eels are to be flayed.

8.

Juan was juvenile, and thus was full,
 As most at his age are, of hope, and health;
 Yet I must own, he looked a little dull,
 And now and then a tear stole down by stealth; 60
 Perhaps his recent loss of blood might pull
 His Spirit down; and then the loss of Wealth,
 A Mistress, and such comfortable quarters,
 To be put up for auction amongst Tartars,¹⁸

9.

Were things to shake a Stoic;¹⁹ ne'ertheless, 65
 Upon the whole his Carriage was serene;
 His figure, and the Splendour of his dress,
 Of which some gilded remnants still were seen,
 Drew all eyes on him, giving them to guess
 He was above the vulgar by his mien; 70
 And then, though pale, he was so very handsome;

¹⁷: *A Crowd of shivering Slaves of every Nation, / And Age, and Sex, were in the Market ranged*: slaves were probably not put up for auction in such mixed lots; though as only Turks were allowed in the market B. could not have been sure. F.C.H.L.Pouqeville, *Voyages en Morée* (quoted Thornton, *The Present State of Turkey*, II pp.290-1n) reports seeing, in a few brief moments of trespass before he was ejected, three hundred to four hundred women on display: *they seemed scarcely affected by it [their condition] for they were laughing and indulging in the most vehement loquacity ... they were for the most part corpulent women ... and their complexion was of a dead white*. We find few references to the sale of male slaves.

¹⁸: *Tartars*: there would have been very few Tartars (from Central Asia) present in late-eighteenth-century Constantinople: B. is *perhaps* glancing at Casti's satirical *Poema Tartaro* in which *Mogollia* stands in for the Russia of Catherine the Great (see below, VI ll.735-6; and IX, st.42-X, st.49). Tartars, according to Lady Montagu, captured the slaves.

¹⁹: *a stoic*: follower of Stoicism, the Roman philosophy supposed to encourage emotionless acceptance of fate. See below, this canto, ll.199-200, or sts.100-1; or below, XVII ll.79-80.

And then – they calculated on his ransom.

10.

Like a Backgammon board²⁰ the place was dotted
 With whites and blacks, in groups on show for Sale,
Though rather more irregularly spotted; 75
 Some bought the jet, while others chose the pale.
It chanced amongst the other people lotted,
 A Man of thirty, rather stout and hale,
With resolution in his dark gray eye,
Next Juan stood, till Some might choose to buy. 80

11.

He had an English look;²¹ that is, was Square
 In make, of a complexion white and ruddy,
Good teeth, with curling rather dark brown hair,
 And, it might be from thought, or toil, or study,
An open brow a little marked with care; 85
 One arm had on a bandage rather bloody,
And there he stood with such *Sang-froid* that greater
Could scarce be shown even by a mere Spectator.

²⁰: *Like a backgammon board the place was dotted / With whites and blacks, in groups on show for sale*: B., who describes no slave market in his own letters from Constantinople (BLJ I 241-56) would in this scene appear implicitly to be engaging in creative dialectic with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (see above, this Canto, l.24 and n.): *I heartily beg your ladyship's pardon; but I really could not forbear laughing heartily at your letter, and the commissions you are pleased to honour me with. You desire me to buy you a Greek slave, who is to be mistress of a thousand good qualities. The Greeks are subjects, and not slaves. Those who are to be bought in that manner, are either such as are taken in war, or stolen by the Tartars, from Russia, Circassia or Georgia, and are such miserable awkward, poor wretches, you would not think any of them worthy to be your house-maids. 'Tis true that many thousands were taken in the Morea; but they have been most of them redeemed by the charitable contributions of the Christians, or ransomed by their own relations at Venice. The fine slaves, that wait upon the great ladies, or serve the pleasures of the great men, are all bought at the age of eight or nine year old, and educated with great care to accomplish them in singing, dancing, embroidery, etc. They are commonly Circassians, and their patron never sells them, except it is as a punishment for some very great fault. If ever they grow weary of them, they either present them to a friend, or give them their freedom. Those that are exposed to sale at the markets are always either guilty of some crime, or so entirely worthless, that they are of no use at all. I am afraid you will doubt the truth of this account, which I own is very different from our common notions in England; but it is no less true for all that.* (Letter to Lady —, June 17 1717: all quotations are from the 1803 Paris edition.) Notice that, like Thornton and de Pouqueville (previous page, note) she refers only to female slaves: but now see below, 91-2n.

²¹: *He had an English look*: one suggested model for Johnson, the character being introduced here, is B.'s teacher of pugilism, "Gentleman" John Jackson, referred to at BLJ V 179 as "**my pastor and master**" – compare above, II 1.624.

14.

When Juan answered, “Spanish,” he replied, 105
 “I thought, in fact, you could not be a Greek;
 “Those servile dogs are no so proudly eyed:
 “Fortune has played you here a pretty freak,²⁴
 “But that’s her way with all men till they’re tried;
 “But never mind; She’ll turn, perhaps, next week; 110
 “She’s served me also much the same as you,
 “Except that I have found it nothing new.”

15.

“Pray, Sir,” said Juan, “If I may presume,
 “*What* brought you here?” “Oh! nothing very rare –
 “Six Tartars and a drag-Chain –” “To this doom 115
 “But what conducted, if the question’s fair,
 “Is that which I would learn.” “I served for some
 “Months with the Russian army here and there,
 “And taking lately, by Suwarrow’s bidding,²⁵
 “A town, was ta’en myself instead of Widin.”²⁶ 120

16.

“Have you no friends?” “I had – but, by God’s blessing,
 “Have not been troubled with them lately; now²⁷
 “I’ve answered all your questions without pressing,
 “And you an equal courtesy should show.” –
 “Alas!” said Juan, “twere a tale distressing, 125
 “And long besides.” – “Oh! if ’tis really so,
 “You’re right on both accounts to hold your tongue;
 “A sad tale saddens doubly when ’tis long.”

²⁴: *Fortune has played you here a pretty freak*: the phlegmatic idiom is perhaps that of John Jackson (above, this canto, 81n): “... **you may suppose – as pugilistic Jackson says – that I have ‘a pretty time of it’**” (BLJ VII 123). Johnson is in general an admirable, because non-dogmatic and humorous, example of the Stoic (see above, this canto, 65 and n; also below, 200 and n). His reflections on misfortune and how to bear its blows wisely could be from Horace: see especially *Satire II*, vii.

²⁵: *Suwarrow*: Alexander Vasilyevich Suvorov (1729-1800) famous and ruthless Russian general with an ultra-common touch: see below, VII ll.441-2, 457-64, and st.64.

²⁶: *Widin*: a town in Bulgaria. Suwarrow failed to take it in 1789 (see below, VII l.481). This detail is one of the first hints in the poem as to the precise dating of the action. The place-name occurs at II, 329, 356, 370, 371, 383, and 389 of Hope’s *Anastasius*.

²⁷: “Have you no friends?” “I had – but, by God’s blessing, / “Have not been troubled with them lately: a good Stoic thought. Compare above, I st.32.

17.

“But droop not; Fortune at your time of life,
“Although a female moderately fickle, 130
“Will hardly leave you (as She’s not your wife)
“For any length of days in such a pickle;
“To strive too with our Fate were such a Strife
As if the Corn-sheaf should oppose the Sickles;²⁸
“Men are the Sport of Circumstances, when 135
“The Circumstances seem the Sport of Men.”²⁹

18.

“’Tis not,” said Juan, “for my present doom
“I mourn, but for the past – I loved a Maid –”
He paused, and his dark eye grew full of gloom;
A single tear upon his eyelash staid 140
A Moment, and then dropped; “but to resume,
“’Tis not my present lot, as I have said,
“Which I deplore so much; for I have borne
“Hardships which have the hardest overworn,

19.

“On the rough deep; but this last blow –” and here 145
He stopped again, and turned away his face;
“Aye,” quoth his friend, “I thought it would appear
“That there had been a lady in the case;
“And these are things which ask a tender tear,
“Such as I too would shed if in your place; 150
“I cried upon my first wife’s dying day,
“And also when my Second ran away:

20.

“My third –” – “Your third!” quoth Juan, turning round,
“You scarcely can be thirty – have you three?”

²⁸: *As if the Corn-sheaf should oppose the Sickles*: DJP notes Biblical phrasing, from Deuteronomy 10, 9 and Mark 4, 26; CPW follows suit; but DJP admits that B. has no Biblical authority for opposing the sheaf to the sickle.

²⁹: *Men are the Sport of Circumstances, when / The Circumstances seem the Sport of Men*: sound Stoic concept, implying the illusory power of men over their fates. CPW refers us to the corresponding passage at *Childe Harold IV*, sts.124-7.

“No – only two at present above ground; 155
 “Surely ’tis nothing wonderful to see
 “One person thrice in holy wedlock bound?”
 “Well, then, your third,” said Juan, “what did She?
 “She did not run away, too, did She, Sir?”
 “No, faith.” – “What then?” – “I ran away from her.”³⁰ – 160

21.

“You take things coolly, Sir,” said Juan. “Why,”
 Replied the other, “what can a Man do?
 “There still are many rainbows in your Sky,³¹
 “But mine have vanished; all, when life is new,
 “Commence with feelings warm and prospects high; 165
 “But Time strips our illusions of their hue,
 “And One by One in turn, some grand Mistake
 “Casts off its bright skin yearly like the Snake.

22.³²

“’Tis true, it gets another bright and fresh,
 “Or fresher, brighter; but the year gone through, 170
 “This Skin must go the way too of all flesh,
 “Or sometimes only wear a week or two;
 “Love’s the first net which spreads its deadly Mesh;
 “Ambition, Avarice, Vengeance, Glory, glue
 “The glittering lime-twigs of our latter days, 175

³⁰: *I ran away from her*: this part of Johnson’s lesson in stoicism is one from which Juan is doomed never to profit.

³¹: *There still are many rainbows in your sky*: compare above, II sts.91-93.

³²: Our sense that the dialogue between Juan and his new, and still unnamed, companion is a form of Byronic self-communion is reinforced when we find that received st.22, appears to be an ottava rima version of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (1817) Canto IV stanza 124:

*We wither from our youth, we gasp away –
 Sick – sick; unfound the boon – unslaked the thirst,
 Though to the last, in verge of our decay,
 Some phantom lures, such as we sought at first –
 But all too late, – so are we doubly curst.
 Love, fame, ambition, avarice – ’tis the same,
 Each idle – and all ill – and none the worst –
 For all are meteors with a different name,
 And Death the sable smoke where vanishes the flame.*

The ideas gain in power from their narrative and dramatic context in *Don Juan*.

“Where still we flutter on for pence or praise.”

23.

“All this is very fine, and may be true,”

Said Juan; “but I really don’t see how

“It betters present times with me or you.”

“No?” quoth the other; “yet you will allow,

180

“By setting things in their right point of view,

“Knowledge, at least, is gained; for instance, now

“We know what Slavery is, and our disasters

“May teach us better to behave when Masters.”

24.

“Would we were Masters now, if but to try
 “Their present lessons on our Pagan friends here,”
 Said Juan, swallowing a heart-burning sigh;
 “Heaven help the Scholar whom his Fortune sends here!”
 “Perhaps we shall be one day, by and by,”
 Rejoined the other, “when our bad luck mends here; 190
 “Meantime (yon old black Eunuch³³ seems to eye us)
 “I wish to G—d that Somebody would buy us!”

25.

“But after all, what *is* our present State?
 “‘Tis bad, and may be better; all men’s lot;
 “Most Men are Slaves, none more so than the great,³⁴ 195
 “To their own whims and passions, and what not;
 “Society itself, which should create
 “Kindness, destroys what little we had got:
 “To feel for None is the true Social art

³³: *yon old black Eunuch*: this character is important, and it may be as well to consider him. Thomas Thornton quotes two authoritative witnesses (Busbeq, Epis. iii p. 122, and Rigaud, *Généalogie du grand Turc*, p. 25) to the fact that castration habitually involved the removal of the penis as well as the scrotum: see *The Present State of Turkey*, II p.293n. He treats the idea with Anglo-Saxon disbelief; but Aubrey de la Motraye, himself acknowledged by Thornton as a reliable witness, concurs: *They are Slaves that are bought, and have all that Part cut from them in their Infancy, that distinguishes a Man from a Woman, without leaving the least remainder of it; and the Operation is so dangerous, that very often out of a hundred, fifty don’t escape; they are reduced to the Necessity of making Water thro’ a little Pipe in the Shape of a Funnel, which they apply to the Passage from whence the Natural Organ has been cut off*” – *Travels* (1723) I, p.172.

Baron de Tott (below, VI, 1.245) makes a further relevant point, which B. doubtless stored away: *It appears from this description, that the Eunuchs were more at the command of the Sultana than disposed to thwart her. These beings are no other than an object of luxury in Turkey, displayed no where but in the Seraglio of the Grand Signior, and the Sultanas. The pride of the great, ‘tis true, extends so far, but with moderation, and the richest of them have scarcely ever more than two or three black Eunuchs. The white ones, who are less deformed, are reserved for the Grand Signior, to form the guard for the outer-gates of his Seraglio; but they are not suffered to approach the women, nor obtain any employment, whilst the post of Kislar Aga, furnishes the black Eunuchs, at least, a motive to support and animate their ambition. Their character is always ferocious, and nature offended in their persons, seems perpetually to feel the reproach.* (Memoirs, 1785 Dublin edition, I pp.104-5).

It should not be forgotten that Castlereagh has already been set up as the poem’s first eunuch (see above, Dedication, 88, and n: also below, this canto, sts.87, 88 and commentary). Eunuchs as power-hungry tools and manipulators, both of state and of incompetent or absentee rulers, are powerfully present in Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes* (1721): see especially Letters 15, 65, 79 and 96, plus the book’s end.

³⁴: Johnson’s line here (*Most men are slaves, no more so than the great*) enhances our sense that the Constantinople slave-market, in which men stand to be purchased by eunuchs, is meant to carry a more than local narrative weight.

³⁵: *the World’s Stoics*: see above, this canto, 65n; in dissociating himself from the philosophy as hypocritically practised, Juan’s new friend strengthens our concept of Stoicism itself.

26.

Just now a black old Neutral personage
Of the third Sex³⁶ stept up, and peering over
The Captives, seemed to mark their looks and age,
And Capabilities, as to Discover
If they were fitted for the purposed Cage; 205
No Lady e'er is ogled by a Lover,
Horse by a blackleg,³⁷ broadcloth by a tailor,
Fee by a Counsel, felon by a Jailor,

27.

As is a Slave by his intended bidder;
'Tis pleasant purchasing our fellow creatures; 210
And All are to be sold,³⁸ if you consider
Their passions, and are dextrous; Some by features
Are bought up, others by a warlike leader,
Some by a place – as tend their years or natures;
The Most by ready *Cash* – but All have prices, 215
From Crowns to kicks,³⁹ according to their vices.

28.

The Eunuch having eyed them o'er with care,
Turned to the Merchant, and begun to bid
First but for one, and after for the pair;
They haggled, wrangled, swore, too – so they did! 220
As though they were in a mere Christian Fair
Cheapening an Ox, an Ass, a lamb, or kid;
So that their Bargain sounded like a battle
For this superior yoke of human Cattle.

³⁶: *Of the third Sex*: a recurring preoccupation in the poem to date. The line echoes above, III 1.617, IV st.86, and of course Dedication 88.

³⁷: *blackleg*: a racecourse confidence-trickster.

³⁸: *All are to be sold*: the statement “all men have their price” was attributed to Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745) the first-ever Prime Minister; though John Wright, the 1832 editor, is sufficiently concerned for Walpole’s reputation to insist that the cynicism was specific: “All *those* men have their price”.

³⁹: *From Crowns to kicks*: a double pun, *crowns* being either regal headgear or five-shilling coins, and *kicks* being either blows with the foot or sixpences.

29.

At last they settled into simple grumbling, 225
And pulling out reluctant purses, and
Turning each piece of silver o'er, and tumbling
Some down, and weighing others in their hand,
And by Mistake Sequins with paras jumbling,⁴⁰
Until the Sum was accurately scanned, 230
And then the Merchant, giving change, and signing
Receipts in full, began to think of dining.

30.

I wonder if his appetite was good?
Or, if it were, if also his digestion?
Methinks at meals some odd thoughts might intrude, 235
And Conscience ask a curious sort of question,
About the right divine how far we should
Sell flesh and blood;⁴¹ when Dinner has opprest one,
I think it is perhaps the gloomiest hour
Which turns up out of the sad twenty-four. 240

31.

Voltaire says "No"; he tells you that Candide
Found life most tolerable after meals;⁴²
He's wrong – unless Man were a pig indeed,
Repletion rather adds to what he feels,
Unless he's drunk, and then no doubt he's freed 245
From his own brain's oppression while it reels;
Of food I think with Philip's Son, or rather
Ammon's (ill pleased with one world and one father)⁴³

⁴⁰: *Sequins with paras jumbling*: a sequin was worth seven shillings and sixpence, a para less than a halfpenny.

⁴¹: *And conscience ask a curious sort of question, / About the right divine how far we should / Sell flesh and blood*: lays finally to rest any doubts we may have had about B.'s facetious reference to Wilberforce at IV ll.915-16 above.

⁴²: Voltaire says "No"; he tells you that Candide / Found life most tolerable after meals: "Candidus well fed, well clothed, and in high spirits, soon became again as ruddy, as fresh and as pretty as when he was in Westphalia" (Part II Chapter 2, 1759 English translation p.5). Both DJP and CPW refer to this passage, which is from the spurious second half of Candide – not by Voltaire, but sometimes supposed to be by Charles Claude Florent de Torel de Campigneulles: though B. may not have known that. In the short addition, Candide has various erotic and punishing adventures around Persia, Lapland and, finally, Denmark – where he ends happily married.

⁴³: *Philip's Son, or rather / Ammon's (ill pleased with one world and one father)*: Plutarch records a legend

32.

I think with Alexander, that the Act
Of eating, with another act or two,⁴⁴ 250
Makes us feel our mortality in fact
Redoubled; when a roast and a Ragout,⁴⁵
And fish, and Soup, by some side dishes backed,
Can give us either pain or pleasure, who
Would pique himself on intellects, whose use 255
Depends so much upon the Gastric Juice?

that Olympias, mother to Alexander the Great, told him that he was not the son of Philip of Macedon, but of the god Zeus Ammon.

⁴⁴: *I think with Alexander, that the Act / Of eating, with another act or two, / Makes us feel our mortality in fact / Redoubled ...*: Plutarch further records that Alexander found eating and sex potent reminders of his mortality. Bacon used the story for Apophthegm No 123: see below, B.'s extended note to st.147 of this canto.

⁴⁵: *Ragout*: a particularly carnal dish in B.'s mind. Compare below, XIII ll.789-92, XV ll.494-6; or *Beppo*, l.70.

I found the Military Commandant⁴⁸
Stretched in the Street, and able scarce to pant.

The assassination alluded to took place on the 8th. December 1820, in the Streets of Ravenna, not a hundred paces from the residence of the writer. – The circumstances were as described. – – – –

The Lieutenant who is watching the body is smoking with the greatest Sangfroid; – a strange people.
– – ” (John Murray Archive / National Library of Scotland).

⁴⁷: *my great Coat*: compare *Beppo*, 42, 1-4: *I like on Autumn Evenings to ride out / Without being forced to bid my Groom be sure / My Cloak is round his middle strapped about, / Because the Skies are not the most secure ...*

⁴⁸ *the Military Commandant*: Ravenna not being under Papal, not Austrian rule, the Commandant was Italian. His name was Luigi dal Pinto.

34.

Poor fellow! for some reason, surely bad, 265
They'd slain him with five slugs, and left him there
To perish on the pavement; so I had
Him borne into the house and up the stair,
And stripped, and looked to; but why should I add
More circumstances? vain was every care; 270
The Man was gone; in some Italian quarrel
Killed by five bullets from an old Gun barrell.

There was found close by him an old Gun barrell sawed half off; it had just been discharged and was still warm. –

35.

I gazed upon him – for I knew him well –
And though I have seen many corpses, never
Saw one, whom such an accident befell, 275
So calm; though pierced through Stomach, heart, and liver,
He seemed to sleep, for you could scarcely tell
(As he bled inwardly no hideous river
Of Gore divulged the cause) that he was dead;
So as I gazed on him – I thought – or said – 280

36.

“Can this be death? then what is life or death?
“Speak!” but he spoke not: “Wake!” but still he slept: –
But yesterday and who had mightier breath?⁴⁹
A thousand warriors by his word were kept
In awe; he said, as the Centurion saith, 285
“Go,” and he goeth; “Come,” and forth he stepped;⁵⁰
The trump and bugle till he spake were dumb –
And now naught left him but the muffled drum. –

⁴⁹: *But yesterday ...*: CPW compares Antony's words at *Julius Caesar*, III ii 120.

⁵⁰: *... as the Centurion saith, / "Go"*: see Matthew 8, 9. B. has already used the allusion above, at III ll.369-71. It is not clear that we are to sense any link between the faithful Centurion, Lambro, referred to in Canto III, and the Commandant here.

37.

And they who waited once and worshipped, they
 With their rough faces thronged about the bed 290
To gaze once more on the commanding Clay
 Which for the *last* though not the *first* time bled;
And such an end! that he who many a day
 Had faced Napoleon's foes until they fled, –
The foremost in the Charge or in the sally – 295
Should now be butchered in a Civic alley.

38.

The Scars of his old wounds were near his new,
 Those honourable Scars which brought him fame;
And horrid was the Contrast to the view –
 But let me quit the theme, as such things claim 300
Perhaps even more attention than is due
 From me; I gazed (as oft I have gazed the same)⁵¹
To try If I could wrench aught out of death,
Which should confirm – or shake, or make a faith. –

39.

But it was all a Mystery; here we are, 305
 And there we go – but *where?* five bits of lead,
Or three, or two, or one, send very far!
 And is this blood, then, formed but to be shed?
Can every Element our Elements mar?
 And air – earth – water – fire live – and we dead? 310
We, whose Minds comprehend all things? – no more –
But let us to the Story as before.

40.

The Purchaser of Juan and acquaintance
 Bore off his bargains to a gilded boat,
Embarked himself and them, and off they went thence 315
 As fast as oars could pull and water float;
They looked like persons being led to sentence,

⁵¹: *I gazed (as oft I have gazed ...*: for an example, see BLJ V 229-30, where B. describes in minute detail his reactions to a triple guillotining in Rome.

Wondering what next; till the Caique⁵² was brought
Up in a little Creek below a wall
O'ertopped with Cypresses⁵³ dark-green and tall. * 320

⁵²: *Caique*: "The light and elegant wherries plying about the quays of Constantinople are so called" (Wright, E.H.Coleridge; DJP suggests a note by B. himself; CPW denies it. "Light skiff propelled by one or more rowers, used on the Bosphorus" (OED).

⁵³: *Cypresses dark-green and tall*: would at once indicate the Seraglio of Constantinople. See above, this canto, l.21; and the following, from Hobhouse's *Travels through Albania*, p.831: ... *passing under the palace of the Sultans, and gazing at the gloomy cypresses which were above the walls, we saw two dogs gnawing a dead body*.

41.

Here their Conductor tapping at the wicket
 Of a small iron door, 'twas opened, and
 He led them onward, first through a low thicket
 Flanked by large groves, which towered on either hand;
 They almost lost their way, and had to pick it – 325
 For Night was closing ere they came to land;
 The Eunuch made a sign to those on board,
 Who rowed off, leaving them without a word. –

42.

As they were plodding on their winding way
 Through Orange bowers, and Jasmine, and so forth 330
 (Of which I might have a good deal to say,
 There being no such profusion in the North
 Of Oriental plants, et Cetera,⁵⁴
 But that of late your Scribblers think it worth
 Their while to rear whole hotbeds in *their* works 335
 Because one poet travelled 'mongst the Turks;)⁵⁵

⁵⁴: In fair-copying, B. appears to lose control with his *et Ceteras* at 333. The editors appreciated the joke, and received st.42 gives us a rare example of them improving their client's point by altering his accidentals. Gifford – or Davison – places brackets around ll.331-6, and replaces B.'s full stop at 336 with a semi-colon, running the syntax through into the next stanza. The effect creates a funny, long-breathed and bad-tempered parenthesis; so I have retained it. The sudden isolation and mystery surrounding the question of the protagonists' whereabouts will be increased the deeper into the Seraglio and Harem they go: B. is establishing the tone for a narrative episode which will not reach its climax until st.108 onwards in this canto – or perhaps even st.70 in the next.

⁵⁵: *Because one poet travelled 'mongst the Turks*: B. alludes to himself, but protests too much. The vogue for tales of Eastern mystery and passion had been around for a long time before his successes with *The Giaour*, *The Corsair*, *The Siege of Corinth*, and so on – Southey's *The Curse of Kehama* had been published in 1810, and his *Thalaba the Destroyer* in 1801, facts of which B. was all too furiously aware. However, he was indeed the only notable practitioner of the genre to have *travelled* in Turkey, and his local colour attests it – hence the proprietoriality. See his annoyance (BLJ VII 138 and n) at the even more authentic local colouring of Thomas Hope's 1819 novel *Anastasius* – written after a longer residence in Turkey than his.

43.

As they were threading on their way, there came
Into Don Juan's head a thought, which he
Whispered to his companion: – 'twas the same
Which might have then occurred to you or me; 340
"Methinks," said he, "it would be no great shame
"If we should strike a stroke to set us free;
"Let's knock that old black fellow on the head,
"And march away – 'twere easier done than said." –

44.

"Yes," said the Other, "and when done, what then? 345
"How get out? how the devil got we in?
"And when we once were fairly out, and when
"From Saint Bartholomew we have saved our skin,⁵⁶
"Tomorrow'd see us in some other den,
"And worse off than we hitherto have been; 350
Besides, I'm hungry, and just now would take,
Like Esau, for my birthright a beefsteak."⁵⁷ –

⁵⁶: *When / From Saint Bartholomew we have saved our skin*: Saint Bartholomew, one of the lower-profile Apostles, is said in legend to have been crucified upside-down (like Saint Peter) and flayed alive (unlike Saint Peter). In Michaelangelo's *Last Judgement* Saint Peter sits on a cloud, with Bartholomew's skin (the artist's self-portrait) in one hand, and his keys in the other. See BLJ V 221 for B.'s linking of the painting with Southey; also *TVOJ*, ll.156-7.

⁵⁷: *Like Esau, for my birthright a beefsteak*: see Genesis 25, 29-34, in which Esau casually sells his birthright to his brother Jacob for a mess of pottage.

45.

“We must be near some place of Man’s abode –
 “For the old Negro’s confidence in creeping,
 “With his two captives, by so queer a road, 355
 “Shows that he thinks his friends have not been sleeping;
 “A single cry would bring them all abroad;
 “‘Tis therefore better looking before leaping –
 “And there, you see, this turn has brought us through –
 “By Jove! a noble palace! – lighted too!” 360

46.

It was indeed a wide extensive building
 Which opened on their view, and o’er the front
 There seemed to be besprent a deal of gilding
 And various hues, as is the Turkish wont –
 A Gaudy taste;⁵⁸ for they are little skilled in 365
 The Arts of which these lands were once the font;⁵⁹
 Each Villa on the Bosphorus looks a Screen⁶⁰
 New painted, or a pretty Opera-Scene.⁶¹ –

⁵⁸: *A Gaudy taste*: B. is often at pains in this Canto to stress the huge emptiness and vulgarity of the Seraglio’s architecture and decor (although he had of course never seen it). DJP refers ahead, to sts.51, 56, 64 and 94: passages based on a careful reading of what descriptions were available to him. See notes below. Notice that Johnson admires the view.

⁵⁹: *The Arts of which these lands were once the font*: refers to the architecture of Greece and Byzantium.

⁶⁰: *Each Villa on the Bosphorus*: the palaces of the rich and powerful. See above, this canto, ll.17-18; but also *Candide*, last chapter, in which the inhabitants of the palaces are continually being exiled, decapitated, strangled and impaled.

⁶¹: *a Screen / New painted, or a pretty Opera-Scene*: compare the description of St Petersburg below, at IX l.336: *That pleasant Capital of painted Snows*.

47.

And nearer as they came, a genial Saviour
 Of certain stews, and roast-meats, and pilaus,⁶² 370
 Things which in hungry mortals' eyes find favour,
 Made Juan in his harsh intentions pause,
 And put himself upon his good behaviour;
 His friend, too, adding a new saving clause,
 Said, "In Heaven's name let's get some supper now, 375
 "And then I'm with You, if you're for a row."

48.

Some talk of an Appeal unto some passion,
 Some to Men's feelings, others to their reason;
 The last of these was never much the fashion,
 For Reason thinks all reasoning out of Season;⁶³ 380
 Some Speakers whine, and others lay the lash on,
 But more or less continue still to tease on
 With arguments according to their "*forte*;"
 But No one ever dreams of being *short*. –

49.

But I digress; of all appeals, – although 385
 I grant the power of pathos, and of gold,
 Of beauty, flattery, threats, a Shilling, – No
 Method's more sure at moments to take hold
 Of the best feelings of Mankind, which grow
 More tender, as we every day behold, 390
 Than that all-softening, over-powering knell,
 The Tocsin of the Soul: the Dinnerbell.⁶⁴

⁶²: *a genial Saviour / Of certain stews, and roast-meats, and pilaus*: part of Juan's reason for pausing in his violent intent may be that the smell reminds him of Haidee's feast. See above, III, 1.243.

⁶³: *For Reason thinks all reasoning out of Season*: CPW glosses, "B. distinguishes between the reason of academic philosophers (Coleridge's 'Reason' or Kant's 'Pure Reason') and ordinary common sense." DJP prefaces a longer, but broadly similar analysis, with "Byron here preferred cleverness to clarity". The force of the point only emerges from a context larger than this single line: appetite – being *short* – will always overcome reason, no matter how much people may think reason to be their *forte*. It is a Byronic commonplace, sometimes applied to higher and lower emotions: see above, II sts.22-3.

⁶⁴: *The Tocsin of the Soul: the Dinnerbell ... With the prophetic eye of Appetite*: continues the argument between *Reason* and *reason* in st.48, above. A tocsin is an alarm-bell; thus when the Dinner-bell rings, the Soul must be on its guard. 397-8: *Yet smelt roast-meat, beheld a huge fire shine, / And Cooks in motion with their clean arms bared*: B. had been near where Juan and Johnson now are: on July 10 1810, when he and Hobhouse accompanied Sir Robert Adair, the English Ambassador, to the Seraglio for an audience with

50.

Turkey contains no bells, and yet Men dine;⁶⁵
 And Juan and his friend, albeit they heard
 No Christian knoll to table, saw no line 395
 Of lacqueys usher to the feast prepared; –
 Yet smelt roast-meat, beheld a huge fire shine,
 And Cooks in motion with their clean arms bared,⁶⁶
 And gazed around them to the left and right
 With the prophetic eye of Appetite. – 400

51.

And giving up all motions of resistance,
 They followed close behind their sable Guide,
 Who little thought that his own cracked Existence⁶⁷
 Was on the point of being set aside;
 He motioned them to stop at some small distance, 405
 And knocking at the gate, 'twas opened wide,⁶⁸
 And a magnificent large hall displayed –
 The Asian pomp of Ottoman parade. –

Sultan Mahmoud II. The English party, passing through the Executioner's Lodge, were forced humiliatingly to wait until 4,000 Janissaries had been given their morning pilau. Thence they moved into the second square of the Seraglio, with the kitchens to their right, where they were again made to feel peripheral by watching the Janissaries being paid. The Harem itself was just out of sight, behind the Divan wall, on the west side of the Seraglio complex. The combination of claustrophobia, humiliation and mouth-watering kitchen smells seems to be one which B. is recollecting in these stanzas.

⁶⁵: 393: *Turkey contains no bells, and yet Men dine*: Bells are prohibited by Islam. Compare *Beppo*, 1.612 (*Unknown as bells within a Turkish Steeple*), or *The Bride of Abydos*, B.'s note to I, 232: *Clapping of hands calls the servants. The Turks hate a superfluous expenditure of voice, and they have no bells*. See also Sale, *Preliminary Discourse to the Koran*, 107.

⁶⁶: 397-8: *Yet smelt roast-meat, beheld a huge fire shine, / And Cooks in motion with their clean arms bared*: B. had been near where Juan and Johnson now are: on July 10 1810, when he and Hobhouse accompanied Sir Robert Adair, the English Ambassador, to the Seraglio for an audience with Sultan Mahmoud II. The English party, passing through the Executioner's Lodge, were forced humiliatingly to wait until 4,000 Janissaries had been given their morning pilau. Thence they moved into the second square of the Seraglio, with the kitchens to their right, where they were again made to feel peripheral by watching the Janissaries being paid. The Harem itself was just out of sight, behind the Divan wall, on the west side of the Seraglio complex. The combination of claustrophobia, humiliation and mouth-watering kitchen smells seems to be one which B. is recollecting in these stanzas.

⁶⁷: *his own cracked Existence*: recalls the description of the Musico in Raucocanti's party – one of the poem's previous eunuchs – as *but a cracked old Basin*: see above, IV 1.682.

⁶⁸: *And knocking at the gate, 'twas opened wide*: the second portal on Juan's initiation into the Seraglio; for the first, see above, 1.322. There are many more, their great number implicit but unspecified: for the most important, see below, II.676-20.

52.

I won't describe; description is my forte,⁶⁹
 But every fool describes in these bright days 410
 His wondrous journey to some foreign court,
 And spawns his quarto, and demands your praise –
 Death to his publisher, to him 'tis sport;⁷⁰
 While Nature tortured twenty thousand ways
 Resigns herself with exemplary patience 415
 To Guide-books, rhymes, tours, sketches, illustrations.⁷¹

53.

Along this hall, and up and down, some, squatted
 Upon their hams, were occupied at Chess;
 Others in monosyllable talk chatted,⁷²
 And some seemed much in love with their own dress, 420
 And divers smoked superb pipes decorated
 With amber mouths of greater price or less;
 And several strutted, others slept, and some
 Prepared for Supper with a glass of Rum. * –

* In Turkey nothing is more common than for the Mussulmans to take several glasses of strong Spirits by way of Appetizer. – I have seen them take as many as six of *Raki* before dinner, and swear that they dined the better for it; I tried the experiment but was like the Scotchman who

⁶⁹: *I won't describe; description is my forte*: the second use of *forte* as a rhyme-word within thirty lines (see above, l.383). Normally pronounced in the two-syllable Italian way, as in music. The canto is indeed short on description, partly because of the paucity of authentic material for borrowing. CPW refers to BLJ I 216: **“But damn description, it is always disgusting”**; a line which reads rhetorically, as does the line here.

⁷⁰: *Death to his publisher, to him 'tis sport*: DJP and CPW both quote J.C.Maxwell to the effect that this is a reference to Aesop's *Fable of the Boys and the Frogs*, in which the boys torment the frogs by throwing stones at them, to be told, *Though this may be play to you, 'tis death to us*.

⁷¹: *To Guide-books, rhymes, tours, sketches, illustrations*: Wright illustrates with a list of such ephemera: *“Guide des Voyageurs”*, *“Directions for Travellers”*, &c. – *“Rhymes, Incidental and Humorous,”* *“Rhyming Reminiscences,”* *“Effusions in Rhyme,”* &c. – *“Lady Morgan's Tour in Italy,”* *“Tour through Istria,”* &c. &c. – *“Sketches of Italy,”* *“Sketches of Modern Greece,”* &c. &c. – *the last is a playful allusion to his friend Mr. Hobhouse's “Illustrations to Childe Harold”*. B. is continuing his complaint from above, ll.331-6, that he is not responsible for his “imitators”; and of course no-one notices, in amusement at the diatribe, that their legitimate appetite for description is being ignored.

⁷²: *Others in monosyllable talk chatted ... But no one troubled him with conversation*: J.P.de Tournefort comments on the enforced silence even of the outer courts of the Seraglio: *Any body may enter the first Court of the Seraglio: here the Domesticks and Slaves of the Bashaws and Agas wait for their Masters returning, and look after their Horses; but every thing is so still, the Motion of a Fly might be heard in a manner: and if any one should presume to raise his Voice ever so little, or shew the least want of Respect to the Mansion-Place of their Emperor, he would instantly have the Bastinado by the Officers that go the rounds; nay, the very Horses seem to know where they are, and no doubt they are taught to tread softer here than in the Streets.* (*A Voyage into the Levant*, 1741 English translation, II p.183: quoted in part by Wright, Coleridge, DJP and CPW).

having heard that the birds called Kittiewiaks were admirable whets ate six of them and complained that "*he was no hungrier than when he begun.*"

54.

As the black Eunuch entered with his brace 425
Of purchased Infidels, Some raised their eyes
A moment without slackening from their pace;
But those who sate, ne'er stirred in any wise;
One or two stared the Captives in the face,
Just as one views a horse to guess his price; 430
Some nodded to the Negro from their station,
But no one troubled him with conversation.

55.

He leads them through the hall, and, without stopping,
On through a farther range of goodly rooms,
Splendid but silent, save in *one*, where, dropping, 435
A Marble fountain echoes through the glooms *
Of Night, which robe the Chamber, or where popping
Some female head most curiously presumes
To thrust its black eyes through the door or lattice,
As wondering what the devil noise that is. 440

* A Common furniture. – I recollect being received by Ali Pacha in a room containing a marble bason and fountain &c. &c. &c.⁷³

56.

Some faint lamps gleaming from the lofty walls
Gave light enough to hint their farther way,
But not enough to show the Imperial halls
In all the flashing of their full array;
Perhaps there's nothing – I'll not say *appalls*, 445
But *saddens* more by night as well as day,
Than an enormous room, without a Soul

⁷³: The &c.s of B.'s note perhaps signal the desperation of his attempt at authenticating autobiographically what description he can muster, rather in the way that the note above at Canto II 1.840 authenticates the nautical details of the preceding passage there. For his immediate evidence here, see the authentic Seraglio description of Aubrey de la Mottraye, quoted below, this canto, ll.738-41. Wright, Coleridge and CPW note that he is here recalling his own description of Ali Pacha at *Childe Harold II*, st.62: *In marble-pav'd pavilion, where a spring / Of living water from the centre rose, / Whose bubbling did a genial freshness fling, / And soft voluptuous couches breath'd repose, / ALI reclin'd, a man of war and woes ...* Juan is about to refuse seduction by she who "reclines" here – but drawing conclusions on that account about the attempted seduction of B. by Ali Pacha is risky. CPW also refers to the description of the sadly inactive fountain in Hassan's deserted hall, at *The Giaour*, ll.295-309.

To break the lifeless Splendour of the Whole.⁷⁴

⁷⁴: *To break the lifeless Splendour of the Whole*: the last line of st.56 ushers in a three-stanza digression about the depression we experience in huge, empty houses.

57.

Two or three seem so little, *One* seems nothing:
 In deserts, forests, crowds, or by the Shore, 450
 There Solitude, we know, has her full growth in
 The Spots which were her realms for evermore;
 But in a mighty hall or gallery, both in
 More modern buildings and those built of yore,
 A kind of death comes o'er us all alone, 455
 Seeing what's meant for many with but One. –

58.

A neat, snug study on a winter's night,
 A book, friend, single lady, or a glass
 Of Claret, Sandwich, and an appetite,
 Are things which make an English Evening pass; 460
 Though Certes by no means so grand a Sight
 As is a theatre lit up by Gas;⁷⁵
 I pass my evenings in long galleries solely,⁷⁶
 And that's the reason I'm so melancholy.

59.

Alas! Man makes that great which makes him little; 465
 I grant you in a Church 'tis very well;
 What speaks of Heaven should by no means be brittle,
 But strong, and lasting, till no tongue can tell
 Their Names who reared it; but huge houses fit ill –
 And huge tombs worse – Mankind, since Adam fell: 470
 Methinks the Story of the tower of Babel
 Might teach them this much better than I'm able.⁷⁷

⁷⁵: *As is a theatre lit up by Gas*: gas lighting, in both theatres and streets, was a recent and exciting innovation. Compare above, this canto, ll.367-368. Part of B.'s intention in the canto is to insist on the empty theatricality of huge power, and the inhospitality and dreariness of its housings: see below, st.63.

⁷⁶: *I pass my evenings in long galleries solely*: B. was by this time writing in the Palazzo Guiccioli in Ravenna, a very large building – but he was by no means there *solely*. CPW suggests a recollection of lonely Newstead Abbey before B. became famous – but why therefore the present tense? The solemn suggestions ignore the posturing to which the reader is being subjected. *Don Juan* is itself, after all, something of *A theatre lit up by Gas*; though as so often, the poet is expressing a fellow-feeling with the objects of his satire. See previous note. For further references to long galleries in the poem, see below, VI, 26, 5 (still in the Harem) and XIII, 67, 1 or XVI, 17, 2-3 (both at Norman Abbey). The first scene of *Manfred* is set in a gloomy gallery.

⁷⁷: *the Tower of Babel*: an excellent example of man making great that which makes him little (l.465). The people of Babylon overreached themselves by trying to build a tower as high as heaven; God frustrated

60.

Babel was Nimrod's hunting-box, and then *
 A town of gardens, walls, and wealth amazing,
 Where Nabuchadonosor, king of Men, * 475
 Reigned, till one Summer's day he took to grazing, *
 And Daniel tamed the Lions in their den, *
 The people's awe and admiration raising;
 'Twas famous, too, for Thisbe and for Pyramus, *
 And the Calumniated Queen Semiramis.⁷⁸ – 480

them by inventing a multiplicity of languages so that they could no longer communicate. See Genesis 11, 1-9. B. had used the *Babel / able* rhyme already, above at Dedication, ll.31-2; but had of course never seen it in print, so there is no question of repetition.

⁷⁸: *Babel ... Nimrod ... Nabuchadonosor ... took to grazing ... Daniel ... the Lions ... Thisbe ... Pyramus ... Semiramis*: An excellent example (a) of B.'s unscrupulousness and (b) of his computer-like mind in action. *Semiramis* is the key-word, and all the rest of the mythological and Biblical details lead up to it. Babel is Babylon (see previous note) which was enlarged by Nimrod (Genesis 10, 10) strengthened and beautified by its king Nebuchadnezzar (who went mad and ate grass – Daniel 4, 33) and further strengthened and beautified by Semiramis herself (her husband, Ninus, is often confused with Nimrod – see next page). Daniel was in the Lions's Den a victim of the uneasy wrath of Nebuchadnezzar ("Nabuchadonosor" is for the metre: see Daniel 6, 16-22) and Pyramus and Thisbe lived, loved and died in Babylon before being rendered asinine by Shakespeare for all eternity:

*Pyramus et Thisbe, iuvenum pulcherrimus alter,
 altera, quas Oriens habuit, praelata puellis,
 contiguas tenuere domos, ubi dicitur altum
 coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem.*

("Pyramus and Thisbe, he the handsomest youth in the East, and she the fairest maiden, lived next to each other in the lofty city whose brick walls were, it is said, built by Semiramis" – Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IV, 5-8). Part of B.'s aim here is to do for the rest of Babylonian history what Shakespeare has done already for Pyramus and Thisbe. The influence of Voltaire may be felt remotely behind the jokes; for the conjunction of Nimrod and Semiramis B. is in part indebted to *La Princesses de Babylone*, Chapter 1; and for that of Nebuchadnezzar and Semiramis, to the chapter *Des Chaldéens* from *Essai sur les Moeurs*.

61.

That injured Queen, by Chroniclers so coarse,
 Has been accused (I doubt not by Conspiracy)
 Of an improper friendship for her *Horse* *
 (Love like Religion sometimes runs to heresy);
 This monstrous tale had probably its source 485
 (For such exaggerations here and there I see)
 In printing "*Courser*" by mistake for "*Courier*";⁷⁹
 I wish the Case could come before a Jury here. –

* See Pliny.⁸⁰

⁷⁹: In printing "*Courser*" by mistake for "*Courier*": Queen Caroline, wife of George IV, was in 1820 put on public "trial" for alleged adultery with her former courier, Bartolomeo Pergami or Bergami. A courser is a horse. Caroline was cleared, amidst great public sympathy; but died shortly after. Thus B. parallels legend with journalistic reality, epic with the everyday. Contemporary pornographic legend also asserted that the lust of Catherine the Great (see below, cantos VII-X) had been directed at her horse; and at BLJ IV 288 B. parallels Semiramis with Catherine as women who had *seen enough* and *felt enough* of life to have written a *rare play*. Hobhouse wrote to B. on June 19 1820, ... *do not cut at poor Queeney in your Don Juan about Semiramis & her courser courier – She would feel it very much I assure you – she never sees me without asking after you and desiring to be remembered ...* (Byron's *Bulldog* p.311). B. agreed (BLJ VIII 147) to the stanza being omitted from the first edition.

⁸⁰: *Of an improper friendship for her Horse*: the reference is to Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII 64 (Loeb III 108, 155-6): *equum adamatum a Samiramide usque in coitum Iuba auctor est* (Juba is responsible for the statement that Semiramis felt such strong passion for her horse that she copulated with it). Semiramis was in legend Queen of Babylon (her husband was Ninus, as in "Wilt thou at Ninny's tomb meet me straightway?" – *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V i 201). B. could have chosen many aspects of her career – her murder of her husband (for which see *Sardanapalus* II i 374-5) her lust for her son (ibid, IV i 158) her murder by that same son, her conquest of most of Asia, her mighty public works, her intelligence, or her beauty: his choice of one rumour (unreported elsewhere) says much about his intention. Juba II was the historical King of Numidia; a cultured monarch often quoted by Pliny, he was son-in-law to Antony and Cleopatra, and died in 23 A.D. *Sardanapalus* refers at I ii 180-1 to *my ancestor Semiramis, / A sort of semi-glorious human monster*; see also his quasi-incestuous nightmare at IV i 102-65. Voltaire's tragedy *Semiramis* has a strongly Oedipal content. Semiramis is to be paired with Pasiphae (above, II Stanza 155 and n) as a type of female concupiscence: a theme of this canto, and of *Don Juan, passim*. In ancient times, both women joined Astarte (whose name B. uses in *Manfred*) and became fertility goddesses.

62.

But to resume – should there be (what may not
 Be in these days?) some infidels, who don't, 490
 Because they can't, find out the very spot
 Of that same Babel, or because they won't
 (Though Claudius Rich, Esquire, some bricks has got⁸¹
 And written lately two memoirs upon't)
 Believe the Jews, those unbelievers, who 495
 Must be believed, though they believe not You: –

63.

Yet let them think that Horace has exprest
 Shortly and sweetly the Masonic folly
 Of those, forgetting the great place of rest,
 Who give themselves to Architecture wholly; 500
 We know where things and Men must end at best,
 A Moral (like all Morals) Melancholy,
 And “Et Sepulchri immemor struis domos”⁸²
 Shows that we build when we should but entomb us.

⁸¹: *Claudius Rich, Esquire, some bricks has got / And written lately two memoirs upon't*: B.'s reference is to two books, *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon, by Claudius James Rich Esq., Resident for the East India Company at the Court of the Pasha of Bagdat* (1815, third edition 1818) and *Second Memoir on Babylon* (1818). We have no evidence that B. read either of them; they were not reviewed in the *Quarterly*. Rich (1787-1820) was son-in-law to Sir James Mackintosh. A brilliant Oriental linguist and energetic traveller, he was, as his first title above says, East India Company Resident at Baghdad, and died of cholera while assisting the inhabitants of Shiraz in Persia during an outbreak there. A much more committed Orientalist than B. was at the time of writing *Don Juan V* – hence perhaps the brutal scepticism with which B. affects to treat him. His portrait hangs in the BL Manuscript Room.

⁸²: “*Et Sepulchri immemor struis domos*”: from Horace, Odes, II, 18, ll.15-22:

*truditur dies die,
 novaeque pergunt interire lunae.
 tu secanda marmora
 locas sub ipsum funus et sepulchri
 immemor struis domos,
 marisque Bais obstrepentis urges
 summovere litora,
 parum locuples continente ripa.*

(“Day displaces day, and new moons hurry on to their waning; yet you, on the brink of the grave, contract for marble slabs, and, forgetful of the tomb, rear a palace, eager to build out from the thundering sea off the Baian coast, not feeling wealthy enough on the mainland shore”). Horace proclaims himself happy with the modesty of his Sabine farm, and warns against the folly and cruelty of eviction and luxurious building.

64.

At last they reached a quarter most retired, 505
Where Echo woke as if from a long Slumber;
Though full of all things which could be desired,
One wondered what to do with such a number
Of articles which nobody required;
Here Wealth had done its utmost to encumber 510
With furniture an exquisite apartment,
Which puzzled Nature much to know what Art meant.

65.

It seemed, however, but to open on
A range or suite of further chambers, which
Might lead to Heaven knows where, but in this one 515
The moveables were prodigally rich;
Sofas 'twas half a Sin to sit upon,
So costly were they; Carpets every Stitch
Of Workmanship so rare, they made you wish
You could glide o'er them like a Golden fish. 520

66.

The Black, however, without hardly deigning
A Glance at that which wrapt the Slaves in wonder,
Trampled what they scarce trod for fear of staining,
As if the Milky Way their feet was under
With all its Stars; and with a stretch⁸³ attaining 525
A Certain press or Cupboard niched in yonder
In that remote recess which you may see –
Or if you don't, the fault is not in me –

67.

I wish to be perspicuous; and the Black,
I say, unlocking the recess, pulled forth 530
A Quantity of cloathes fit for the back
Of any Mussulman, whate'er his worth –
And of variety there was no lack –
And yet, though I have said there was no dearth,

⁸³: *with a stretch*: DJP glosses “after a short distance”.

He chose himself to point out what he thought
Most proper for the Christians he had bought.

535

68.⁸⁴

The Suit he thought most suitable to each
 Was, for the Elder and the Stouter, first
 A Candiote Cloak⁸⁵ which to the knee might reach,
 And trowsers not so tight that they would burst, 540
 But such as fit an Asiatic breech;
 A Shawl whose folds in Cashmire had been nurst,
 Slippers of Saffron, dagger rich and handy,
 In short, all things which form a Turkish Dandy.

69.

While he was dressing, Baba, their black friend,⁸⁶ 545
 Hinted the vast advantages which they
 Might probably obtain both in the end,
 If they would but pursue the proper way
 Which Fortune plainly seemed to recommend;
 And then he added, that he needs must say,
 “’Twould greatly tend to better their condition, 550
 “If they would condescend to Circumcision.⁸⁷

70.

“For his part, he really should rejoice
 “To see them true believers, but no less
 “Would leave his proposition to their choice;”
 The Other,⁸⁸ thanking him for this excess 555

⁸⁴: Hectic writing in the rough draft of st.68 shows one of B.’s perennial embarrassments: how convincingly to describe Islamic dress, without *Tully’s Tripoli* immediately to hand as a crib. Apart from the rejected *Ataghan* (see commentary) he ends with only adjectives and proper nouns – *Candiote* and *Cashmire* – to give the local colour at which he aims; all the items apart from *Turban* (which presumably needed no research) are universal: *Suit*, *Cloak*, *trowsers*, *Shawl*, *Slippers*, and *dagger*.

⁸⁵: *A Candiote Cloak*: from the island of Candia (Crete).

⁸⁶: *Baba, their black friend*: Hobhouse’s *Journey through Albania* (see above, II st.104, B.’s note) records, on p.670, passing Cape Baba, which is about two hundred kilometres south of the Dardanelles; excellent swords and knives were made at a town nearby, of the same name. Voltaire’s *Lettre d’un Turc* (1750) features an Indian fakir called Bababec, who sits on a chair of nails. A real person called Baba, “Chief of the Moors at Coomassie” is mentioned on p.293 of a January 1820 *Quarterly* review of T. Edward Bowdich’s *Mission to Ashantee*: however, most agree that the eunuch’s name – here used for the first time – is derived from the name of the comical black eunuch Bababalouk in William Beckford’s *Vathek* (1786) one of B.’s favourite books.

⁸⁷: *Circumcision*: a necessary prelude to conversion. See Laura to Beppo at l.729: *And are you, really, truly, now a Turk?*” The question presumably relates to his physical condition.

⁸⁸: Notice that Johnson is still without a name. Where Baba is, as it were, christened, he remains, at l.555, *the Other*.

Of Goodness in thus leaving them a voice

In such a trifle, scarcely could express

“Sufficiently (he said) his approbation

“Of all the customs of this polished Nation.

71.

“For his own share – he saw but small objection 560
 “To so respectable an ancient rite,⁸⁹
 “And, after swallowing down a slight refection,
 “For which he owned ‘a present appetite’,
 “He doubted not a few hours of reflection 565
 “Would reconcile him to the business quite.”
 “Will it?” said Juan sharply, “Strike me dead,
 “But they as soon shall circumcise my head!

72.

“Cut off a thousand heads before” — “Now, pray,”
 Replied the other, “do not interrupt; 570
 “You put me out in what I had to say:
 “Sir! – as I said, as soon as I have supt,
 “I shall perpend if your proposal may
 “Be such as I can properly accept;
 “Provided always your great Goodness still
 “Remits the matter to our own free-will.” –

73.

Baba eyed Juan, and said “Be so good
 “As dress yourself”⁹⁰ – and pointed out a Suit
 In which a Princess with great pleasure would
 Array her limbs; but Juan standing mute, 580
 As not being in a masquerading mood,
 Gave it a slight kick with his Christian foot,
 And when the old Negro told him to “get ready,”
 Replied, “Old Gentleman, I’m not a Lady.” –⁹¹

⁸⁹: The suave politeness of Johnson’s riposte is reflected in the smoothness of his rhymes. Compare Juan’s reaction to the idea of getting married, below, XV, st.30. Juan’s more heated answer here makes an excellent contrasting couplet. Johnson, interrupted, and perhaps slightly shamed by Juan’s outburst, can only manage a half-rhyme at the end of his next sestet; but he manages as neat a couplet as before. It is important that while Johnson prevaricates politically over the question of becoming a renegade, Juan will have nothing to do with the idea. Compare his refusal to eat Pedrillo, above, II, st.78.

⁹⁰: The *travesti* arraying of Juan is a new idea in B.’s poetry, in which men have habitually been men unambiguously, and women women. The closer Juan gets to the core of the canto – his encounter with Gulbeyaz (see below, sts.108-140) the more his independent masculinity has to be disguised and compromised.

⁹¹: This is the second of three times in which Juan is dressed either by a woman, at her behest, or to please her: the others are at II sts.133 and 160 (where Haidee and Zoe dress him) and at IX sts.43-45 (where a Russian army tailor dresses him in preparation for his introduction to Catherine the Great).

74.

“What you may be, I neither know nor care,” 585
Said Baba, “but pray do, as I desire;
“I’ve no more time nor many words to spare.”
“At least,” said Juan, “sure I may enquire
“The cause of this odd travesty?” – “Forbear,”
Said Baba, “to be so curious; ’twill transpire, 590
“No doubt, in proper place, and time, and season;
“I’ve no authority to tell the reason.” –

75.

“Then if I do,” said Juan, “I’ll be —” “Hold!”
Rejoined the Negro, “pray – be not provoking –
“This Spirit’s well, but it may wax too bold, 595
“And you may find us not too fond of joking.”
“What, Sir?” said Juan, “shall it be e’er told
“That I unsexed my dress?” But Baba stroking
The things down said, said, “Incense me, and I call
“Those that will leave you of no sex at all. 600

76.

“I offer you a handsome suit of cloathes;
“A Woman’s, true; but then there is a cause
“Why you should wear them.” – “What, though my Soul loathes
“The effeminate garb?” – thus, after a short pause,
Sighed Juan, muttering also some slight oaths, 605
“What the devil shall I do with all this gauze?”
Thus he profanely termed the finest lace
Which e’er set off a Marriage-Morning face.

77.

And then he swore, and sighing, on he slipped
A pair of trowsers of fleshcoloured silk, 610
Next with a virgin zone⁹² he was equipped,
Which girt a slight Chemise, as white as Milk;
But tugging on his petticoat he tripped,

⁹²: *zone*: an encircling garment: a girdle.

Which – as we say – or as the Scotch say – *Whilk*⁹³
(The Rhyme obliges me to this; Sometimes 615
Monarchs are less imperative than Rhymes)

⁹³: *Whilk*: E.H.Coleridge draws our attention to B.'s Ravenna Journal entry for January 24 1821 (BLJ VIII 34): **“If they [the Carbonari] gather, – “whilk is to be doubted,” – they will not muster a thousand men.”**

78.

Whilk, Which (or what you please) was owing to
 His Garment's Novelty, and his being awkward;
 And yet at last he managed to get through
 His toilet, though no doubt a little backward; 620
 The Negro Baba helped a little too,
 When some untoward part of raiment stuck hard;
 And, wrestling both his arms into a gown,
 He paused and took a Survey up and down.⁹⁴

79.

One difficulty still remained: his hair 625
 Was hardly long enough; but Baba found
 So many false long tresses all to spare,
 That soon his head was most completely crowned,
 After the manner then in fashion there;
 And this addition with such gems was bound 630
 As suited the Ensemble of his toilet,
 While Baba made him comb his head and oil it.

⁹⁴: DJP and CPW draw our attention to an article by Margaret E. McGring in *MLN* (1940, pp.39-42) ascribing the episode of Juan's dressing-up and smuggling-in to B.'s reading of a sentence in "Tully's Tripoli" (see above, cantos III and IV). However, other sources – if they are needed – include (i) "**honest Tournefort**" (whom B. quotes in a note to *The Giaour* 1.755: *The Husbands* [in Constantinople], *that they* [the wives] *may have no pretence for going abroad, have made 'em believe there's no Paradise for Women; or if there be one, they may attain it by saying their Prayers at home. To amuse 'em, they build Baths for 'em, and treat 'em with Coffee: but notwithstanding all this Precaution, a way is often found to introduce handsom young Fellows, disguised like Female Slaves, with Toys to sell – A Voyage in the Levant*, II 160; (ii) an anecdote B. may have heard at Lisbon: *Lord Wellington was curious about visiting a convent near Lisbon, and the lady Abbess made no difficulty; [Dan] MacKinnon, hearing this, contrived to get cleanly within the sacred walls, and it was generally supposed that it was neither his first nor his second visit. At all events, when Lord Wellington arrived, Dan MacKinnon was to be seen among the nuns, dressed out in their sacred costume, with his head and whiskers shaved; and as he possessed good features, he was declared to be one of the best-looking among those chaste dames (The Reminiscences of Captain Gronow, I 62); (iii) a note to Jonathan Scott's 1811 translation of *The Arabian Nights* (CMP 232): *In the cities of Hindoostan many accounts are current and believed of youths having been introduced in female apparel into the apartments of the enshrined beauties, as Mr. Burke emphatically named the Indian begums. It is said, too, that these divinities, after having exhausted the powers of their unfortunate admirers, have caused them to be put to death in order to conceal their crimes* (IV 415).*

80.

And now being femininely all arrayed,
With some small aid from Scissors, paint, and tweezers,
He looked in almost all respects a maid, 635
And Baba smilingly exclaimed, "You see, Sirs,
"A perfect transformation here displayed;
"And now, then, you must come along with me, Sirs,
"That is – the Lady;" clapping his hands twice,
Four blacks were at his elbow in a trice.⁹⁵ 640

81.

"You, Sir," said Baba, nodding to the One,
"Will please to accompany those Gentlemen
"To Supper; but you, worthy Christian Nun,
"Will follow me; no trifling, Sir; for when
"I say a thing, it must at once be done; 645
"What fear you? Think you this a Lion's den?⁹⁶
"Why, 'tis a palace; where the truly wise
"Anticipate the Prophet's Paradise."⁹⁷

82.

"You fool, I tell you no one means you harm."
"So much the better," Juan said, "for them; 650
"Else they shall feel the weight of this my arm,
"Which is not quite so light as you may deem;
"I yield thus far; but soon will break the charm
"If any take me for that which I seem,
"So that I trust for every body's sake, 655
"That this disguise may lead to no mistake."

⁹⁵: ... *clapping his hands twice*, / *Four blacks were at his elbow in a trice*: compare the speed of reaction shown by Lambro's henchmen, above, canto IV, ll.371-5.

⁹⁶: *Think you this a Lion's den?* Daniel was thrust into the lions' den by Nebucadnezzar (Daniel 6, 16-22). The reference echoes above, l.477 of this Canto, and thus brings Semiramis back to mind. See next note.

⁹⁷: "... 'tis a palace; where the truly wise / "Anticipate the Prophet's Paradise: Baba, the servant of a female sexual fantasy, speaks covertly of the Islamic paradise as a place where women are indulged. See note below on Montesquieu, this Canto, l.1008.

83.

“Blockhead! come on, and see,” quoth Baba; while
Don Juan, turning to his comrade, who
Though somewhat grieved, could scarce forbear a smile
Upon the Metamorphosis in view; 660
“Farewell!” they mutually exclaimed, “this Soil
“Seems fertile in adventures strange and new;
“One’s turned half Mussulman, and one a Maid,
“By this old black Enchanter’s unsought aid.”⁹⁸

84.

“Farewell!” said Juan; “should we meet no more, 665
“I wish you a good appetite.” “Farewell!”
Replied the Other; “though it grieves me sore;
“When we next meet, we’ll have a tale to tell;
“We needs must Follow when Fate puts from shore;
“Keep your good name, though Eve herself once fell.” 670
“Nay” (quoth the Maid) “the Sultan’s Self shan’t carry me,
“Unless his Highness promises to marry me.”

85.

And thus they parted, each by separate doors;
Baba led Juan onward room by room
Through glittering galleries, and o’er marble floors, 675
Till a Gigantic portal through the gloom,
Haughty and huge, along the distance lowers;
And wafted far arose a rich perfume;
It seemed as though they came upon a shrine,
For all was vast, still, fragrant, and divine. – 680

86.

The Giant door was broad, and bright, and high,
Of gilded bronze, and carved in curious guise;
Warriors thereon were battling furiously;
Here stalks the Victor, there the vanquished lies;
There Captives led in triumph droop the eye, 685
And in perspective many a Squadron flies;

⁹⁸: ... *this old black Enchanter’s unsought aid*: recalls Circe and other enchantresses, referred to, for example, at above, III ll.271-2.

It seems the work of times before the line
Of Rome transplanted fell with Constantine.⁹⁹ –

⁹⁹: *before the line / Of Rome transplanted fell with Constantine*: this part of the Seraglio building dates from before the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. Constantine XI was the last Byzantine Emperor. He was killed in the final siege.

87.

This massy portal stood at the wide close
 Of a huge hall, and on its either side 690
 Two little dwarfs,¹⁰⁰ the least you could suppose,
 Were sate, like ugly imps,¹⁰¹ as if allied
 In mockery to the enormous gate which rose
 O'er them in almost pyramidic pride;¹⁰²
 The gate so splendid was in all its *features*, X 695
 You never though about those little creatures,

* *Features of a Gate* – a ministerial metaphor – “the *feature* upon which this Question hinges” – See the “Fudge family” – or *hear* Castlereagh.¹⁰³ – – –

88.

Until you nearly trod on them, and then
 You started back in horror to survey
 The wondrous hideousness of these small men,
 Whose colour was not black, nor white, nor grey, 700
 But an extraneous mixture, which no pen
 Can trace, although perhaps the pencil may;
 They were misshapen pigmies,¹⁰⁴ deaf and dumb –
 Monsters, who cost a no less monstrous sum.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰: The Freudian significance of dwarves guarding a huge door needs no stressing: the recollection of Ryecaut, showing – as B. does not – that they are probably eunuchs too, associates them at once with Baba, and via him with Castlereagh (see the prompt in B.’s note).

¹⁰¹: *imps*: they are doubles for Juan himself. See above, I 1.196.

¹⁰²: *pyramidic pride*: recalls the Cheops stanza, above, I 1.219.

¹⁰³: Castlereagh was famous for his slipshod oratory, including mixed metaphors. The note refers to a letter “addressed” to Castlereagh in Moore’s satire, *The Fudge Family in Paris* (Letter II):

*As thou wouldst say, my guide and teacher
 In these gay metaphoric fringes,
 I now embark upon the feature
 On which this letter chiefly hinges.*

Moore is quoting a real Castlereagh speech.

¹⁰⁴: William Beckford – who kept a dwarf himself at Fonthill Abbey – has an important fictional pair in *Vathek* (Lonsdale’s edition, pp.51-3). His note (Lonsdale p.139) reads, *Such unfortunate beings, as are thus “curtailed of fair proportion,” have been, for ages, an appendage of Eastern grandeur. One part of their office consists in the instruction of the pages, but their principal duty is the amusement of their master. If a dwarf happens to be a mute, he is much esteemed; but if he be also an eunuch, he is regarded as a prodigy; and no pains or expense are spared to obtain him. Habesci’s State of the Ottomam Empire p. 164 &c.*

¹⁰⁵: *Monsters, who cost a no less monstrous sum*: B. remembers Sir Paul Ryecaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668: see CMP 3, 4 and 219-20): *The Dwarfs are called Giuge; these also have their quarters amongst the Pages of the two Chambers, until they have learned with due reverence and humility to stand in the Presence of the Grand Signior. And if one of these have that benefit, as by Nature’s*

89.

Their duty was – for they were strong, and though 705
 They looked so little, did strong things at times –
 To ope this door, which they could really do,
 The hinges being as smooth as Rogers’ rhymes;
 And now and then with tough strings of the bow,
 As is the Custom of those Eastern climes, 710
 To give some rebel Pacha a Cravat;¹⁰⁶
 For Mutes are generally used for that.¹⁰⁷ –

90.

They spoke by signs – that is, not spoke at all;¹⁰⁸
 And looking like two Incubi,¹⁰⁹ they glared
 As Baba with his fingers made them fall 715
 To heaving back the portal folds; it scared
 Juan a moment, as this pair so small,
 With shrinking serpent optics¹¹⁰ on him stared;
 It was as if their little looks could poison
 Or fascinate whome’er they fixed their eyes on. 720

91.

Before they entered, Baba paused to hint
 To Juan some slight lessons as his guide;
 “If you could just contrive” (he said) “to stint

fortunate error to be both a Dwarf, and dumb, and afterwards by the help of Art to be castrated and made a Eunuch, he is much more esteemed, than if Nature and Art had concurr’d together to have made him the perfectest creature in the world; one of this sort, was presented by a certain Pasha, to the Grand Signior, who was so acceptable to him and the Queen Mother that he attired him immediately in Cloth of Gold, and gave him liberty through all the Gates of the Seraglio (p.35).

¹⁰⁶: *To give some rebel Pacha a Cravat*: to strangle him.

¹⁰⁷: *For Mutes are generally used for that*: recalls Beckford’s *Vathek*, where the protagonist’s mother has a hundred and forty of his most loyal subjects strangled: *It was a pity! for they beheld not the agreeable smile, with which the mutes and negresses adjusted the cord to their necks: these amiable personages rejoiced, however, no less at the scene. Never before had the ceremony of strangling been performed with such facility* (ed. Lonsdale, pp.34-5). A note by Beckford added in 1816 reads, The mutes are also the secret instruments of his [the sovereign’s] private in carrying the fatal string (129 n).

¹⁰⁸: *They spoke by signs – that is, not spoke at all*: an apparent contradiction; but B. himself may be doing precisely the same.

¹⁰⁹: *Incubi*: an incubus is a fiend who visits one in one’s sleep. At *TVOJ* 1.679 Asmodeus, Southey’s porter, is so described.

¹¹⁰: *shrinking serpent optics*: implies both Satanic clear-sightedness and Satanic self-effacement; an idea reinforced by ll.719-20. Most editions refer us to Coleridge’s *Christabel*, II 583-5: *A snake’s small eye blinks dull and sly, / And the lady’s eyes they shrunk in her head, / Each shrunk up to a serpent’s eye.*

“That somewhat manly Majesty of Stride,
“’Twould be as well, and – (though there’s not much in’t) 725
“To swing a little less from side to side,
“Which has at times an aspect of the oddest;
“And also could you look a little modest,

“‘Twould be convenient; for these Mutes have eyes
 “Like Needles, which may pierce those petticoats; 730
 “And if they should discover your disguise,
 “You know how near us the deep Bosphorus¹¹¹ floats;
 “And you and I may chance e’er Morning rise,
 “To find our way to Marmora¹¹² without boats,
 “Stitched up in sacks¹¹³ – a mode of Navigation 735
 “A good deal practised here upon occasion.”¹¹⁴

¹¹¹: *the deep Bosphorus*: the waterway linking the Sea of Marmora (see next note) with the Euxine or Black Sea.

¹¹²: *Marmora*: the Sea of Marmora is the small sea between the Black and Mediterranean Seas. See above, this canto, st.5 and notes.

¹¹³: The topographical references in Baba’s warning, together with B.’s self-reference (see ll.734-6n) enable B. to make a covert association between sex, water and death. See also above, this canto, l.37 and n.

¹¹⁴: “To find our way to Marmora without boats, / “Stitched up in sacks – a mode of Navigation / “A good deal practised here upon occasion”: a backward glance at one of B.’s earlier fictions. Editors point out that this mode of execution for unfaithful wives is first mentioned in the introduction to *The Giaour*, and in B.’s own note to the poem’s final line, which is 1328 in Coleridge and 1334 in CPW (though CPW V refers the reader to Coleridge’s lineation): “**The circumstance to which the above story relates was not very uncommon in Turkey. A few years ago the wife of Muchtar Pacha [the son of Ali Pacha] complained to his father of his son’s supposed infidelity; he asked with whom, and she had the barbarity to give in a list of the twelve handsomest women in Yanina. They were seized, fastened up in sacks, and drowned in the lake the same night! One of the guards who was present informed me, that not one of the victims uttered a cry, or shewed a symptom of terror at so sudden a ‘wrench from from all we know, from all we love’**”. See also *The Giaour*, 374-87. The fate does not, however, seem reserved in *The Giaour* for the male paramours or pimps of guilty women, as Baba suggests here that it might be.

93.

With this encouragement, he led the way
 Into a room still nobler than the last;
A rich Confusion formed a disarray
 In such sort, that the Eye along it cast 740
Could hardly carry any thing away,¹¹⁵
 Object on object flashed so bright and fast;
A dazzling Mass of Gems, and Gold, and Glitter,
Magnificently mingled in a litter.

94.

Wealth had done wonders – Taste not much; such things 745
 Occur in Orient palaces, and even
In the more chastened domes of Western kings
 (Of which I've also seen some six or seven)
Where I can't say or Gold or Diamond flings
 Great lustre, there is much to be forgiven; 750
Groupes of bad Statues, tables, chairs, and pictures,
On which I cannot pause to make my Strictures.

95.

In this Imperial hall, at distance lay
 Under a Canopy, and there reclined
Quite in a confidential Queenly way, 755
 A Lady;¹¹⁶ Baba stopped, and kneeling signed
To Juan, who though not much used to pray,
 Knelt down by instinct, wondering in his mind
What all this meant; while Baba bowed and bended

¹¹⁵: Aubrey de la Motraye gives a rare description of the Harem's interior, which B. seems here to recollect. Motraye visited the otherwise inaccessible building in the company of an expatriate Huguenot clock repairer, when the women were at the Summer Palace: *The Eunuch conducted us into the Hall of the Harem, which seem'd to me the finest and most agreeable of any in the Seraglio ... This Room was incrusted over with fine China; and the Cieling, [sic] which adorn'd the Inside of a Cupola, as well as all the rest of the Roof, was the richest that could be with Gold and Azure; in the middle of the Hall, directly under the Cupola, was an Artificial Fountain, the Bason of which was of a precious Green Marble, which seem'd to me either Serpentine, or Jasper; it did not play then on account of the Women being absent ... we cross'd several fine Halls and Chambers, treading under Foot the rich Persian Carpets that were spread upon the Ground almost every where, and in sufficient Number for us to judge the rest; and I found my Head so full of the Sopha's, rich Cielings, and in one word, of the great Confusion of fine Things so irregularly disposed, that 'twould be very hard for me to give a clear Idea of them ...* – *Travels* (1723 English translation) I 172 and 173: the original French is quoted by Thornton at II 272n.

¹¹⁶: B. now faces his usual problem (see above, I sts.60 and 61; and II sts.116-21) of how to describe a strikingly beautiful new heroine.

His head, until the Ceremony ended. ---

760

96.

The Lady rising up with such an air
 As Venus rose with from the wave, on them
 Bent like an Antelope a Paphian pair¹¹⁷
 Of Eyes, which put out each surrounding Gem;
 And raising up an arm as Moonlight fair, 765
 She signed to Baba, who first kissed the hem
 Of her deep-purple robe, and speaking low,¹¹⁸
 Pointed to Juan, who remained below.

97.

Her Presence was as lofty as her State;
 Her Beauty of that overpowering kind, 770
 Whose force Description only would abate:¹¹⁹
 I'd rather leave it much to your own mind,
 Than lessen it by what I could relate
 Of forms and features; it would strike you blind
 Could I do justice to the full detail; 775
 So, luckily for both, my phrases fail.

¹¹⁷: *A Paphian pair*: Paphian is from Paphos, a city in Cyprus containing a famous temple to Aphrodite, the goddess of love. See *Childe Harold* I st.66.

¹¹⁸: *her deep-purple robe*: indicating perhaps her Imperial authority, derived indirectly from Rome.

¹¹⁹: *Her beauty of that overpowering kind, / Whose force description only would abate*: B. is here probably inspired in part by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's account of the wife of the Kahya, or Second Officer of the Ottoman Empire: *On a sofa raised three steps, and covered with fine Persian carpets, sat the Kahya's lady, leaning on cushions of white satin embroidered; and at her feet sat two young girls about twelve years old, lovely as angels, dressed perfectly rich, and almost covered with jewels. But they were hardly seen near the fair Fatima, (for that is her name) so much her beauty effaced every thing I have seen, nay, all that has been called lovely either in England or Germany. I must own, that I never saw any thing so gloriously beautiful, nor can I recollect a face that would have been taken notice of near her's ... I confess, though the Greek lady [Lady Mary's interpreter] had before given me a great opinion of her beauty, I was so struck with admiration, that I could not for some time, speak to her, being wholly taken up in gazing. That surprizing harmony of features! That charming result of the whole! That exact proportion of body! That lovely bloom of complexion unsullied by art! the unutterable enchantment of her smile! – But her eyes! Large and black, with all the soft languishment of the blue! Every turn of her face discovering some new grace!* (1803 Paris edition, I pp.185-6). Unlike B., Lady Mary gives an elaborate description of the woman's dress.

98.

Thus much however I may add – her Years
 Were ripe, they might make six and twenty Springs,
 But there are forms which Time to touch forbears,
 And turns aside his Scythe to vulgar things, 780
 Such as was Mary’s Queen of Scots;¹²⁰ true – tears
 And love destroy; and Sapping Sorrow wrings
 Charms from the Charmer, yet some never grow
 Ugly; for instance – Ninon de L’Enclos.¹²¹

99.

She spake some words to her attendants, who 785
 Composed a Choir of Girls, ten or a dozen,¹²²
 And were all clad alike; like Juan, too –
 Who wore their uniform, by Baba chosen –
 They formed a very Nymphlike looking crew,
 Which might have called Diana’s Chorus¹²³ “Cousin,” 790
 As far as outward Show may correspond;
 I won’t be bail for anything beyond.

100.

They bowed obeisance and withdrew, retiring,
 But not by the same door though which came in
 Baba and Juan, which last stood admiring, 795
 At some small distance, all he saw within
 This strange saloon, much fitted for inspiring
 Marvel and praise; for both or none things win;

¹²⁰: *Mary’s Queen of Scots*: like Semiramis (see this canto, sts.60-1 and nn) a ruler whose physical appetite was as notable as her political. Scott’s *The Abbot*, published in March 1820, contains a portrait, and may have reminded B. of her.

¹²¹: *Ninon de L’Enclos*: Anne de L’Enclos, French courtesan (1620-1705) famous for her literary circle, which included the child Voltaire, plus Molière, Fontenelle and la Rochefoucauld, and who was said to have bedded, among many others, one of her own sons (who killed himself Oedipus-like on realising) and even one of her own grandsons: her physical attraction and prowess continued into her eighties. Another version of Semiramis.

¹²²: ... *her attendants, who / Composed a Choir of Girls, ten or a dozen*: the picture is again from the description of the Kahya’s lady (771n, previous page) by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: *Her fair maids were ranged below the sofa, to the number of twenty, and put me in mind of the pictures of the ancient nymphs. I did not think all nature could have furnished such a scene of beauty* (April 18 1717, Letters, 1803 Paris edition, I pp.188-9).

¹²³: *Diana’s Chorus*: refers to the virgin train by whom Diana (or Artemis) Goddess of chastity and hunting, is often pictured as being accompanied; *might*, and the couplet, remind us that Gulbeyaz is no goddess of chastity.

And – I must say – I ne'er could see the very
Great Happiness of the "Nil Admirari."¹²⁴

800

101.

"Not to admire is all the Art I know

"(Plain truth, dear Murray, needs few flowers of Speech)

"To make men happy, or to keep them so;

"(So take it in the very words of Creech)."¹²⁵

Thus Horace wrote we all know long ago;

805

And thus Pope quotes the precept to re-teach,

From his translation; but had *None admired*,

Would Pope have sung, or Horace been inspired?

¹²⁴: "Nil Admirari": a Stoic commonplace, from Horace, *Epistolae*, I, vi, lines 1-2: *Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici, / solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum*. Englished thus by Pope at *Imitations of Horace*, I, vi, 1-4 (though see next page): *Not to admire, is all the Art I know / To make men happy, and to keep them so, / (Plain Truth, dear MURRAY, needs no flow'rs of speech, / So take it in the very words of Creech)*.

¹²⁵: "Not to admire is all the Art I know / "(Plain truth, dear Murray, needs few flowers of Speech) / "To make men happy, or to keep them so; / "(So take it in the very words of Creech)." / Thus Horace wrote we all know long ago ...: for the third time in the poem (see above, I sts.88-89 and 222, his liftings from Campbell and Southey) B. cannibalises another poet wholesale; except that here he cannibalises one poet (Pope) cannibalising a second poet (Creech) cannibalising a third (Horace). The seventeenth-century Thomas Creech's Horace Englishes the lines in this pedestrian style:

Not to admire, as most are wont to do,

It is the only method that I know,

To make Men happy, and to keep 'em so.

- *Odes, Satyrs and Epistles of Horace done into English by Mr. Creech* (1684 edition, p.487). Scepticism about the ideal of Stoic detachment is fuelled by the knowledge that Creech – a headmaster and divine – hanged himself, from motives erotic and financial. B.'s "Murray" is John, his publisher; Pope's is Lord Mansfield, whose family name was Murray: an excellent coincidence. Pope said to Spence (*Anecdotes*, p.217) "Nil Admirari is as true, in relation to our opinion of authors, as it is in morality; and one may say, O admiratores, servum pecus! full as justly as O Imitatores! He is again quoting Horace: *Epistolae*, I 19, 19. For evidence that B. was reading Spence's *Anecdotes* at this time, see below, Bacon note 9. Pope used several of Creech's words and phrases in his own Horace versions: see *Twickenham* Pope, IV xlii. DJP quotes B.'s letter to Teresa, April 25 1819: "**Sono alcuni anni ch'io cercava per Sistema di evitare le passioni forti avendo sofferto troppo della tirannia d'Amor, – il non ammirare – ed'il divertirmi senza metter troppa importanza nel'divertimento stesso – l'Indifferenza per l'affari humani, – il disprezzo per molti, – ma l'odio per nessuno, era le base della mia filosofia. [Non] voleva più amar – nè sperava di esser' più riamato. – Tu hai messa in fuga tutte mie risoluzioni**" ... (*For some years I have been trying systematically to avoid strong passions, having suffered too much from the tyranny of Love. Never to feel admiration – and to enjoy myself without giving too much importance to the enjoyment in itself – to feel indifference towards human affairs – contempt for many, but hatred for none, – this was the basis of my philosophy. I did not mean to love any more, nor did I hope to receive Love* [see Horace quotation above, I st.216, and his note] *You have put to flight all my resolutions ...* BLJ VI 116 and 118.)

102.

Baba, when all the damsels were withdrawn,
Motioned to Juan to approach, and then 810
A second time desired him to kneel down,
And kiss the Lady's foot; which maxim when
He heard repeated, Juan with a frown
Drew himself up to his full height again;
And said, "It grieved him, but he could not stoop 815
To any Shoe, unless it shod the Pope."¹²⁶ –

103.

Baba, indignant at this ill-timed pride,
Made fierce remonstrances, and then a threat
He muttered (but the last was given aside)
About a bowstring – quite in vain; not yet 820
Would Juan bend though 'twere to Mahomet's¹²⁷ bride;
There's nothing in the world like *Etiquette*
In kingly Chambers, or imperial Halls,
As also at the Race and County Balls. –

104.

He stood like Atlas, with a World of words 825
About his ears, and nathless would not bend;
The blood of all his Line's Castilian Lords¹²⁸
Boiled in his veins, and rather than descend
To stain his Pedigree, a thousand Swords
A thousand times of him had made an end;¹²⁹ 830
At length perceiving the "Foot" could not stand,
Baba proposed that he should kiss the hand.¹³⁰

* There is perhaps nothing more distinctive of birth than the hand – it is almost the only sign of

¹²⁶: ... *unless it shod the Pope*: such reminders of Juan's Catholicism are few and far between in the poem.

¹²⁷: *Mahomet's* is bisyllabic. The Prophet had five wives, including A'isha, who was at the age of thirteen unjustly accused of infidelity. Mahomet decreed as a result of the stressful incident that four witnesses would henceforth be needed to prove a charge of adultery.

¹²⁸: *The blood of all his Line's Castilian Lords / Boiled in his veins*: see above, canto I st.9.

¹²⁹: *a thousand Swords / A thousand times of him had made an end*: compare Keats, *The Eve of St Agnes*, 83-4: *All eyes be muffled, or a hundred swords / Will storm his heart, Love's fev'rous citadel!*

¹³⁰: The emphasis is on Gulbeyaz's aristocracy as well as on her promiscuity. Lady Booby and Joseph Andrews, and Lady Bellaston and Tom Jones, are somewhere in the background – except that Juan is himself an aristocrat.

blood which Aristocracy can generate. – I remember a Pacha’s remarking that he knew that a certain Englishman was *nobly born* – because “he had *small ears – small hands, & curling silky hair*.”¹³¹ –

¹³¹: *more* thorough-bred *or fairer fingers*: see the comparison between the hands of Lambro and Haidee above at IV ll.355-6 and n, relevant here: “**He [Ali Pacha] said he was certain I was a man of birth because I had small ears, curling hair, & little white hands, and expressed himself pleased with my appearance & garb**” (BLJ I 227: B. seems fixated by the Pacha’s praise, to which he again refers at BLJ I 238, 249 and 254.) The erasures in his note lessen its snobbery somewhat. This is the second time in the canto in which B. hints at a parallel between Gulbeyaz’s attempted seduction of Juan and whatever occurred at Ali Pasha’s palace at Tepellene, Albania, between October 19 and 23 1809.

105.

Here was an honourable Compromise,
A half-way house of diplomatic rest,
Where they might meet in much more peaceful guise; 835
And Juan now his willingness exprest,
To use all fit and proper courtesies,
Adding, that this was commonest and best,
For through the South, the Custom still commands
The Gentleman to kiss the Lady's hands. – 840

106.

And he advanced, though with but a bad grace,
Though on more *thorough-bred* or fairer fingers
No lips e'er left their transitory trace;
On such as these the lip too fondly lingers,
And, for one kiss, would fain imprint a brace, 845
As you will see, if She you love shall bring hers
In Contact, and sometimes even a fair Stranger's
An almost twelve months' Constancy endangers.

107.

The Lady eyed him o'er and o'er, and bade
Baba retire, which he obeyed in style, 850
As if well-used to the retreating trade;
And taking hints in good part all the while,
He whispered Juan not to be afraid,
And looking on him with a sort of smile,
Took leave, with such a face of Satisfaction, 855
As Good Men wear who've done a virtuous action.

108.

When he was gone, there was a sudden change;
I know not what might be the Lady's thought,
But o'er her bright brow flashed a tumult strange,
And into her clear cheek the blood was brought, 860
Blood-red as Sunset Summer Clouds which range
The verge of Heaven; and in her large eyes wrought
A mixture of sensations might be scanned,
Of half-voluptuousness and half command.¹³²

109.

Her form had all the softness of her Sex, 865
Her features all the sweetness of the Devil,
When he put on the Cherub to perplex
Eve, and paved (God knows how) the road to Evil,¹³³
The Sun himself was scarce more free from Specks

¹³²: The description, rhymes and phrasing here recall Haidee. See above, II ll.926-8:

... and in her air

*There was a Something which bespoke Command,
As one who was a Lady in the Land.*

or IV ll.447-8:

*But her large dark eye showed deep Passion's force,
Though sleeping like a Lion near a Source.*

See also below, VI 709n.

¹³³: *Her features all the sweetness of the Devil, / When he put on the Cherub to perplex / Eve, and paved (God knows how) the road to Evil*: Satan tempting Eve often is given by artists a pleasant, even cherubic, face: B. may also remember *Paradise Lost* IX, 494-505:

*So spake the Enemie of Mankind, enclos'd
In Serpent, Inmate bad, and toward Eve
Addressd his way, not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as since, but on his reare,
Circular base of rising foulds, that tour'd
Fould above fould a surging Maze, his Head
Crested aloft, and Carbuncle his Eyes;
With burnisht Neck of verdant Gold, erect
Amidst his circling Spires, that on the grass
Floted redundant: pleasing was his shape,
And lovely, never since of Serpent kind
Lovelier ...*

CPW further adduces *Hamlet*, II ii 595-6:

... the devil hath power

T'assume a pleasing shape ...

Than She from aught at which the Eye could caviel, 870
Yet, somehow, there was something somewhere wanting,
As if She rather *ordered* than was *granting*.¹³⁴ –

110.

Something imperial, or imperious, threw
A Chain o'er all She did; that is, a Chain
Was thrown as 'twere about the neck of you,¹³⁵ – 875
And rapture's self will seem almost a pain
With aught which looks like despotism in view;
Our Souls at least are free, and 'tis in vain
We would against them make the flesh obey;
The Spirit in the end will have its way.¹³⁶ 880

¹³⁴: The power of imperious female sexuality, evaded by Juan here, and described by B. with such ambivalence (for the Devil is by tradition masculine) finally, in the person of Catherine the Great, defeats his *Spirit* (see note to l.880) in Canto IX.

¹³⁵: *a Chain / Was thrown as 'twere about the neck of you*: see above, this Canto, Commentaries (about slavery) to sts.9 and 10, and 25 and 26.

¹³⁶: *Soul ... Spirit*: the words appear in this context to imply a specifically male independence. B. may be subverting Biblical usage, as in *The Spirit is willing but the flesh is weak* (Matthew 26, 41).

111.

Her very Smile was haughty, though so sweet,
Her very Nod was not an Inclination,
There was a Self-will even in her small feet;¹³⁷
As though they were quite conscious of her Station,¹³⁸
They trod as upon necks; and to complete 885
Her State (it is the Custom of her Nation)¹³⁹
A poignard decked her Girdle, as the Sign
She was a Sultan's bride, (thank Heaven not mine.)¹⁴⁰

112.

“To hear and to obey” had been from birth
The law of all around her; to fulfill 890
All phantasies which yielded joy or mirth
Had been her Slaves' chief pleasure, as her will;¹⁴¹
Her blood was high, her beauty scarce of earth;
Judge then, if her Caprices e'er stood still?
Had She but been a Christian, I've a notion 895
We should have found out the “perpetual motion.”¹⁴²

¹³⁷: *There was a Self-will even in her small feet*: Haidee had *small snow feet*; see above, III 1.968.

¹³⁸: The effect of all the Haidee echoes (see notes) is ambivalent, as though we have, but have not been, here before. Gulbeyaz is a fallen version of Haidee, as Haidee might have become had she and Juan gone on living in the luxury with which they are surrounded in Canto III.

¹³⁹: *Her State (it is the Custom of her Nation)*: echoes Canto III on Haidee, 1.594:

Her eyelashes though dark as Night were tinged

(It is the Country's custom) but in vain ...

¹⁴⁰: *A poignard decked her Girdle, as the Sign / She was a Sultan's bride, (thank Heaven not mine)*: compare again the way Haidee's decorations *Announced her rank* above, at III ll.569-71.

¹⁴¹: *to fulfill / All phantasies which yielded joy or mirth / Had been her Slaves' chief pleasure, as her will*: compare the role of Zoe in Canto II.

¹⁴²: ... *the “perpetual motion”*: to find a machine which inertia could never stop, and which thus constituted a source of inexhaustible energy, was the goal of many scientists. The joke would imply Gulbeyaz' insatiability. Compare *Antony and Cleopatra*, II ii 239-40: *Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale / Her infinite variety*. See references to the play below, VI, sts.4-5.

115.

His youth and features favoured the disguise,
And, should you ask how She, a Sultan's bride,
Could risk or compass such strange¹⁴⁴ phantasies,¹⁴⁵ 915
This I must leave Sultanas to decide;
Emperors are only husbands in wives' eyes,
And kings and Consorts oft are mystified,¹⁴⁶
As we may ascertain with due precision,
Some by experience, others by tradition. 920

116.

But to the main point where we have been tending;
She now conceived all difficulties past,
And deemed herself extremely condescending
When, being made her property at last,
Without more preface, in her blue eyes blending 925
Passion and power, a glance on him She cast,
And merely saying, "Christian, can'st thou love?"¹⁴⁷
Conceived that phrase was quite enough to move. –

117.

And so it was, in proper time and place;
But Juan, who had still his mind o'erflowing 930
With Haidee's Isle, and soft Ionian face,¹⁴⁸
Felt the warm blood, which in his face was glowing,
Rush back upon his heart, which filled apace
And left his cheeks as pale as Snowdrops blowing;
These words went through his Soul like Arab Spears,¹⁴⁹ 935
So that he spoke not, but burst into tears. –

¹⁴⁴: *such strange phantasies*: hardly strange, given the overriding theme of the epic at this point.

¹⁴⁵: *His youth and features favoured the disguise, / And, should you ask how She, a Sultan's bride, / Could risk or compass such strange phantasies ...*: a problem solved in part by de Tournefort.

¹⁴⁶: *... kings and Consorts oft are mystified*: refers to George IV and Queen Caroline.

¹⁴⁷: *... saying, "Christian, can'st thou love?"* echoes the words of Lady Booby to Joseph Andrews at I, v: *The lady being in bed, called Joseph to her, bade him sit down, and having accidentally laid her hand on his, she asked him, if he had never been in love?*

¹⁴⁸: *Haidee's ... soft Ionian face*: compare above, II, ll.1199, her *soft Ionian accent*; as her isle was one of the Cyclades, this can't be right. Perhaps *Cycladean* would have jarred.

¹⁴⁹: *... like Arab Spears*: Coleridge offers here: "Narrow javelins, once known as archegays – the assegais of Zulu warfare".

118.

She was a good deal shocked; not shocked at tears,
For women shed and use them at their liking;
But there is something when Man's eye appears
Wet, still more disagreeable and striking; 940
A Woman's teardrop melts, a Man's half sears,
Like molten lead, as if You thrust a pike in¹⁵⁰
His heart to force it out, for (to be shorter)
To them 'tis a relief, to us a torture.

119.

And She would have consoled, but knew not how, 945
Having no equals, nothing which had e'er
Infected her with Sympathy till now;
And never having dreamt what 'twas to bear
Aught of a serious sorrowing kind, although
There might arise some pouting pretty Care 950
To cross her brow, She wondered how so near
Her eyes, another's Eye could shed a tear.

120.

But Nature teaches more than Power can spoil,
And, when a *strong* although a strange sensation
Moves, female hearts are such a genial Soil 955
For kinder feelings, whatso'er their nation,
They naturally pour the "wine and oil"
Samaritans in every situation;
And thus Gulbeyaz,¹⁵¹ though she knew not why,
Felt an odd glistening moisture in her eye.¹⁵² 960

¹⁵⁰: ... *molten lead*: B. quotes *King Lear*, IV vii 47-8: ... *mine own tears / Do scald like molten lead. ... thrust a pike in*: a remoter allusion, to *Much Ado About Nothing*, V ii 18: *you must put in the pikes with a vice; and they are dangerous weapons for maids*.

¹⁵¹: The first mention of Gulbeyaz's name at 1.959 introduces a recurring orthographical problem for B., which marred the first edition, to his chagrin: "**I never saw such stuff as printed – Gulleyaz – instead of Gulbeyaz &c. Are you aware that Gulbeyaz is a real name ...?**" (BLJ VIII 192) It is perhaps from the Turkish *Gulbehar* ("Rose of Spring") which was the name of the first wife of Soleyman the Magnificent (see below, this canto, l.1176). B. would have found the name in Antoine Louis Castellan's *Mœurs, Usages, Costumes des Othmans, et abrégé de leur histoire* (1812), III pp.84-90. B. recommends this book to Moore at BLJ III, 102, 104. The spelling problem arose in part because of B.'s uncertainty over whether the name was *Gulbeyaz* or *Gulbezaz* and in greater part because of his uncharacteristic failure, in the fair copy, to distinguish his "l"s from his "b"s.

¹⁵²: *And She would have consoled, but knew not how ... They naturally pour the "wine and oil" /*

121.

But tears must stop like all things else, and soon
 Juan, who for an instant had been moved
To such a Sorrow by the intrusive tone
 Of one who dared to ask “if he *had* loved”,
Called back the Stoic to his eyes, which shone¹⁵³ 965
 Bright with the very weakness he reproved;
And although sensitive to Beauty, he
Felt most indignant still at not being free.¹⁵⁴ –

122.

Gulbeyaz, for the first time in her days,
 Was much embarrassed, never having met 970
In all her life with aught save prayers and praise;
 And as she also risked her life to get
Him whom she meant to tutor in Love’s ways¹⁵⁵
 Into a comfortable *tête-à-tête*;
To lose the hour would make her quite a Martyr, 975
And they had wasted now almost a quarter. –

123.

I also would suggest the fitting time
 To Gentlemen in any such like case,
That is to say, in a Meridian Clime
 (With us there is more law given to the Chase)¹⁵⁶ 980
But here a small delay forms a great crime;
 So recollect that the extremest grace

Samaritans in every situation: Gulbeyaz is a stranger to, specifically, Christian feelings (for the wine and oil, see indeed, the parable of the Good Samaritan at Luke 10, 34). Thus B., having linked her with Haidee by the rhymes and phrasings at this canto, ll.862-4 and 883, now distances her subtly, for Haidee’s early feelings for Juan were, at II, 1030-2 and 1048, given a cast of spontaneously Christian charity. The Sultana has all the femininity of Haidee, but none of the virtues.

¹⁵³: *Called back the Stoic to his eyes*: in part, doubtless, from his lessons in the slave-market from the then (and as yet still) un-named Johnson, above, this canto, sts.10-25.

¹⁵⁴: *he / Felt most indignant still at not being free*: when Juan comes face to face with the next woman in his life – Catharine the Great – he is still, theoretically, unfree; but B. compensates by allowing him a new vanity, to which Catharine’s passion appeals. See below, canto IX sts.65-77.

¹⁵⁵: *Him whom she meant to tutor in Love’s ways*: Gulbeyaz thinks that Juan retains his virginity. Compare the thoughts of Julia, ironically presented above at I ll.679-80; except that her Juan *is* without tuition.

¹⁵⁶: *in a Meridian Clime / (With us there is more law given to the Chase)*: by now a well-worn joke about the coldness and calculation of North European passions. See above, I st.64, and below, this canto, Stanza 157. The thought is contradicted by Juan’s encounter with Catharine the Great, for her latitude is more Northern and more freezing, and her sexual appetite more demanding, than any other Juan finds.

Is just two minutes for your declaration –
A moment more would hurt your reputation.

124.

Juan's was good; and might have been still better, 985
But he had got Haidee into his head;
However strange, he could not yet forget her,
Which made him seem exceedingly ill-bred;
Gulbeyaz, who looked on him as her debtor
For having had him to her palace led,¹⁵⁷ 990
Began to blush up to the eyes, and then
Grow deadly pale, and then blush back again.

125.

At length, in an Imperial way, She laid
Her hand on his, and bending on him eyes
Which needed not an empire to persuade, 995
Looked into his for love, where none replies;
Her brow grew black, but she would not upbraid,
That being the last thing a proud woman tries;
She rose, and, pausing one chaste moment, threw
Herself upon his breast, and there She grew. 1000

126.

This was an awkward test, as Juan found,
But he was steeled by sorrow, wrath, and pride;
With gentle force her white arms he unwound
And seated her all drooping by his side,
Then rising haughtily he glanced around, 1005
And looking coldly on her face, he cried,
"The prisoned Eagle will not pair,¹⁵⁸ nor I
"Serve a Sultana's sensual phantasy.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷: *Lettres Persanes* (see 1008n, opposite) forms an interesting subtext to this Canto and the next; though we have no direct evidence of B.'s having read it. While the protagonist, Usbek, sends letters home unwittingly satirical of Western European manners and morals, the correspondence from Persia paints an ugly picture of a harem ruled by suspicious and brutal eunuchs, who are unable to quench the flames of concupiscence which arise in the absence of the place's true master, and by the end of the book the harem is awash with blood.

¹⁵⁸: *The prisoned Eagle will not pair, nor I*: caged, wounded, or triumphant eagles are a Byronic commonplace, B. having shot one in Greece. See BLJ III 253; also *The Siege of Corinth*, 1029-end, *Manfred* I ii 29-36, and *The Age of Bronze*, III 87.

¹⁵⁹: *a Sultana's sensual phantasy*: what such a fantasy might involve is a question readily answered by reference to Montesquieu, *Lettre Persane* No 141, which tells the story of Zulema (called, after death, Anaïs). The tale is a critique of Islamic and Jewish myths about women's inferiority (by implication, of Christian myths too). It features a learned and philosophical heroine, who, after being murdered by her

127.

“Thou ask’st, if I can love? be this the proof
 “How much I *have* loved, that I love not *thee*; 1010
“In this vile garb the distaff, web, and woof
 “Were fitter for me; Love is for the free!
“I am not dazzled by this splendid roof;
 “Whate’er thy power, and great it seems to be,
“Heads bow, knees bend, Eyes watch around a throne, 1015
“And hands obey; our hearts are still our own.”

128.

This was a truth, to us extremely trite,
 Not so to her, who neer had heard such things;
She deemed her least command must yield delight,
 Earth being only made for queens and kings; 1020
If *Hearts* lay on the left side or the right
 She hardly knew, to such perfection brings
Legitimacy its born Votaries, when
Aware of their due royal rights o’er men.

129.

Besides, as has been said, She was so fair 1025
 As even in a much humbler lot had made
A kingdom or confusion any where,
 And also, as may be presumed, She laid
Some stress on charms, which seldom are, if e’er,
 By their possessors thrown into the shade; 1030
She thought *hers* gave a double “right divine,”
And *half* of that opinion’s also mine.

130.

Remember, or (if you can not) Imagine,
 Ye! who have kept your chastity when young,
While some more desperate dowager has been waging 1035

brutal husband, is transported to a paradise containing immaculate male houris, devoted entirely to gratifying her. She even persuades one of them to return to earth, impersonate her husband, expel his eunuchs, please his remaining wives, and banish him two thousand leagues. The husband returns some years later to find thirty-six children attributed to him. B. was also influenced by *Lettre* No 67, a story of Zorostrianism and sibling incest, in which the heroine’s name is Astarte.

Love with you, and been in the dogdays stung
By your refusal – Recollect her raging!
Or recollect all that was said or sung
On such a subject; then suppose the face
Of a young downright Beauty in this case.

1040

131.

Suppose – but you already have supposed¹⁶⁰ –
The Spouse of Potiphar, the Lady Booby,¹⁶¹
Phedra,¹⁶² and all which Story has disclosed *
Of good examples; Pity! that so few by
Poets, and private tutors, are exposed 1045
To educate, Ye Youth of Europe! you by;¹⁶³
But when you have supposed the few we know,
You can't suppose Gulbeyaz' angry brow.

132.

A Tigress robbed of young, a Lioness,¹⁶⁴
Or any interesting beast of prey, 1050
Are Similies at hand for the distress
Of Ladies who can *not* have their own way;
But though my turn will not be served with less,
These don't express one half what I should say,
For what is stealing young-ones, few or many, 1 1055
To cutting short their hopes of having *any*?¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰: *Suppose – but you already have supposed – / The Spouse of Potiphar*: we have supposed already (i) by reading and suspending our belief as far as this (ii) above at I, l.1487, where Juan is likened (unsuccessfully, at that point) to the Biblical Joseph, unwilling to go to bed with Potiphar's wife; see *Genesis* 39, 7-23.

¹⁶¹: *the Lady Booby*: would-be seductress of Joseph Andrews in Fielding's novel of that name. For a previous use of her, as a model for Julia, see above, note to I sts.81-3. Neither she nor Potiphar's wife (see previous note) are traditionally credited with much dignity.

¹⁶²: *Phedra*: a tragic version of the two previous types, in works by Euripides (*Hippolytus*) and Racine (*Phédre*). She was the wife to Theseus, and conceiving an unrequited passion for his son Hippolytus (her stepson) killed herself after driving him to his death.

¹⁶³: *... private tutors, are exposed / To educate, Ye Youth of Europe! you*: echoes the start of Canto II; *Don Juan*, in this analysis, fills an educational gap.

¹⁶⁴: *A Tigress robbed of young*: a verbal echo of Juvenal's misogynist *Satire VI*, l.269. Juvenal is, however, describing the bedroom diatribes of wives with guilty consciences:

*tum gravis illa viro, tunc orba tigride peior,
cum simulat gemitus occulti conscia facti ...*

(*This is her battleground, her station for husband-baiting: / In bed she's worse than a tiger robbed of its young – trans. Peter Green.*) For a more apt echo, see above, II l.1590.

¹⁶⁵: *cutting short their hopes of having any*: the mock assumption that women are only interested in sex for procreation purposes is very cynical.

133.

The Love of Offspring's Nature's general law,
From Tigresses and Cubs, to ducks and ducklings;
There's nothing whets the beak or arms the claw
Like an invasion of their babes and sucklings; 1060
And all who've seen a human Nursery, saw
How Mothers love their Children's squalls and chucklings,
And this extreme effect (to tire no longer
Your patience) shows the Cause must still be stronger.

134.

If I said, fire flashed from Gulbeyaz' eyes, 1065
'Twere nothing, for her Eyes flashed always fire;
Or said, her cheeks assumed the deepest dyes,
I should but bring disgrace upon the dyer;
So supernatural was her Passion's rise,
For neer till now She knew a checked desire; 1070
Even ye who know what a checked woman is
(Enough, God knows) would much fall short of this.

135.

Her rage was but a Minute's, and 'twas well,
A moment's more had slain her; but the while
It lasted, 'twas like a short glimpse of Hell; 1075
Nought's more sublime than energetic Bile,
Though horrible to see yet grand to tell,
Like Ocean warring 'gainst a rocky Isle;
And the deep passions flashing through her form
Made her a beautiful embodied Storm. – 1080

136.

A vulgar tempest 'twere to a Typhoon
To match a common fury with her rage,
And yet she did not want to reach the Moon,
Like moderate Hotspur on the immortal page;¹⁶⁶
Her anger pitched into a lower tune, 1085

¹⁶⁶: *Like moderate Hotspur on the immortal page*: see Hotspur at *Henry IV i*, I iii 201-2: *By heaven, methinks 'twould be an easy leap / To pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon ...*

Perhaps the fault of her soft Sex and age;
Her wish was but to “kill, kill, kill,” like Lear’s,¹⁶⁷
And then her thirst of blood was quenched in tears.

¹⁶⁷: *Her wish was but to “kill, kill, kill,” like Lear’s*: see the mad protagonist at *King Lear*, IV, vi, 187-8: *And when I have stolen upon these son-in-laws, / Then kill, kill, kill, kill, kill!* The echo of the enraged Lear is more illustrative of one beside themselves with fury than is that of the idealist Hotspur.

137.

A Storm it raged, and like the Storm it passed,
 Passed without words; in fact she could not speak, 1090
And then her Sex's Shame broke in at last,
 A Sentiment till then in her but weak,
But now it flowed in natural and fast
 As water through an unexpected leak,¹⁶⁸
For She felt humbled, and humiliation 1095
Is sometimes good for people in her Station. –

138.

It teaches them that they are flesh and blood,
 It also gently hints to them that others,
Although of Clay, are yet not quite of Mud;
 That Urns and Pipkins are but fragile brothers, 1100
And works of the same Pottery, bad or good,¹⁶⁹
 Though not all born of the same Sires and Mothers,
It teaches, – Heaven knows only what it teaches,
But sometimes it may mend, and often reaches. –

¹⁶⁸: *But now it flowed in natural and fast / As water through an unexpected leak*: DJP suggests another reference to *Joseph Andrews* (see above, this canto, ll.927n and 1042n): Mr Tow-wouse, having lost interest in his wife, gets passionate about Betty, the chambermaid: *Mr. Tow-wouse had for some time cast the languishing Eyes of Affection on this young Maiden. He had laid hold on every Opportunity of saying tender things to her, squeezing her by the Hand, and sometimes of kissing her Lips: for as the Violence of his Passion had considerably abated towards Mrs. Tow-wouse; so like water, which is stopt from its usual current in one place, it naturally sought vent in another ...* (I, 18). Now see note to st.139.

¹⁶⁹: *And works of the same Pottery, bad or good*: CPW suggests an allusion to the elaborate meditation on God as potter and mankind as pottery in *Jeremiah*, 18-19.

139.¹⁷⁰

Her first thought was to cut off Juan's head, 1105
Her second, to cut only his – acquaintance;
Her third, to ask him where he had been bred,
Her fourth to rally him into repentance,
Her fifth to call her Maids and go to bed,
Her Sixth to stab herself, her Seventh, to sentence 1100
The lash to Baba; but her grand resource
Was to sit down again, and cry of course. –

140.

She thought to stab herself; but then She had
The dagger close at hand, which made it awkward,
For Eastern Stays are little made to pad, 1115
So that a poignard pierces if 'tis stuck hard;
She thought of killing Juan – but – poor lad!
Though he deserved it well for being so backward,
The cutting off his head was not the Art
Most likely to attain her aim, his heart.¹⁷¹ 1120

141.

Juan was moved, he had made up his Mind
To be impaled, or quartered as a dish
For dogs; or to be slain with pangs refined,
Or thrown to Lions, or made baits for fish;
And thus heroically stood resigned, 1125
Rather than sin except to his own wish;
But all his great preparatives for dying
Dissolved like snow before a woman crying. –

¹⁷⁰: CPW, whose unacknowledged source is Itsuyo Higashinaka, *Gulbeyaz and Joseph Andrews* (*Byron Journal*, 1984 pp.74-5) crowns the suggestion of DJP (see above, ll.1093-4n) that those lines are taken from *Joseph Andrews*, I, 18, with a note linking this whole stanza to the chapter: Betty the chambermaid has just thrown herself at Andrews, without success: *Betty was in the most violent Agitation at this Disappointment. Rage and Lust pulled her Heart, as with two Strings, two different Ways; one Moment she thought of stabbing Joseph, the next, of taking him in her Arms, and devouring him with Kisses; but the latter Passion was far more prevalent. Then she thought of revenging his Refusal on herself; but while she was engaged on this Meditation, happily Death presented himself to her in so many Shapes of drowning, hanging, poisoning, &c. that her distracted Mind could resolve on none. In this Perturbation of Spirit, it accidentally occurred to her Memory, that her Master's bed was not made ...* and she ends up with Mr. Tow-wouse after all. Mrs. Tow-wouse, however, catches them; a violent row ensues; Betty loses her job, and Mr. Tow-wouse has to promise to spend the rest of his life in atonement.

¹⁷¹: ... *her aim, his heart*: euphemism.

145.

“Is it,” exclaimed Gulbeyaz, “as you say?
“I wish to Heaven he would not shine till morning!
“But – bid my women form the milky way; 1155
“Hence, my old Comet! give the Stars due warning;
“And, Christian! mingle with them as you may,
“And as – you’d have me pardon your past scorning —”
Here they were interrupted by a humming
Sound, and then by a Cry – “the Sultan’s coming!” – 1160

146.

First came her damsels, a decorous file,
And then his Highness’ Eunuchs, black and white;¹⁷⁵
The train might reach a quarter of a mile,
His Majesty was always so polite
As to announce his visits a long while 1165
Before he came, especially at Night;
For being the last wife of the Emperor,
She was of course the favourite of the four.

¹⁷⁵: *And then his Highness’ Eunuchs, black and white*: for the distinction between black eunuchs and white, see quotation from Baron de Tott, above, this canto, note to l.191.

His Highness was a Man of solemn port,
 Shawled to the nose, and bearded to the eyes; 1170
 Snatched from a prison to preside at court,
 His lately bowstrung brother caused his rise;¹⁷⁶
 He was as good a Sovereign of the sort
 As any mentioned in the histories
 Of Cantemir or Knolles,¹⁷⁷ where few shine * 1175
 Save Solyman, the Glory of their line.¹⁷⁸ –

* It may not be unworthy of remark that Bacon in his essay on “Empire” hints that *Solyman* was the *last* of his line – on what authority I know not. – These are his words. – “The destruction of Mustapha was so fatal to Solyman’s line, as the Succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Solymus the Second was thought to be suppositious.” But Bacon in his historical authorities is often inaccurate – I could give half a dozen instances from his apothegms only.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶: *Snatched from a prison to preside at court, / His lately bowstrung brother caused his rise*: B. affects particularity about dates: the action is stated below (VI, 1.735) as being set during the reign of Catherine the Great, and the Siege of Ismail, which occurs below in Cantos VII and VIII, happened in 1790. However, this description of the Sultan does not fit. The Sultan was in 1790 Selim III, against whom Catherine ordered the attack on Ismail; he was nephew to the previous Sultan, and devoted to his uncle’s widow, Aimée Dubucq de Rivery, herself cousin to Joséphine Beauharnais, subsequently Napoleon’s wife. A westernised and reforming sophisticate (he recognised the French Republic) he does not answer to the impression of ignorant complacency B. now gives, in sts.148-53. However, he was bowstrung, in 1808, on the orders of his cousin Mustapha, whom he had released from prison, and in whose favour he had abdicated; but Mustapha was imprisoned and later bowstrung himself by his half-brother, Aimée’s son, who ascended the throne as Mahmoud II, became another reforming Sultan, and reigned until 1839. The career and death of Selim are the subject of pp.1009-47 of John Cam Hobhouse’s *Travels through Albania* (see above, II st.104, B.’s note); B. and Hobhouse attended an audience with Mahmoud II on July 10 1810 (*Travels*, pp.998-1001). Our suspicion that B. protests too much about Bacon’s historical inaccuracy, and is masking an obvious contemporary joke (see notes below to ll.1182 and 1184) is enhanced by these reflections.

¹⁷⁷: *Cantemir or Knolles*: authors of two standard histories of the Turks, which B. had read from boyhood: Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1621, often enlarged and reprinted: see CMP 3, 4 and 220); Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decline of the Othman Empire* (1734: see CMP 3, 4 and 220; and below, Canto VI, 1.245).

¹⁷⁸: *Solyman, the Glory of their line*: Solyman II (or Suleiman ...) the Magnificent (1494-1566) in general estimate, greatest of the Ottoman Sultans. Cantemir writes of him: Thus liv’d and reign’d *Soliman* a Prince of an heroic and invincible mind, of great valour and wisdom, and so patient of the hardships which usually attend warlike expeditions, that he almost seem’d to be nourish’d by them. Besides the *Turkish* language, he spoke also *Persian* and *Arabic*, and in that kind of poetry, by the *Persians* call’d *Nazim*, he excell’d all in elegance and wit. His *Persian*, *Hungarian* and naval victories earn’d him a great name, but his reformation of the Courts of Justice, and his excellent laws, by which the *Othman* Empire still flourishes, acquir’d him a greater ... He govern’d the *Othman* Empire one and forty years, and liv’d seventy-four. – *The History of the Growth and Decline of the Othman Empire*, I, III p.217.

¹⁷⁹: *on what authority I know not*: The immediate degeneracy of the line of Sultans upon the death of Solyman the Magnificent (see 1175 and n) and the accession of his son Selim II, was remarked at the time, and became a commonplace of Turkish history; a fact at which B. himself glances at 1176. Knolles’ chapter on Selim II, Solyman’s successor (nicknamed *Mest*, or *The Drunkard*) has as epigraph a Latin poem

148.

He went to Mosque in state, and said his prayers
With more than “Oriental Scrupulosity;”¹⁸⁰
He left to his Vizier all State affairs,
And showed but little royal curiosity; 1180
I know not if he had domestic cares –
No process proved connubial animosity –
Four wives and twice five hundred maids unseen
Were ruled as calmly as a Christian Queen.¹⁸¹ –

149.

If now and then there happened a slight slip, 1185
Little was heard of criminal or crime;
The Story scarcely passed a single lip,
The *Sack* and Sea had settled all in time,¹⁸²
From which the secret nobody could rip;
The Public knew no more than does this rhyme; 1190
No Scandals made the daily press a curse;
Morals were better, and the fish no worse.

150.

He saw with his own eyes the Moon was round,
Was certain also that the Earth was square,
Because he had journeyed fifty miles, and found 1195
No sign that it was circular anywhere;
His Empire also was without a bound;
'Tis true, a little troubled here and there

opening with the words *Dissimilis patri ... Englished Vnlike his father ...* and neither Knolles nor Cantemir disguise the fact that Selim was, in his drunkenness, especially, and in his failure to lead his troops into battle, a strong contrast to Solyman. However, neither historian directly impugns Selim’s legitimacy. See Knolles, *A Generall Historie of the Turks* (fifth edition, 1638) pp.817-915; or Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decline of the Othman Empire* (1734) I, III pp.218-28. **B.’s huge note on Bacon’s Apophthegms starts here. See Appendix.**

¹⁸⁰: *With more than “Oriental scrupulosity”*: Moslems, unlike Christians, are enjoined to wash regularly. The phrase was first used by the odoriferously unhygienic Johnson in his *Life of Swift*, to describe his obsessively hygienic subject. B. uses it at BLJ VII 224, implying his own fastidiousness at the toilet, and Hobhouse’s indifference to washing.

¹⁸¹: *No process proved connubial animosity ... ruled as calmly as a Christian queen*: jokes about George IV’s Caroline, whom the King could not *rule* at all, despite the 1820 *process* in which he tried to prove her adultery. B. makes the references more discreet than they are in the rough draft.

¹⁸²: *The Sack and Sea had settled all in time*: a reference to the punishment for adultery, whereby the adulteress was sewn into a sack and drowned in the Bosphorus. See above, this canto, ll.735-6, where an earlier and more explicit Byronic reference, to *The Giaour*, author’s note to ll.1328 / 1334, is quoted.

By rebel Pachas, and encroaching Giaours,¹⁸³
But then they neer came to “the Seven Towers,”¹⁸⁴ 1200

151.

Except in shape of Envoys, who were sent
To lodge there when a War broke out, according
To the *true* law of Nations, which neer meant
Those scoundrels, who have never had a Sword in
Their dirty diplomatic hands, to vent 1205
Their spleen in making strife, and safely wording
Their lies, ycleped dispatches,¹⁸⁵ without risk, or *
The singeing of a single inky whisker.

152.

He'd fifty daughters, and four dozen sons¹⁸⁶
Of whom all such as came of age were stowed, 1210
The former in a palace, where like Nuns
They lived till some Bashaw was sent abroad,
When She, whose turn it was, wedded at once,
Sometimes at six years old; though this seems odd,¹⁸⁷
'Tis true; the reason is, that the Bashaw 115
Must make a present to his Sire in Law. –

¹⁸³: *a little troubled here and there / By rebel Pachas, and encroaching Giaours*: that is, in constant turmoil because of internal insurrection and foreign threat.

¹⁸⁴: “*the Seven Towers*”: a castle in Constantinople which held political prisoners, in particular, envoys from countries with whom the Ottomans were at war (the Turks regarded all ambassadors as potential hostages). B. would first have read about it in Rycaut’s *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, Book I, Chapter XIX, but it was notorious: *Every body knows this Castle took its Name from those same Towers covered with Lead. 'Tis a kind of Bastile or Prison for Persons of Distinction; but 'tis assured they admit no Strangers to see it.* (de Tournefort, II 200). E.H.Coleridge quotes the following, from the later, 1858 edition of Hobhouse’s *Travels in Albania* (II, pp.311-12): *We (that is, B. and Hobhouse) attempted to visit the Seven Towers, but were stopped at the entrance, and informed that without a firman it was inaccessible to strangers ... It was supposed that Count Bulukof, the Russian Minister, would be the last of the Moussafirs, or imperial hostages, confined in this fortress; but since the year 1784 M. Ruffin and many of the French have been imprisoned in the same place; and the dungeons ... were gaping, it seems, for the sacred persons of the gentlemen composing his Britannic Majesty’s mission, previous to the rupture between Great Britain and the Porte in 1809.*

¹⁸⁵: *Their lies, ycleped dispatches*: carries on the satire on the journalistic self-images of the age begun at above, I, 3, and continued on a large scale below, in the constant deflation of the word *gazette* in Cantos VII and VIII.

¹⁸⁶: *He had fifty daughters, and four dozen sons*: Selim III, theoretically Sultan at the time of the action (see above, 1171-2n) was in fact quite uninterested in his harem, and was childless at his death.

¹⁸⁷: ... *wedded at once, / Sometimes at six years old*: E.H.Coleridge quotes the following: *The princess [Asma Sultana, daughter of Achmet III] complained of the barbarity which, at thirteen years of age, united her to a decrepit old man, who, by treating her like a child, had inspired in her nothing but disgust* (Memoirs of Baron de Tott, I 74).

153.

His Sons were kept in prison, till they grew
Of Years to fill a bowstring¹⁸⁸ or the throne, *
One or the other; but which of the two
Could yet be known unto the Fates alone; 1220
Meantime the education they went through¹⁸⁹
Was Princely, as the proofs have always shown,
So that the Heir Apparent still was found
No less deserving to be hanged than crowned.¹⁹⁰

154.

His Majesty saluted his fourth Spouse 1225
With all the ceremonies of his rank;
Who cleared her sparkling eyes, and smoothed her brows
As suits a Matron who has played a prank;
These must seem doubly mindful of their vows,
To save the credit of their breaking bank; 1230
To no men are such cordial greetings given
As those whose wives have made them fit for heaven.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸: *to fill a bowstring*: that is, to be strangled.

¹⁸⁹: *the education they went through / Was Princely*: Paul Rycout, in *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, dwells on the hypocrisy lying beneath protestations of Platonic love in Turkish young men's academies: *This is the colour of virtue, they paint over the deformity, of their depraved inclinations; but in reality this love of theirs, is nothing but libidinous flames each to other, with which they burn so violently, that banishment and death have not been examples sufficient to deter them from making demonstrations of such like addresses; so that in their Chambers, though watched by their Eunuchs, they learn a certain language with the motion of their eyes, their gestures and their fingers, to express their amours; and this passion hath boiled sometimes to that heat, that jealousies and rivalries have broken forth in their Chambers, without respect to the severity of their guardians, and good orders have been brought into confusion, and have not been again redressed, until some of them have been expelled the seraglio with the Tippets of their Vests cut off, banished into the Islands, and beaten almost to death.*

¹⁹⁰: *No less deserving to be hanged than crowned*: sodomy was a capital offence in England and Wales (not Scotland) until 1861.

¹⁹¹: *As those whose wives have made them fit for heaven*: E.H.Coleridge is the first editor to admit himself defeated by the reference here; DJP and CPW follow suit, unable to find any writer or aphorism, according to whom or which, cuckolds may inherit eternal bliss. Both Coleridge and DJP refer desperately to the "horns of salvation" worn by Michaelangelo's Moses; both Coleridge and CPW refer to *Mazeppa*, 177-8, speaking of *titles given, / 'Tis said, as passports into heaven*. None refer to the words of Benedick to Don Pedro at *Much Ado About Nothing* V iv, 118-19: *Prince, thou art sad. Get thee a wife, get thee a wife. There is no staff more reverend than one tipped with horn.*

155.

His Highness cast around his great black eyes,
 And looking, as he always looked, perceived
 Juan amongst the damsels in disguise; 1235
 At which he seemed no whit surprized nor grieved,
 But just remarked, with air sedate and wise,
 While still a fluttering sigh Gulbeyaz heaved,
 “I see you’ve bought another Girl; ’tis pity
 “That a mere Christian should be half so pretty.”¹⁹²– 1240

156.

This Compliment, which drew all eyes upon
 The new-bought virgin, made her blush and shake;
 Her Comrades, also, thought themselves undone;
 Oh! Mahomet!¹⁹³ that his Majesty should take
 Such notice of a Giaour!¹⁹⁴ while scarce to one 1245
 Of them his lips imperial ever spake!¹⁹⁵
 There was a general whisper, toss, and wriggle,
 But Etiquette forbade them all to giggle. –

¹⁹²: The comedy whereby the Sultan is homosexually aroused, while imagining himself to be heterosexually so, is the opposite from that which Shakespeare portrays in Orsino’s love for “Cesario” in *Twelfth Night*; see his speeches at I iv, 28-35, and V i, 119-25.

¹⁹³: *Mahomet* has again to be bisyllabic.

¹⁹⁴: *that his Majesty should take / Such notice of a Giaour*: the potential triangulation between the Sultan, Gulbeyaz and Juan bears a parody relationship to that between Hassan, Leila and the Giaour in B.’s famous 1813 poem, of which there is a clear echo above, at this canto, l.1188. The parody lies in the facts that (i) where Leila is completely passive, Gulbeyaz has so far taken all the initiative; and that (ii) where Leila and the Giaour are lovers, Juan will soon be in bed with one of the circumambient odalisques, while Gulbeyaz will have to endure the embraces of her husband – who himself would probably rather be in bed with Juan. It is a farcical variant on the poem’s other three triangles (see above, IV l.280n, and below, XIII l.112) *Beppo* parodies the Turkish Tales in the same manner, though the details differ.

¹⁹⁵: An anonymous writer asserts that the real Sultan of Constantinople, Mahmoud II, had, when B. was present at an audience with him on July 10 1810, taken him for a woman: *His youthful and striking appearance, and the splendour of his dress, visible as it was by the looseness of the pelisse over it, attracted greatly the Sultan’s attention, amd seemed to have excited his curiosity. I have recently been assured at Constantinople, that when the Sultan was informed of an English Vizier [Byron] having joined the Greeks for the purpose of assisting them in their struggles against his authority, and was given to understand that this Vizier was the same individual who had made a conspicuous figure at Mr. Canning’s audience, the Sultan would not believe in the identity, insisting that the person who had appeared before him on that occasion was a woman dressed in man’s clothes.* – *New Monthly Magazine* 1827 (XIX) p.147. It is possible that the Sultan was confusing B. with Lady Elgin, who, disguised as “Lord Bruce”, had attended a reception with Selim III in November 1799.

157.

The Turks do well to shut – at least, sometimes –
The women up – because in sad reality, 1250
Their chastity in these unhappy climes
Is not a thing of that astringent quality,
Which in the North prevents precocious crimes,
And makes our Snow less pure than our Morality;
The Sun, which yearly melts the Polar Ice, 1255
Has quite the contrary effect on Vice. –

158.¹⁹⁶

Thus in the East they are extremely strict,
And Wedlock and a *Padlock* mean the same;
Excepting only when the former's picked
It ne'er can be replaced in proper frame, 1260
Spoilt, as a pipe of Claret is when pricked –
But then their own Polygamy's to blame;
Why don't they knead two virtuous souls for life,
Into that moral Centaur, Man and Wife?¹⁹⁷

159.

Thus far our Chronicle, and now we pause, 1265
Though not for want of matter; but 'tis time,
According to the ancient Epic laws,
To slacken sail, and anchor with our rhyme;
Let this fifth Canto meet with due applause,
The Sixth shall have a touch of the Sublime; 1270
Meanwhile, as Homer sometimes sleeps, perhaps
You'll pardon to my Muse a few short naps.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶: St. 158 was written in bed on the morning of February 27 1821 (see BLJ VIII, 50) and sent on March 1 1821 (see BLJ VIII, 87). On the same day B. wrote a cold and distant letter to his own wife, about the impending war in Italy, and his own impending ruin and perhaps death – none of which happened. The stanza was not in the first edition – a fact for which B. was extremely angry with Murray (see BLJ VIII 192). The publisher had also omitted the entire note on Bacon and Voltaire.

¹⁹⁷: *that moral Centaur, Man and Wife*: in a letter to Hobhouse of July 30, 1819 (BLJ VI 189) B. refers to a jealous husband as a *strange centaur*. CPW conjectures an echo of the phrase here. B. himself says (in the letter to Hobhouse) that he is quoting Gibbon's description of "a philosophical theologian". In a letter to Murray of August 31 1821 (BLJ VIII 192) he misquotes the seventh line as *And do not link two virtuous souls for life*. This is the letter in which he complains bitterly about the printer's errors in the first edition of Cantos I, II and V.

¹⁹⁸: ... *as Homer sometimes sleeps*: see above, III, 1.873:

We learn from Horace, Homer sometimes sleeps;

(*rough draft*): End of Canto 5th, Ra. Nov^r. 27th, 1820.

(*fair copy*): End of Canto 5th. – finished Ravenna. Nov^r. 27th, 1820. – Begun Oct^r. 16th, 1820. – and finished copying out Dec^r. 26th, with some intermediate additions 1820. – N.B. –

APPENDIX:

From Bacon's Apophthegms.

91.

Michael Angelo, the famous painter, painting in the pope's chapel the portrait-ure of hell and damned souls, made one of the damned souls so like a cardinal that was his enemy, as every body at first sight knew it; whereupon the cardinal complained to Pope Clement, humbly praying it might be defaced. The pope said to him, Why you know very well I have power to deliver a soul out of purgatory, but not out of hell.

This was *not* the portrait of a cardinal, but of the pope's master of the ceremonies.¹⁹⁹

155.

Alexander, after the battle of Granicum, had very great offers made him by Darius. Consulting with his captains concerning them, Parmenio said, Sure, I would accept these offers, if I were as Alexander. Alexander answered, So would I, if I were as Parmenio.

It was after the battle of Issus and during the siege of Tyre, and *not* immediately after the passage of the Granicus, that this is said to have occurred.²⁰⁰

158.

Antigonus, when it was told him that the enemy had such volleys of arrows, that they did hide the sun, said, That falls out well, for it is hot weather,

This was *not* said by Antigonus, but by a Spartan, previously to the battle of

We feel without him, Wordsworth sometimes wakes ...

¹⁹⁹: **Apophthegm "91"**: in fact No. 36 (1625 pp.50-1). Vasari, in his *Life of Michaelangelo*, reports that the artist used, as his model for Minos, M. Biagio of Cesena, Papal Master of Ceremonies, after Biagio had objected to the nudes in *The Last Judgement*, but that the Pope would not have the portrait removed. The dialogue seems apocryphal; though Spedding, Ellis and Heath refer to Melchior, *Floresta Española* (1614) I i 3.

²⁰⁰: **Apophthegm "155"**: in fact No. 122 (1625 pp.144-5). Bacon's information may be from Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 29, although the exchange takes place long after the battle of the Granicus. B. may remember Arrian, *Anabasis*, II 25, where it is stated as happening during the siege of Tyre.

and so we shall fight in the shade.

Thermopylae.²⁰¹

²⁰¹: **Apophthegm “158”**: in fact No. 126 (1625 p.147). B.’s information is from Herodotus, *Histories* 227.

162.

There was a philosopher, that disputed with Adrian the Emperor, and did it but weakly. One of his friends that stood by, afterwards said unto him, Methinks you were not like yourself last day, in argument with the Emperor: I could have answered myself better. Why, said the philosopher, would you have me contend with him that commands thirty legions?

This happened under the reign of Augustus Caesar, and *not* in the reign of Adrian.²⁰²

164.

There was one that found a great mass of money digged under ground in his grandfather's house, and being somewhat doubtful of the case, signified it to the emperor that he had found such treasure. The emperor made a rescript thus; Use it. He writ back again, that the sum was greater than his state or condition could use. The emperor writ a new rescript, thus; Abuse it.

This happened to the father of Herodes Atticus, and the answer was made by the emperor *Nerva*, who deserved that his name should have been stated by the "greatest – wisest – meanest of mankind."²⁰³

178.

One of the seven was wont to say, that laws were like cobwebs: where the small flies were caught, and the great brake through.

This was said by Anacharsis the Scythian, and *not* by a Greek.²⁰⁴

209.

An orator of Athens said to Demosthenes, The Athenians will kill you

This was *not* said by Demosthenes, but

²⁰²: **Apophthegm "162"**: in fact No. 160 (1625 pp.178-9). From Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, 5 (my thanks to Leslie Katz). The conversation is between Solon and Anacharsis, and thus occurred in the reign of neither Augustus nor Adrian.

²⁰³: **Apophthegm "164"**: in fact No. 177 (1625 pp.195-6). The story is from Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, II. B.'s concluding quotation is from Pope's description of Bacon at *An Essay on Man*, IV 281-2.

²⁰⁴: **Apophthegm "178"**: in fact No. 181 (1625 pp.200-1). ... *such laws, said he [Anacharsis] do rightly resemble the spiders's cobwebs: because they take hold of little flies and gnats which fall into them, but the rich and mighty will break and run through them at their will* (Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, North's translation). Compare *King Lear*, IV vi 165-7.

if they wax mad. Demosthenes replied,
And they will kill you, if they be in
good sense.

*to Demosthenes by
Phocion.*²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵: **Apophthegm “209”**: in fact No. 204 (1625 p.224). ... *on a time he [Phocion] answered Demosthenes, that said unto him: The people, Phocion, will kill thee one day, if it take them in the heads. Yea thee, quoth he, if they be wise* (Plutarch, Life of Phocion, North’s translation).

221.

There was a philosopher about
Tiberius that looking into the nature
of Caius, said of him, That he was
mire mingled with blood.

This was not said of
Caius (Caligula, I
presume, is intended by
by Caius) but of
Tiberius himself.²⁰⁶

97.

There was a king of Hungary took a
bishop in battle, and kept him
prisoner; whereupon the pope writ
a monitory to him, for that he had
broken the privilege of holy church
and taken his son: the king sent an
embassage to him, and sent withal
the armour wherein the bishop was
taken, and this only in writing –
vide num haec sit vestis filii tui?
Know now whether this be thy son's
coat?

This reply was *not*
made by a King of
Hungary, but sent by
Richard the first,
Coeur de Lion, of
England to the Pope,
with the breastplate
of the bishop of
Beauvais.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶: **Apophthegm “221”**: in fact No. 37 (1625 pp.51-2). Suetonius reports (in his *Life of Tiberius*) the statement as having been made by Tiberius' teacher of rhetoric, Theodorus the Gadarene.

²⁰⁷: **Apophthegm “97”**: in fact No. 47 (1625 pp.61-2). The source is Hume, *The History of England*, Chapter X (1812 edition II 32-3).

Demetrius, king of Macedon, had a petition offered him divers times by an old woman, and answered he had no leisure; whereupon the woman said aloud, Why then give over to be king.

This did not happen to Demetrius, but to *Philip* King of Macedon.²⁰⁸

The *Apophtegms* of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) are a selection of pithy sayings and anecdotes, published in 1624 (though dated 1625). B., who may have known them since childhood (see CMP 5) found errors in them on re-reading: **“Corrected blunders in *nine* apophthegms of Bacon”** ... he records, in his Ravenna Journal entry for January 6th 1821 (BLJ VIII 14) two weeks after he had finished the fair copy of Canto V. Which one of the ten he corrected subsequently we do not know; although as he records *eight or nine* in August (BLJ VIII 194) he may just have miscounted. He sent the corrections in a letter, which he posted to Murray two days after the journal entry, on January 8th (BLJ VIII 18):

“Illustrious Sir – I enclose you a long note for the 5th. Canto of Don Juan – you will find where it should be placed on referring to the MS. – which I sent to Mr. Kinnaird. – I had subscribed the authorities – Arrian – Plutarch – Hume &c. for the *correction* of Bacon – but thinking it pedantic to do so – have since erased them. – –”

(Murray Archive, BLJ VIII 58: the manuscript of the letter survives; but not, apparently, that of the note.) B. was very angry when, on the last day of August 1821, he received Cantos III-V and found, firstly, numerous misprints, and secondly that these corrections, and the further note on Voltaire, had been omitted (BLJ VIII 192-4: here he spells the word **“apothegms”**). Murray included them in the fifth edition, together with the improved text of the poem. (We do not know what copy of the *Apophtegms* B. had, but it was not a first edition, because the numbering does not match. All editions between 1625 and the complete Bacon of 1859 (the only complete edition to date) add to, subtract from, and re-order the items. The 1859 editors do not refer to B. (see CPW V 713 for a joke which may or may not allude to them) but do admit *that the collection was made from memory, “without turning any book” ... we must beware of attributing to it any great historical authority. It will be found that some of the sayings, especially those of the ancient philosophers, are assigned to the wrong persons* (Bacon, *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis and Heath, VII 119-20).

In my notes I have given the 1625 numbering and page-references, and have attempted to make good the deficiency of both B. and the 1859 editors, by adducing B.’s authorities for his corrections.

²⁰⁸: **Apophthegm “267”**: in fact No. 162 (1625 pp.180-1). The story is in the Life of Philip of Macedon by Æmylius Probus, translated by Sir Thomas North; see Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Grecians & Romans*, Cambridge 1676, p. 940. The old woman’s words are, translated, “Leave then to be King.”

BLJ VIII 14 has B. recording in his Journal that he read Spence's *Anecdotes*, Guingéné, Mitford's Greece, Lord Holland on Lope de Vega, corrected Bacon's *Apophthegms*, and wrote a note to *Don Juan* (presumably this one) all on the same rainy day (January 6th 1821). His correction of the Apophthegms carried him over into a defence of Voltaire against the Lakers (not famous for ever mentioning Voltaire publicly, still less for criticizing him).

Having stated that Bacon was frequently incorrect in his citations from history, I have thought it necessary in what regards so great a name, (however trifling) to support the assertion by such facts as more immediately occur to me. They are but trifles, and yet for such trifles a school-boy would be whipped (if still in the fourth form); and Voltaire for half a dozen similar errors²⁰⁹ has been treated as a superficial writer, notwithstanding the testimony of the learned Warton. – “Voltaire, a writer of *much deeper research* than is imagined, and the *first* who has displayed the literature and customs of the dark ages with *any degree of penetration* and comprehension.” — Dissertation 1st. Warton.²¹⁰ For another distinguished testimony to Voltaire's merits in literary research, see also Lord Holland's excellent Account of the Life and Writings of Lope de Vega, vol. 1, page 215, edition of 1817.²¹¹

Voltaire has ever been termed “a shallow fellow,” by some of the same school who called Dryden's Ode “a drunken song;”²¹² – a *school* (as it is called, I presume, from their education being still incomplete) the whole of whose filthy trash of Epics, Excursions, &c. &c. &c. is not worth the two words in *Zaire*, “*vous pleurez*,”²¹³ or a single speech of *Tancred*;²¹⁴ — a *school*, the apostate lives of whose renegadoes, with

²⁰⁹: In correspondence with Hobhouse in 1817 (BLJ V 199 and 215-16) B. had conversely deplored the “**extreme inaccuracy**” of Voltaire.

²¹⁰: Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry* (1774) Volume I, First Dissertation, eighteenth page (B.'s italics).

²¹¹: “Till Voltaire appeared, there was no nation more ignorant of its neighbours' literature than the French. He first exposed, and then corrected, this neglect in his countrymen. There is no writer to whom the authors of other nations, especially of England, are so indebted for the extension of their fame in France, and, through France, in Europe. There is no critic who has employed more time, wit, ingenuity and diligence in promoting the literary intercourse between country and country, and in celebrating in one language the triumphs of another. Yet, by a strange fatality, he is constantly represented as the enemy of all literature but his own; and Spaniards, Englishmen, and Italians vie with each other in inveighing against his occasional exaggeration of faulty passages; the authors of which, till he pointed out their beauties, were hardly known beyond the country in which their language was spoken. Those who feel such indignation at his misrepresentations and oversights, would find it difficult to produce a critic in any modern language, who in speaking of foreign literature is better informed or more candid than Voltaire; and they certainly never would be able to discover one, who to those qualities unites so much sagacity and liveliness.” The passage is in fact on pp.216-17 of Volume 1 of the 1817 edition. E.H.Coleridge (Vol. V p.154) casts doubt on Lord Holland as the author of the work. Holland, leader of the Whigs, had been head of B.'s social set in London during his years of fame.

²¹²: The school is that of the Lakers, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey; but no-one has located the words abusive of Voltaire or Dryden.

²¹³: Altered by B. from his original recollection *tu pleures* at BLJ VIII 162. The line (*Zayre, vous pleurez*) occurs at IV ii 116 of Voltaire's tragedy *Zaire* (1738) one of his most successful stage works. Orosmane, Sultan of Jerusalem, is declaring the Christian heroine free of obligation, when her tears announce her love for him, about which he had not guessed.

²¹⁴: *Tancredi* (1760) is another tragedy by Voltaire. It is about love, treason and tragic misunderstandings

their tea-drinking neutrality of morals²¹⁵ and their convenient treachery in politics – in the record of their accumulated pretences to virtue can produce no *actions* (were all their good deeds drawn up in array) to equal or approach the sole defence of the family of Calas,²¹⁶ by that great and unequalled genius – the universal Voltaire.

I have ventured to remark on these little inaccuracies of “the greatest genius that England or perhaps any other country ever produced,” (Pope in Spence’s *Anecdotes*, page 158, Malone’s Edition)²¹⁷ merely to show our natural injustice in condemning *generally* the greatest genius of France for such inadvertencies as these, of which the highest of England has been no less guilty. Query, was Bacon a greater intellect than Newton?

In May 1820, seven months before he wrote the present note, B. had seen three slips in the introductory essay to *Specimens of the British Poets* by his friend Thomas Campbell (see above, Canto I Stanzas 88-9, notes and commentary):

“Ravenna. May 20th. 1820.

Murray my dear – make my respects to Thom[a]s Campbell – & tell him from me with faith & friendship three things that he must right in his Poets. — *Firstly* – he says Anstey’s Bath Guide Characters are taken from Smollett – tis impossible – the Guide was published in 1766 and Humphry Clinker in 1771 – *dunque* – tis Smollett who has taken from Anstey. *Secondly* – he does not know to whom Cowper alludes when he says that there was one who “built a church to *God* that blasphemed his name” – it was “*Deo erexit Voltaire*” to whom that maniacal & coddled poet alludes. — — *Thirdly* – he misquotes & spoils a passage from Shakespeare – “to gild refined gold to paint the lily &c.” – for *lily* he puts the *rose* and bedevils in more words than one the whole quotation. — — Now Tom is a fine fellow but he should be correct – for the 1st. is an *injustice* (to Anstey) the 2nd. an *ignorance* – and the third a *blunder* – tell him all this – and let him take it in good part – for I might have rammed it into a review and vexed him instead of which I act like a Christian. — [scrawl]” (BLJ VII 101-102).

By the next winter B. had evidently forgotten the last resolution, for he writes in his journal for

among the Norman knights of Sicily.

²¹⁵: ... *tea-drinking neutrality of morals*: compare Asmodeus’ words about Southey at *TVOJ*, 696: “*I dare say that his wife is still at tea*”. *The Vision* was started in May 1821, four months after this note was sent.

²¹⁶: Jean Calas, French protestant tradesman broken on the wheel in 1762 on the false charge of murdering his son, who had contemplated conversion to Rome. Catholic bigots were responsible for the charge, and Voltaire played a major part in defending Calas’ reputation and supporting his family.

²¹⁷: The Reverend Joseph Spence (“**the gentle Spence**”): *CMP* 167) *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters, of Books and Men* (John Murray, 1820:

You can make any loss up -

With “Spence” and his Gossip,

A work which must surely succeed ... BLJ VI 4)

B.’s page reference is accurate.

January 10th 1821, four days after composing the note on Bacon's Apophthegms and Voltaire (see previous pages):

“Day fine – rained only in the morning. Looked over accounts. Read Campbell's Poets – marked errors of Tom (the author) for correction. Dined – went out ...” (BLJ VIII 20-1).

The text is from the inserted leaf in the fair copy of Canto V, at the John Murray Archive.

Note 2nd. to Canto 5th. Don Juan – – 1820.

Being in the humour of Criticism – I shall proceed after having ventured upon the slips of Bacon – to touch on one or two as trifling in the Edition of the British Poets – by the justly celebrated Campbell.²¹⁸ – But I do this in good will, and trust it will be so taken. – If any thing could add to my opinion of the talents and true feeling of that Gentleman – it would be his classical – honest – and triumphant defence of Pope²¹⁹ – against the vulgar cant of the day – and it's existing Grub Street. – – – – –

The inadvertencies to which I allude are, – firstly, – – in speaking of *Anstey*²²⁰ – whom he accuses of having taken “his leading characters from *Smollett*,”²²¹ *Anstey's Bath Guide*²²² was published in 1766. *Smollett's Humphry Clinker*²²³ – (the only work of *Smollett's* from which *Tabitha &c. &c.*²²⁴ could have been taken) – was written during *Smollett's* last residence at Leghorn in 1770.²²⁵ – “*Argal*” – if there has been any borrowing – *Anstey* must be the Creditor and not the debtor. – I refer Mr. Campbell to his own dates in his lives of *Smollett* and *Anstey*. =====

²¹⁸: *the Edition of the British Poets – by the justly celebrated Campbell: Specimens of the British Poets*, published by John Murray in seven volumes, 1819.

²¹⁹: *his classical – honest – and triumphant defence of Pope*: to be found at *Specimens*, I 260-71, where Campbell defends Pope against the unsympathetic comments of his editor, the Rev. William Lisle Bowles. This marked the true start of the Pope-Bowles controversy, in which B. was soon to take passionate part with his two 1821 pamphlets *Letter to John Murray Esqre* and *Observations upon Observations* (see CMP 120-83 and 399-491).

²²⁰: *Anstey*: Christopher Anstey, comic poet and country priest, 1724-1805.

²²¹: *Smollett*: Tobias Smollett, comic novelist, 1721-71. Author also of *Roderick Random*, *Peregrine Pickle*, *Ferdinand*, *Count Fathom* and *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, the last in imitation of Cervantes, whom he translated. His influence on *Don Juan* is palpable in outline.

²²²: *Anstey's Bath Guide: The New Bath Guide*, a comic epistolary novel in verse by Christopher Anstey, published in 1766 and often reprinted. It depicts Bath as a whirlpool of bourgeois debauchery. See above, I sts.172-3, proof altercation, for B.'s use of it as a book far more *risqué* than *Don Juan*: also BLJ VI 91, 94, 234, 253 and X 98. Like *Smollett's* works, it influenced the writing of *Don Juan*.

²²³: *Humphry Clinker*, *Smollett's* last novel, published in the year of his death, which occurred in Leghorn (Livorno).

²²⁴: *Tabitha &c. &c.*: characters in *The New Bath Guide*. *Tabitha* is the family maid, *Prudence* the hero's sister. *Tabitha* is finally made pregnant by “a Moravian rabbi;” *Prudence* is seduced by a Methodist preacher called *Roger*. *Tabitha* is also the name of the hysterical methodist spinster *Tabitha Bramble* in *Smollett's Humphry Clinker* – the opening section of which is set in a Bath not entirely dissimilar to that portrayed in the *Guide*.

²²⁵: Campbell makes his accusation at *Specimens*, VII 439. CPW (V 713) agrees with B.: *Humphry Clinker* had been in preparation since 1766, and *Anstey* could not have borrowed anything from it.

2dly. –

Mr. Campbell says in the life of Cowper²²⁶ (Note to page 358. vol 7th) that “he knows not to whom Cowper alludes in these lines”

“Nor he who, for the bane of thousands born
“Built *God a Church* – and laughed his word to Scorn.²²⁷

The Calvinist meant Voltaire – and the Church of Ferney – with it’s inscription “*Deo erexit Voltaire.*”²²⁸ –

3dly.

in the life of Burns²²⁹ – Mr. C. quotes Shakespeare thus: –

“To gild refined Gold – and paint *the Rose*
Or *add fresh perfume to the violet*

This version by no means improves the original which is as follows –

“To gild refined gold – to paint the *lily*
“To *throw a perfume on the violet* – &c.

King John²³⁰

A Great poet quoting another should be correct – he should also be accurate when he accuses a Parnassian brother of that dangerous charge “*borrowing*” – a poet had better borrow any thing (excepting money) than the thoughts of another – they are always sure to be reclaimed; – but it is very hard having been the *lender* to be denounced as the debtor – as is the case of Anstey versus Smollett. – – –

As there is “Honour among thieves” let there be some amongst poets – and give each his due, – None can afford to give it more than M^r. Campbell himself who with a high reputation for originality, and a fame which cannot be shaken, is the only poet of the times (except Rogers)²³¹ who can be reproached – (and *in him* it is indeed a reproach) with having written *too little*. – –

²²⁶: Cowper: William Cowper (1731-1800) depressive Calvinist poet, author of *The Task*, *John Gilpin* and *The Castaway*. At BLJ III 179 and CMP 147 B. describes him as “**no poet**”. See also *Beppo*, 370, rough draft.

²²⁷: BLJ (VII 101n) locates the lines in Cowper’s *Retirement*.

²²⁸: *Voltaire – and the Church of Ferney*: Voltaire had the church at Ferney (on the Franco-Swiss border) built in 1760. The inscription means “Voltaire built it for God”. Campbell does indeed confess his ignorance at *Specimens*, VII 358n.

²²⁹: *in the life of Burns*: see *Specimens*, VII 245. Campbell uses the quotation as a way of saying that Burns’ poems lose by polishing.

²³⁰: Shakespeare, *King John*, IV ii 11-12. See above, III ll.607-8, where B. uses the very same line 11.

²³¹: Samuel Rogers (1763-1855) poet friend of B., although B. wrote a vicious satire on him, *Question and Answer*: CPW IV 165-7. See *Beppo*, 603; above, Dedication, 55; or this canto, 708.