GOTHIC ELEMENTS IN POPE'S

ELOISA TO ABElard

A Thesis

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by

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INTRODUCTION

While doing research on Pope's Eloisa to Abelard, I found several allusions to the "Gothic" quality of the poem. Seven critics have noted this Gothic quality of Eloisa to Abelard, but their comments are scanty and far from edifying. They indicate that Pope's poem is a Gothic romance;¹ that ll. 141-144 and 163-170 contain "Gothic paraphernalia";² that the opening lines, the expression, and the feelings of the poem show "Gothic influences";³ that the opening lines of the poem and its setting show "nuances of [the] Gothic";⁴ that the poem and the landscape surrounding the Paraclete contain Gothic details;⁵ that the poem contains "awe-inspiring Gothic solemnities";⁶ and that Eloisa is surrounded by "Gothick" gloom.⁷ These statements do not define the term "Gothic," they do not indicate the source of Pope's Gothic material, and they do not demonstrate the extent of Pope's use of Gothic elements. In this thesis I shall pursue these few intriguing hints and show the extent of Pope's Gothicism of the material he derived from his only source, John Hughes' translation of the Letters of Abelard and Heloise. In my first chapter I shall present all the known evidence, nowhere existent in any one place, that John Hughes' translation was Pope's only source for his poem. In my second chapter I shall identify the five major components that appear
in all Gothic novels. In my third chapter I shall show the extent of Pope's Gothicization of the Hughes material by demonstrating that all five major Gothic components appear in *Eloisa to Abelard* after Pope had finished with the Hughes translation.
INTRODUCTION

FOOTNOTES


7 Wellington, p. 45.
CHAPTER I

POPE'S ONLY SOURCE FOR ELOISA TO ABELARD

I

The main purpose of this chapter will be to set forth for critical consideration all the known evidence, nowhere existent in any one place, that proposes John Hughes' translation of the Letters of Héloïse and Abelard as Pope's only source for his poem Eloisa to Abelard. This chapter will be divided into two sections: the first, an historical survey of the Héloïse-Abelard love story and the translations of their letters, will present the sources potentially available to Pope for his poem; the second will present external and internal evidence accumulated thus far in scholarly commentary that Hughes' translation was Pope's only source for his Eloisa to Abelard. The material presented in each section is by itself inconclusive, but when the two sections are viewed in their entirety, they prove almost incontestably that Hughes' translation was Pope's only source for Eloisa to Abelard.

I shall first trace the three phases of the history of the Héloïse-Abélard love story and of the translations of their letters. The first phase—from 1079, the date of Abelard's birth, to 1163, the date of Héloïse's death—
involves Heloise and Abelard's passionate love affair and their subsequent separation which resulted in their correspondence. The second phase—1164-1165—was a period of relative indifference to the love story and letters of Heloise and Abelard. The third phase—1166-1171—marks a revival of interest in the Heloise-Abelard love story and letters, culminating in England in Pope's publication of Eloisa to Abelard.

The first phase, then, involves Heloise and Abelard's love affair, their separation, and their correspondence. Heloise was born in France in 1100. Little is known about her early life except that she was educated in the Benedictine convent at Argenteuil, outside Paris, and that she was raised by her uncle, Canon Fulbert, who was a teacher at Notre Dame Cathedrale in Paris. By the time she was sixteen, she was famous throughout France as a brilliant and enthusiastic student.¹ Realizing her intellectual capacities, and hoping to improve his social status, Canon Fulbert decided to continue Heloise's education by employing as her tutor Pierre Abelard, a brilliant and popular theologian who was Professor of Logic and Canon of Notre Dame.²

Pierre Abelard, born Pierre du Pallet in Brittany in 1079, was recognized as one of the progressive theologians of his day, and was referred to as the "Socrates of Gaul."³ At Notre Dame, the "fearless brilliance of his lectures, his flashing wit, the gracefulness and eloquence of his delivery,
and the beauty and nobility of his bearing soon carried his fame the length and breadth of the Christian world." He openly discussed religion, thereby directly contradicting the accepted tenet that "the Christian faith was to be believed, not discussed." In doing so, he antagonized elderly clerics at the same time that he caused youthful thinkers to rally to his support.

Abelard was more than willing to accept the tutorial position in Fulbert's household, because he already "had conceived a violent passion" for the young and brilliant Heloise. Abelard's lustful designs on Heloise were soon carried out, and Heloise and her lover Abelard became the talk of Paris. Canon Fulbert, however, was totally ignorant of the liaison. Eventually word reached Fulbert that his niece was pregnant with Abelard's child, and the outraged uncle tried to force Heloise and Abelard to marry. Heloise, however, was unwilling to risk the repercussions of such a marriage on Abelard's career. Abelard, who by this time had fallen in love with Heloise, sent her away to his sister's home in Brittany. After giving birth to Abelard's son, Astralabius, in 1118, Heloise finally agreed to the plan of a secret marriage, which was then performed. Against her uncle's wishes, Heloise publicly denied the marriage, and Abelard, fearful that Fulbert might harm Heloise, took her away to the Benedictine convent at Argenteuil, where she lived as a nun although she did not take her religious vows.
Heloise and Abelard still continued to see one another, and Fulbert became so enraged that he sent a band of ruffians to Abelard's quarters to castrate him. After suffering this outrage, Abelard insisted that Heloise take her religious vows so that no other man could have her. Abelard was present at Argenteuil in approximately 1119 when Heloise became a Benedictine nun, and shortly thereafter he became a Benedictine monk at the abbey of Saint-Denis in Paris. Heloise, though only nineteen when she took her vows, saw no reason to question her husband's wishes, because it was not uncommon during the Middle Ages for a husband and wife to enter separate monastic orders.

Heloise and Abelard did not see one another again for nearly ten years until they were briefly reunited in 1128, when Abelard offered refuge at the Paraclete to Heloise, who had become prioress of her order, and to her nuns, after they had been evicted from their convent at Argenteuil. Abelard continued to visit the Paraclete in his role as spiritual advisor to Heloise and her nuns, but gossip soon terminated his visits.

Around 1132 their correspondence began when Heloise, either accidentally or intentionally, received the Historia Calamitatum—a letter from Abelard to an unknown friend, in which Abelard describes the events of his life. The correspondence, which continued from 1132 until 1135, consists of eight letters—five by Abelard and three by Heloise. Heloise's
first two letters still retain some of her youthful passion, but her third letter indicates her complete acquiescence in the religious life. Abelard's letters are consistently religious and instructive in content. Thus, the relationship that had begun in passion, ended in intellectualism.

During the remaining years of their lives, their original roles were reversed. Prior to her death in 1163, Heloise had become famous as the pious and learned prioress of the Paraclete. Abelard's remaining years were stormy ones during which his radical writings caused him to be twice condemned as a heretic. By the time of his death in 1142, he was a broken and embittered man. It was not until after his death that Abelard's religious contributions were fully appreciated. Today, it is believed that Abelard "probably did more than any other thinker of his century to promote what the church has long since come to recognize and accept as scholastic philosophy ... and some of the greatest thinkers of the thirteenth century ... owe him a recognizable debt."  

The deaths of Abelard and Heloise mark the end of the first phase in the history of Abelard and Heloise and their letters down to the time of Pope. During the time of their love affair, they had been the subject of local gossip, but by the time Heloise died, the intervening years (1119-1163) had probably dulled the once scandalous story in most people's minds. Even though at the time of Heloise's interment a story arose that as she was laid in the tomb with Abelard
his arms reached out to embrace her, most people were indifferent to or ignorant of their history.

The period following Heloise's death marks the beginning of the second phase—1164-1615. This phase was one of relative indifference to the Heloise-Abelard story and correspondence. Despite the romantic nature of their story, the letters were not published and few references were made to the story of the ill-fated lovers in literature for several centuries. There are few facts available to explain this neglect, but one can theorize why the letters were suppressed and why the story did not at least become a part of folklore.

The religious argumentation of the letters and the popular attitude towards love during this period may explain why the story and the letters did not become popular. The church may have suppressed the letters because of an unwillingness to publicize Abelard's sharp criticism of church doctrine and important church officials. Despite the popularity at that time of other love stories, the Heloise-Abelard story probably did not become a part of the oral tradition and hence part of literature because it was not consistent with the accepted concept of courtly love that was popularized by the troubadours and medieval writers.

Even though the letters were not published, the story of Heloise and Abelard did appear occasionally in the literature produced between 1164 and 1615. Walter Map (alternate
spelling: Walter Mapes), an English poet and theologian who lived in the latter half of the twelfth century, wrote several verses\textsuperscript{20} in which he depicted Heloise's grief and consternation after Abelard left her to take his vows at Saint-Denis.\textsuperscript{21}

It was not until the thirteenth century that the letters were translated into French for the first time by Jean de Meung. His \textit{Roman de la Rose} includes a section\textsuperscript{22} that presents the Heloise-Abelard love story and Heloise's objections to marriage.\textsuperscript{23} These passages led to the assumption, entertained at least to the end of the seventeenth century, that Abelard was the author of the \textit{Roman de la Rose}.\textsuperscript{24}

Jean de Meung brought the story of the lovers to the attention of other writers, and it was probably the Heloise-Abelard section in the \textit{Roman de la Rose} that influenced Chaucer\textsuperscript{25} to include a reference to Helowys,

\begin{quote}
That was abbesse nat fer fro Parys\textsuperscript{26}
\end{quote}
in \textit{The Wife of Bath's Prologue}, written in the fourteenth century. Petrarch, a contemporary of Chaucer, was said to have had a manuscript of the Heloise-Abelard letters complete with his own annotations.\textsuperscript{27}

Approximately one hundred years later, in 1461, François Villon, while near death,\textsuperscript{28} included a verse about Heloise and Abelard in his nostalgic poem \textit{Ballade des Dames du Temps Jadis}.\textsuperscript{29}
But aside from the fact that "in his own day Abelard's mutilation and the happenings leading up to and following it made an immediate sensation that had repercussions far beyond Paris," for approximately four hundred and fifty years thereafter, except for Walter Map, Jean de Meung, Chaucer, Petrarch, and Villon, very few writers took an active interest in the letters and story of Heloise and Abelard. This second phase—a period of neglect—continued until the early part of the seventeenth century, when interest was revived in the Heloise-Abelard story and correspondence.

The year 1616 marks the beginning of the final phase in the history of the Heloise-Abelard story and letters, a phase that culminates in 1717 in the publication of Pope's poem. If during the Middle Ages there was a lack of interest in the love story of Heloise and Abelard, the interest shown in their love letters during the seventeenth century more than made up for four hundred and fifty years of neglect. Because the literary tastes of seventeenth-century France were undergoing rapid changes, the love letters of Heloise and Abelard were looked upon with favor.

In 1616, the first Latin edition of the letters, edited by François d’Amboise with notes by André Duchesne, was published in Paris. This edition, Oeuvres d’Abélard, contained Abelard's works (excluding the Hymns, the Hexameron, and the verses to Astrolabe) and the eight letters constituting the Heloise-Abelard correspondence. This edition of the
letters was not popular because it was expensive, it was printed in Latin, and it dealt with an era with which the majority of the people were not conversant. It was not until the latter part of the century that translations of the letters were to become popular.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, several French writers realized the potential impact of the letters due to a revival of interest in works in the heroic epistle tradition. They translated some of the letters into French and altered the basic nature of the letters by divesting them of many of their argumentative religious passages and by enlivening them with spurious romantic passages. The first real attempt at a French translation of three of the letters, as distinct from allusions to them, was completed in Paris in 1687 by Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy, who "translated, or freely paraphrased, into French prose the first of Eloisa's letters to Abelard, Abelard's reply, and Eloisa's response to Abelard—Letters II, III, and IV of the Latin text." The Bussy-Rabutin translation is especially important because it was very influential right down into the eighteenth century, and it was either the sole or partial basis for many of the publications that appeared after 1687 and before even it was published in 1697.

The Bussy-Rabutin translation bears little resemblance to the original Latin letters. Aside from deleting religious passages and adding spurious romantic ones, Bussy-Rabutin
presents highly inaccurate characterizations of Heloise and Abelard. In the prose of Bussy-Rabutin, the dignified yet spirited Latin Heloise and the embittered and forbidding Latin Abelard are transformed into passionate characters who might have stepped off the pages of a seventeenth-century French romantic novel. The changes were, however inaccurate, highly successful, because the Bussy-Rabutin translation became popular with French readers and it interested other French writers in the Heloise-Abelard love story and letters.

That the Bussy-Rabutin translation had circulated in ms. prior to its publication in 1697 is evidenced by the fact that it served as the basis for at least three more translations published between 1687 and 1697. In 1693 at the Hague, an unidentified author published an expanded French edition of the letters based on the Bussy-Rabutin translation. The Hague author is significant because he included Abelard's first letter in his translation, and he invented the name of Philintus (Philinthe) for Abelard's still unknown friend, to whom the Historia Calamitatum had been addressed.

In 1695, two more translations based on the Bussy-Rabutin version were published. Jacques Alluis published Les Amours d'Abailard et d'Héloïse. Alluis' translation of the love story and of some of the letters, also contained a paraphrase of the Historia Calamitatum, entitled Lettre
d'Abaillard à Philinthe. Alluis' use of the name Philinthe indicates that he was familiar with the Hague/Bussy-Rabutin translation. Also in 1695, the Bussy-Rabutin translation, "revised by Remond des Cours, and extended by an unidentified continuator to include the Historia Calamitatum (Letter I, written by Abelard to his friend Philinthus) and two letters numbered V and VI" was published. Letters V and VI were probably the product of the Hague author and were not based on letters included in the original Latin correspondence. The translation was "preceded by an Histoire des Amours et Infortunes d'Abéard et d'Eloisa by F. N. Dubois [alternate spelling: F. N. Du Bois]. This duodecimo volume, republished in 1697, 1700, 1703, 1705, 1709, and 1711 gave wide popularity to a very seriously distorted Eloisa and Abelard."

Probably because of the translations that were published, Pierre Bayle included details about Heloise and Abelard and their letters in his Dictionnaire Historique et Critique that was published in French in 1696, and translated into English in 1710. In his biographies of Heloise and Abelard, Bayle cites as his sources Jean de Meung, the 1616 Latin edition, the Bussy-Rabutin translation, and various smaller translations and histories.

These French translations soon came to the attention of John Hughes, an English poet and translator, who translated six letters into English. Hughes' translation included Letters I-IV, which were based on the original Latin corre-
spondence, and letters V-VI, which had no relationship to the original correspondence but had been written by the French translators. Hughes' *Letters of Abelard and Heloise* was published in late July, 1713. 50

Although various authorities differ as to Hughes' exact source for his total translation containing six letters, 51 Wellington explicitly details the sources for each letter in the Hughes translation. Of the six letters which are included in the Hughes translation, Wellington attributes the first, fifth, and sixth letters solely to the Hague author, and the second, third, and fourth letters to Bussy-Rabutin as adapted by the Hague author. 52

Unlike his predecessors, Hughes was familiar with the 1616 Latin edition of the letters, 53 because he refers to this publication in the preface to his translation. He was not, however, impressed with the original letters. The letters, he states, which were "extant in a collection of the works of Abelard, printed at Paris in the year 1616, a book consisting chiefly of school divinity, and of the learning of those times, and therefore being rarely to be met with but in public libraries, and in the hands of some learned men, ...are much more known by a translation, first published at the Hague in 1693, and which afterwards received several more complete editions." 54

This three-phase history of the Heloise-Abelard love story and letters ends with the publication of Pope's poem
Eloisa to Abelard in 1717.\textsuperscript{55} In this section of this chapter, the sources potentially available to Pope as the basis for Eloisa to Abelard have been identified. In the second section of this chapter, these potential sources will be examined, and each source, except the Hughes translation, will be eliminated as the basis for Pope's poem. Thereupon the second section will present arguments to identify Hughes' translation of the Letters of Abelard and Heloise as Pope's only source for Eloisa to Abelard.

II

The preceding section of this chapter identified the versions and segments of the Meloisco-Abelard love story and letters that were potentially available to Pope as a basis for Eloisa to Abelard. After assessing each of these sources as a likely one for Pope's poem, this section will present external and internal evidence to suggest with all but absolutely conclusive proof that John Hughes' translation of the Letters of Abelard and Heloise was the only source used by Pope as a basis for his poem. Since Pope never credited his source,\textsuperscript{56} all theories presented to identify it, no matter how conclusive, must be classified as hypothetical. This section of the chapter will be divided as follows. First, all versions of the Meloisco-Abelard love story and of the letters prior to the Hughes translation will be examined and eliminated as possible sources for Eloisa to Abelard. Second,
external evidence indicating Hughes as Pope's only source will be examined; specifically, Pope's relationship with Hughes will be established in order to show that Pope was familiar with Hughes' work, and the probable time period during which *Eloisa to Abelard* was written will be estab-
lished in order to show that Pope's poem was probably com-
posed following the publication of Hughes' translation.
Third, internal evidence identifying Hughes as Pope's only source will be examined; that is, parallel passages in Hughes' translation and in Pope's poem will be compared in order to establish their obvious source relationship.

This section will examine first the potential sources available to Pope: references to the Heloise-Abelard love story and letters in literature prior to 1616, the 1616 pub-
lication of the Latin letters, and the French translations of the letters that were published 1693-1697. The references to the Heloise-Abelard love story and letters in literature prior to 1616, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, were too scanty to provide Pope with the basis for his poem. Even Jean de Meung's lengthy reference to Heloise and Abelard in *Roman de la Rose* (ll. 8891-8964)\(^{57}\) could not have provided Pope with all of the detailed knowledge of the original lovers that is evident in *Eloisa to Abelard*.\(^{58}\)

Another potential source for Pope's poem could have been the 1616 publication in France of the original Latin letters. Most critics state that Pope was not familiar with the 1616
Latin publication. The few facts that they do offer to support their statements and the following inferences drawn from existing evidence make it indeed seem unlikely that the 1616 publication was a possible source. First of all, copies of the 1616 edition of the letters were rare. Second, Pope displayed a concern in his other writings that writers obtain an accurate and complete understanding of all works with which they were dealing. In his Essay on Criticism, Pope advised critics that they must understand the entire work under consideration, its background, and its author's intentions; and that they could not subtract part of the work from the whole without affecting its total meaning. This penchant for truth would make it seem unlikely that, had Pope been familiar with or known of the existence of the 1616 publication, he would have relied on a second-hand, and thus not totally reliable, source, such as the French translations or even the Hughes translation, rather than use the 1616 publication of the original Latin letters. Third, and most incontestably, Pope's portrayal of Eloisa clearly indicates that he had not seen the 1616 edition of the letters. Pope's Eloisa bears a strong resemblance to Hughes' Heloise and not to the original Latin Heloise. If Pope's source had been the 1616 Latin edition, it seems improbable that he would have ignored the character of Heloise as she appeared in the 1616 edition and have based his character on the French/Hughes Heloise. In the Latin letters, Heloise's internal conflict
between her life as a nun and her devotion to Abelard is clearly solved: in her third letter, after an emotional beginning, she states that she acquiesces in the religious life and that she is relying on Abelard to teach her how best to serve God. In Pope's poem, however, Eloisa's struggle continues to the end of the poem: Pope leaves Eloisa still struggling between her religious obligations and her love for Abelard. Although both Heloise and Eloisa are opposed to marriage, their objections stem from different reasons. Heloise's arguments against marriage result from her concern for Abelard's welfare, while Eloisa is opposed to all marriages, which she feels are not natural, but, rather, the result of the dictates of society. Heloise's character is also different from Eloisa's. Heloise is more humble, intelligent, and clear-sighted than Eloisa, while Eloisa is more flirtatious and less penitent about her sexual relationship with Abelard than is Heloise. When coupled with the obviously close relationship between Pope's poem and Hughes' translation that will be demonstrated later in this chapter and in my third chapter, these discrepancies between Pope's poem and the 1616 edition of the letters indicate that Pope had probably never seen the 1616 publication.

Aside from the Hughes translation, the last potential sources available to Pope as the basis for Eloisa to Abelard are the French translations of the Heloise-Abelard letters that were published 1693-1697. It is impossible to state
absolutely that Pope never saw these French translations, but on the basis of the evidence we have, it seems highly unlikely that he ever encountered them. None of Pope's biographers has found any evidence to indicate that Pope was ever in France where the translations had been published and popularized. There is also no evidence to indicate that the French translations were available in England. Indeed, in her preface to *Eloisa to Abelard*, Morten states that "through ... [Pope's poem] alone [was] the tragedy of the unfortunate lovers ... known to the mass of the English public." If Pope had never been in France, and if the French translations were not available in England, Pope very likely was never aware of them. The one source which remains is John Hughes' translation of the love letters.

The next portion of this chapter will examine evidence that contributes powerfully to a case for Hughes' translation as Pope's only source for *Eloisa to Abelard*. Consider first Pope's relationship with Hughes, which is important because it indicates that Pope was probably familiar with Hughes' works, including the translation of the Heloise-Abelard letters. While the exact time
when Pope and Hughes became friends is not known, we do know that both men frequented Button’s coffeehouse, and we gather from the evidence that they may have become acquainted there 1712-1713. The earliest record of their friendship is contained in their correspondence which began in 1714 and continued until Hughes' death in 1720. Inasmuch as their correspondence began in 1714, the year after Hughes' translation was published, it is interesting to speculate whether the correspondence may have been triggered by the fact that Pope was using Hughes' translation as the basis for *Eloisa to Abelard*. No mention is made of Pope's poem or Hughes' translation in their letters, but the correspondence contains references to other works by Pope and Hughes, indicating that they were familiar with each other's works.

Pope's translation of Chaucer's *The Wife of Bath* her Prologue provides external evidence establishing 1714-1717 as the probable time period during which Pope composed *Eloisa to Abelard*. On December 29, 1713, Pope's translation of Chaucer's lines, which include a reference to Heloise, was published in Steele's *Poetical Miscellanies, Consisting of Original Poems and Translations. By the best Hands*. In 1. 361 of Pope's translation, Chaucer's lines are translated as "Eloisa's loves." Pope attributes more than one love to
Heloise, a totally inaccurate premise to anyone familiar with the Heloise-Abelard love story and letters. Yet Pope made this error, which would seem to indicate that as late as December, 1713 he was not yet familiar with the story of Heloise and Abelard and had not yet begun work on his poem.

The next reasons for dating the composition of Pope's poem as 1714-1717 are contained in Pope's correspondence during this period. The first mention in his correspondence of Eloisa to Abelard appears in a March, 1716 letter addressed to Martha Blount, in which Pope says: "The Epistle of Eloisa grows warm, and begins to have some Breathings of the Heart in it, which may make posterity think I was in love. I can scarce find in my heart to leave out the conclusion I once intended for it." This letter would seem to indicate that Martha was familiar with the poem, and that Pope was still working on the poem in March, 1716, because he talks about deleting his former conclusion and, probably, replacing it with a new ending. His reference to the conclusion he had "once" intended for the poem would also seem to indicate that he had been composing the poem for a while, although almost certainly not earlier than December, 1713, when he inaccurately translated Chaucer's reference to Heloise.

The next reference to Eloisa to Abelard in Pope's correspondence which indicates when Pope composed his poem appears in June, 1717, when Pope sent Lady Mary Wortley Montague a collection of books, including the Works of 1717, which con
tained Eloisa to Abelard. Pope writes: "There are few things in them but what you have already seen, except the Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard, in which you will find one passage, that I cannot tell whether to wish you should understand, or not." This letter seems to indicate that some portion of the poem is specifically directed towards Lady Mary. If Pope's poem had been completed (with its passages meant for Lady Mary) prior to Lady Mary's departure from England in late July, 1716, Pope probably would have shown his poem to her then. The fact that Pope is first showing it to her in June, 1717, might mean that in July, 1716, Pope had not completed his poem, and, thus, he was still working on it during 1716-1717.

Far more suppositional than any of the preceding reasons for dating the composition of Pope's poem as 1714-1717, is Pope's mental attitude during this time. At this time, Pope was not well; his father was dying; and Pope was suffering from melancholia. In addition, Pope, by his own admission, was going through a "romantic" period of his life. In November, 1716, he wrote to Lady Mary saying: "The more I examine my own mind, the more romantic I find myself." Pope's correspondence with Lady Mary during this time seems to indicate that Pope was either in love or that he was enjoying playing the role of a lover. The two references to Eloisa to Abelard that appear in Pope's correspondence are in letters addressed to Martha Blount and Lady Mary. It would be impos-
sible to connect positively either one of these women to the composition of the poem, because not enough is known about Pope's relationship with them, but many critics state or speculate that Pope chose to write a poem based on the romantic Heloise-Abelard story in order to fulfill his own romantic fantasies.\textsuperscript{85}

The preceding external evidence--Pope's relationship with Hughes, Pope's ignorance of the Heloise-Abelard love story when he translated Chaucer's lines in 1713, references to \textit{Eloisa to Abelard} in Pope's correspondence, and Pope's mental attitude between 1714 and 1717--would seem strongly to indicate that Pope composed his poem following the publication of Hughes' translation in 1713. This external evidence, while supporting Hughes as Pope's only source, is as yet not conclusive, and leads thus far only to strong probabilities which, however, are still essentially conjecture. The really persuasive, if not conclusive, evidence that Hughes was Pope's only source is contained in Hughes' translation and in Pope's poem.

The final portion of this chapter will examine internal evidence--the similarities existing between Hughes' translation and Pope's poem--that will identify Hughes as Pope's only source for \textit{Eloisa to Abelard}. This internal evidence offers virtually incontestable evidence that Pope used only Hughes' translation as his source. Because it would be impossible in a paper of this length to point out every paral-
The following examples are representative of the close relationship that exists between Hughes' translation and Pope's poem. The examples are cited merely for their content relationship; that is, no attempt will be made at this time to analyze the different ways in which Pope and Hughes approached their work. These examples are taken from the three sections of Eloisa to Abelard: ll. 1-128 dealing with Eloisa's past, i.e. the memories conjured up by the receipt of Abelard's letter; ll. 129-288 dealing with Eloisa's present life, i.e. her life in the convent and her inability to accept her role as a nun; and ll. 289-366 dealing with the future as Eloisa sees it, i.e. the time when she and Abelard will be reunited in death. In each example, the lines in Hughes will be cited first, followed by the lines in Pope which contain the same basic material.

Following the receipt of Abelard's letter, Hughes' Heloise and Pope's Eloisa reminisce about their past lives. After examining their former relationship with Abelard, Heloise and Eloisa offer their negative views on marriage. Heloise disparages marital partners who willingly enter into loveless unions:

Their interested Vows occasion Regret, and Regret produces Hatred. They soon part, or always desire it. This restless and tormenting Passion punishes them for aiming at other Advantages by Love than Love itself. (P. 74.)

Eloisa depicts the fate of all people who do not marry solely for love:
The jealous God, when we profane his fires,
Those restless passions in revenge inspires;
And bids them make mistaken mortals groan,
Who seek in love for ought but love alone.

(II. 81-84.)

Hughes' original phrase "restless and tormenting Passion" is compressed by Pope into the parallel phrase "restless passions." The concluding lines in each example are almost identical. Hughes' line "Advantages by Love than Love itself" becomes in Pope "Who seek in love for ought but love alone."

Abelard's initial letter causes Heloise/Eloisa to agonize over the role she played or might have played in Abelard's castration. Heloise emphasizes her own guilt and that of her uncle, Canon Fulbert:

My Misfortune was to have cruel Relations, whose Malice disturbed the Calm we enjoyed; Had they been capable of the Returns of Reason, I had now been happy in the Enjoyment of my dear Husband. Oh! How cruel were they when their blind Fury urged a Villain to surprise you in your sleep! Where was I? Where was your Heloise then? What joy should I have had in defending my Lover? I would have guarded you from Violence, tho' at the Expense of my life; my Cries and Shrieks alone would have stopped the hand—Oh! whither does the Excess of my Passion hurry me? Here Love is shock'd, and Modesty, join'd with Despair, deprive me of Words: 'Tis Eloquence to be silent, where no Expressions can reach the greatness of the Misfortune. (P. 76.)

Sometimes too I seem to be a Witness of the bloody Enterprise of your Enemies; I oppose their Fury, I fill our Apartment with fearful Cries, and in the moment I awake in Tears. (P. 93.)
The whole Wrath of Heaven fell on us in all its weight. But how barbarous was your Punishment? The very Remembrance makes me shake with Horror. Could an outrageous Husband make a Villain suffer more that had dishonoured his Bed? ... Must a Wife draw on you that Punishment which ought not to fall on any but an Adulterous Lover? ... You alone expiated the Crime common to us both: You only were punished, tho' both of us were guilty. (P. 89.)

Eloisa vividly recreates the castration scene in her own mind:

Alas how chang'd! what sudden horrors rise!
A naked Lover bound and bleeding lies!
Where, where was Eloise? her voice, her hand,
Her ponyard, had oppos'd the dire command.
Barbarian stay! that bloody stroke restrain;
The crime was common, common be the pain.
I can no more; by shame, by rage suppress,
Let tears, and burning blushes speak the rest.

(Il. 99-106.)

While Heloise's reflections are longer than Eloisa's, the basic material remains the same. Certain phrases in Hughes are almost mirrored in Pope. Hughes' "oppose their Fury" becomes in Pope "oppos'd the dire command"; Hughes' "Where was your Heloise then?" becomes Pope's "Where, where was Eloise?"; and Hughes' "You alone expiated the Crime common to us both: You only were punished, tho' both of us were guilty" becomes in Pope "The crime was common, common be the pain."
Following her reflections on the past, Heloise/Eloisa reveals her inner conflict: while spiriually professed as the spouse of God, she still yearns for her earthly husband, Abelard. Heloise laments the deceitful existence that she is leading:

And tho' in this Place I ought not to retain a Wish of my own, yet I have ever secretly preserved the Desire of being beloved by you. (P. 77.)

The unhappy Consequences of a criminal Conduct, and your Disgraces, have put on me this Habit of Chastity, and not the sincere Desire of being truly Penitent. Thus I strive and labour in vain. (Pp. 78-79.)

Even into Holy Places before the Altar I carry with me the Memory of our guilty Loves. They are my whole business; and far from lamenting for having been seduced, I sigh for having lost them. (P. 93.)

Men judge me praise-worthy, but I am guilty before God, from whose All-seeing Eye nothing is hid, and who views thro' all their foldings the Secrets of all Hearts. I cannot escape his Discovery. (P. 94.)

Eloisa is tormented by her inability to live up to her vows as a nun:

Ah wretch! believ'd the spouse of God in vain,
Confess'd within the slave of love and man.
Assist me heav'n! but whence arose that pray'r?
Sprung it from piety, or from despair?
Ev'n here, where frozen chastity retires,
Love finds an altar for forbidden fires.
I ought to grieve, but cannot what I ought;
I mourn the lover, not lament the fault;
I view my crime, but kindle at the view,
Repent old pleasures, and sollicit [sic] new:
Now turn'd to heav'n, I weep my past offence,
Now think of thee, and curse my innocence.

(II. 177-188.)

In the preceding passage, Pope has utilized the basic material found in Hughes, but retained little of the original wording. Hughes' line "Even into Holy Places before the Altar I carry with me the Memory of our guilt Loves" becomes in Pope "Ev'n here, where frozen chastity retires, Love finds an altar for forbidden fires"; and Hughes' lines "far from lamenting for having been seduced, I sigh for having lost them [Memories "of our guilty Loves"] become in Pope

I ought to grieve, but cannot what I ought;
I mourn the lover, not lament the fault;
I view my crime, but kindle at the view,
Repent old pleasures, and sollicit new.

Memories of Abelard even torment Heloise/Eloisa at night, when Abelard comes to her in her dreams. Heloise describes her nightly reunions with Abelard:

During the still Night, when my Heart ought to be quiet in the midst of Sleep, which suspends the greatest Disturbances, I cannot avoid those Illusions my Heart entertains. I think I am still with my dear Abelard. I see him, I speak to him, and hear him answer. Charmed with each other, we quit our Philosophic Studies to entertain our selves with our Passions. (P. 93.)

After having pass'd the Day in thinking of you, full of the dear Idea, I give my self up at
Night to sleep; Then it is that Heloise, who
dares not without trembling think of you by
Day, resigns her self entirely to the Pleas-
ure of hearing you, and speaking to you. I
see you, Abelard, and glut my Eyes with the
sight; sometimes you entertain me with the
Story of your secret Troubles and Grievances,
and create in me a sensible Sorrow; sometimes
forgetting the perpetual Obstacles to our De-
sires, you press me to make you happy, and I
easily yield to your transports. Sleep gives
you what your Enemies Rage has deprived you
of; and our Souls, animated with the same
Passion, are sensible of the same Pleasure.
But oh you delightful Illusions, soft Errors,
how soon do you vanish away? At my awaking
I open my Eyes and see no Abelard; I stretch
out my Arm to take hold of him, but he is not
there; I call him, he hears me not. (P. 105.)

Eloisa curses yet welcomes Abelard's phantom:

Far other dreams my erring soul employ,
Far other raptures, of unholy joy:
When at the close of each sad, sorrowing day,
Fancy restores what vengeance snatch'd away,
Then conscience sleeps, and leaving nature free,
All my loose soul unbounded springs to thee.
O curst, dear horrors of all-conscious night!
How glowing guilt exalts the keen delight!
Provoking Daemons all restraint remove,
And stir within me ev'ry source of love.
I hear thee, view thee, gaze o'er all thy charms,
And round thy phantom glue my clasping arms.
I wake—no more I hear, no more I view,
The phantom flies me, as unkind as you.
I call aloud; it hears not what I say;
I stretch my empty arms; it glides away;
To dream once more I close my willing eyes;
Ye soft illusions, dear deceits, arise!

(Ll. 223-240.)

In these examples, much of Hughes' original wording is retained by Pope. Hughes' lines "I see him, I speak to him, and hear him answer" become in Pope "I hear thee, view thee, gaze o'er all thy charms." And Hughes' lines "At my awaking I open my Eyes and see no Abelard; I stretch out my Arm to take hold of him, but he is not there; I call him, he hears me not" are condensed in Pope into "I wake--no more I view ... I call aloud; it [Abelard's phantom] hears not what I say:/I stretch my empty arms; it glides away.

Heloise/Eloisa looks forward to her death in which she sees the only solution to her inner conflict between her life as a nun and her devotion to Abelard. Heloise/Eloisa expects Abelard to perform the last rites for her. Heloise asserts that it is Abelard's duty to sanctify her death and funeral:

Is it not your part to prepare me by your powerful Exhortations against that great Crisis, which shakes the most resolute and confirmed Minds? Is it not your part to receive my last Sighs, take care of my Funerals, and give an Account of my Manners and Faith? Who but you can recommend us worthily to God, and by the Fervour and Merit of your Prayers, conduct those Souls to him which you have joined to his Worship by solemn Contracts? We expect these pious Offices from your Paternal Charity. (P. 86.)

Eloisa envisions Abelard as both lover and priest as he witnesses her death:
I come, I come! prepare your roseate bow'rs,
Celestial palms, and ever-blooming flow'rs.
Thither, where sinners may have rest, I go,
Where flames refin'd in breasts seraphic glow.
Thou, Abelard! the last sad office pay,
And smooth my passage to the realms of day:
See my lips tremble, and my eye-balls roll,
Suck my last breath, and catch my flying soul!
Ah no—in sacred vestments may'st thou stand,
The hallow'd taper trembling in thy hand,
Present the Cross before my lifted eye,
Teach me at once, and learn of me to die.

(Ll. 317-323.)

Hughes' line "receive my last Sighs" becomes in Pope "Suck my last breath." Indeed, the entire passage from Hughes is summed up by Pope's one line: "Thou, Abelard! the last sad office pay."

Heloise/Eloisa sees in death a reunion with Abelard—she and Abelard will be buried in the same grave, and their spirits will be reunited in heaven. Heloise professes her undying love for and obedience to Abelard:

Death only then can make me leave the Place where you have fixed me; and then too my ashes shall rest here, and wait for yours, in order to shew my Obedience to the latest Moment possible. (P. 78.)

Heaven, as severe as it has been against me, is not in so great a degree so, as to permit me to live one moment after you. Life, without my
Abelard, is an unsupportable Punishment, and Death a most exquisite Happiness, if by that means I can be united with him. (F. 86.)

Eloisa looks forward to the time when earthly problems will vanish and she and Abelard can be together throughout eternity:

Death, only death, can break the lasting chain;
And here ev'n then, shall my cold dust remain,
Here all its frailties, all its flames resign,
And wait, till 'tis no sin to mix with thine.

(LL. 173-176.)

May one kind grave unite each hapless name,
And graft my love immortal on thy fame.

(LL. 343-344.)

Hughes' line "Death only then can make me leave the Place where you have fixed me" becomes in Pope "Death, only death, can break the lasting chain"; and Hughes' line "and then too my Ashes shall rest here, and wait for yours" becomes in Pope "And here ev'n then, shall my cold dust remain,/ ... And wait, till 'tis no sin to mix with thine."

These examples clearly indicate Pope's debt to Hughes as the only source for Eloisa to Abelard. Although Pope will often expand, compress, add to, or omit some of Hughes' lines, the basic material contained in the two works is the same. The external evidence presented at the beginning of this section is inconclusive when taken by itself, but when it is coupled with the internal evidence of the line by line
comparisons given in the latter portion of this chapter, it becomes all but absolutely conclusive that Hughes' translation was Pope's only source for *Eloisa to Abelard*.

As was stated previously, most critics will agree that Hughes was Pope's only source for *Eloisa to Abelard*, but few provide any support for this statement, or they provide only scanty evidence to support their theory. This chapter has compiled all known data on the relationship between the two works under consideration in an effort to provide a virtually conclusive argument that Hughes was Pope's only source. All that is essentially lacking is Pope's explicit acknowledgement of Hughes' translation as the source for *Eloisa to Abelard*.

Emphasis has been placed on the relationship between Pope's poem and Hughes' translation because this thesis will attempt to show how Pope altered the basic material that he derived from Hughes. Specifically, I shall show that Pope added Gothic elements to the Hughes material. Before we examine Pope's poem for Gothic elements, however, it is necessary to understand the Gothic novel. Thus, the next chapter will identify the major components of the Gothic novel.
CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES

1 James Ellis Wellington, ed. Eloisa to Abelard, by Alexander Pope (Coral Gables, Florida, 1965), p. 5--hereafter cited as Wellington. Wellington's summary of the early lives of Heloise and Abelard will be cited throughout this paper because of all sources consulted Wellington provides the most detailed and accurate information.


3 Wellington, p. 5.

4 Wellington, p. 3.

5 Wellington, p. 4.

6 Wellington, p. 5.

7 The only facts known about Astralabius (alternate spelling: Astrolabe), the only offspring of Heloise and Abelard, are that he grew up and took holy orders. (Wellington, p. 7, n. 12.)

8 Wellington, p. 8.

9 Wellington, p. 9.


11 Wellington, p. 10.

12 From 1122-1125, Abelard, because of his non-conformist religious attitudes, was forced to become an outcast. He made his retreat in the wilderness, where his followers erected an oratory which Abelard dedicated to the Paraclete--the Holy Ghost. (Wellington, pp. 10-12.)
"Courtly love" is a nineteenth-century term used in reference to the concept of love during the Middle Ages. According to the courtly love tradition, the woman is idolized and unattainable, and a love affair (love freely given) is preferable to marriage (in which love cannot exist). Heloise and Abelard are not "courtly lovers" because Heloise is not distant and unattainable, and because Heloise and Abelard negate their love by marrying. (W. T. H. Jackson, The Literature of the Middle Ages [New York, 1960], pp. 94, 96-98, 240.)


Walter Map (Mapes), probably writing under the name of Golias, included four lines (ll. 213-216) in "Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi" concerning Heloise and Abelard. (Walter Mapes, The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes, ed. Thomas Wright [London, 1841], p. 29.)

Hamilton, pp. 59-60.


Hamilton, p. 194.

Pierre Bayle (Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, [Paris, 1820], I, 58 and 58n - 59n--hereafter cited as Bayle) mentions briefly that Abelard was at one time considered to be the author of the Roman de la Rose. Bayle claims that this theory was disproved by the Hague author (see p.13 of my text), who based his conclusions on a careful reading of all of Abelard's manuscripts. There is only one other
reference to the question of Abelard's authorship of the Roman. Hamilton (p. 195) claims that "at one time the Roman de La Rose was attributed to Abelard--on the grounds of the eulogy contained in it of Heloise." I have been unable to find any other critical commentary concerning Abelard's authorship of the Roman, when the theory was first entertained, or when it was finally disproved. I am therefore unable to make any meaningful observations about Abelard's authorship of the work, except that he is no longer considered to be a possible author of the Roman.


28Hamilton, p. 196.


30Hamilton, p. 196.

31During the first half of the seventeenth century, French writers favored highly romanticized love poems, usually based on stories from the past. These poems were "romantic" in the sense that they were based on old romances. During the second half of the century, two types of literature were popular: correspondence and the psychological novel (which emphasized inner conflicts and their solutions). The Heloise-Abelard story and letters (which involved a romantic story from the past, were a collection of letters, and concerned internal conflicts) would have complied with all of the literary trends popular in seventeenth-century France. (Charles R. Bagley, An Introduction to French Literature of the Seventeenth Century [New York, 1937], pp. 55, 57; Raymond Picard, Two Centuries of French Literature, trans. John Cairncross [London, 1976], pp. 35-36, 110-111, 113-114; Antoine Adam, French Literature and Society: 1600-1715, trans. Herbert Tint [London, 1972], pp. 20, 70, 142-143, 254, 256.

32Hamilton, p. 199.

33It should be noted that the only two editions of the letters published prior to Pope's poem that contained all
eight letters were the original Latin correspondence and the
1616 Latin edition of the letters. All other editions of
the letters contained only some portion of the first four
letters of the original correspondence. The original letters
V-VIII were never included in the French or English transla-
tions published before and including 1717.

34 Probably resulting from translations of Ovid's Epistles
that had appeared throughout the seventeenth century, in 1669
the Letters of a Portugese Nun (Lettres Portugaises) were
published and then, in 1678, translated into English by Sir
Roger L'Estrange as Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier.
The letters and translations gave rise to many additions and
replies. In 1680, a translation of Ovid's Heroides by Dryden
and others also increased interest in the heroic epistle.
(Robert Kilburn Root, The Poetical Career of Alexander Pope
[Princeton, 1933], pp. 97-98, 235n.--hereafter cited as Root;
Geoffrey Tillotson, ed., The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems
[New York, 1942], pp. 275, n. 2, and pp. 276-277 [Vol. II of
The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, ed.
John Sutt] --hereafter cited as Tillotson, Twickenham Edi-
tion.)

35 Root, pp. 94-95.

36 The translation by Roger de Rabutin will henceforth be
referred to as the Bussy-Rabutin translation.


38 The translation appeared in the first edition of Bussy-
Rabutin's correspondence, Les Lettres de Messire Roger de
Rabutin, Comte de Bussy. (Robert F. Kalmey, "Pope's Eloisa
to Abelard and 'Those Celebrated Letters,'" P3, XLVII [1968],
164-78 --hereafter cited as Kalmey.)


40 Wellington, pp. 20-21.

41 Both Wellington (pp. 20-21) and Tillotson (Twickenham
Edition, p. 279) accept the Bussy-Rabutin translation as the
basis for the Hague publication.

42 Wellington, pp. 21-22.

43 Hamilton, p. 199.
Root, pp. 94-95. Kalmey (p. 168) refers to another collection by Dubois (the exact publication date is unknown, but the fifth edition was published at The Hague in 1711) entitled Histoire des amours et infortunes d'Abelard et d'Elodie, avec la traduction des lettres, but information from other sources would seem to indicate that this publication is an expanded later edition of the 1695 Bussy-Rabutin/Remond des Cours publication. Kalmey cites Dubois' sources as the Bussy-Rabutin translation, the 1693 Hague edition, and Bayle's Dictionary.

Gustave Lançon, Manuel Bibliographique de la Littérature Française Moderne XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles (Paris, 1913), p. 5, entry 33.

Kalmey, p. 168.

Bayle, I, 58 and VII, 559.

Hughes was recognized as a knowledgeable translator of the classics and of French works. (Marjorie Nicolson and G. S. Rousseau, "The Long Disease, My Life" Alexander Pope and the Sciences (Princeton, New Jersey, 1968), pp. 151-152--hereafter cited as Nicolson and Rousseau.)


Wellington, pp. 21-22.
Nicolson and Rousseau, pp. 107-108.


Tillotson, Twickenham Edition, p. 294. (Notes on the Text.) Through a regrettable but irreparable oversight, I did not consult D. W. Robertson's book *Abelard and Heloise* (New York, 1972) until after I had completed my research. While I have been unable to incorporate his findings into my paper, I shall cite a few points of interest concerning his book. Robertson provides a very detailed description of the French translations and their authors. He also gives a fascinating in-depth portrait of Heloise and Abelard. Robertson provides a very detailed survey of the history of the Heloise-Abelard story and letters, but he gives no indication of his sources. He dates Alluis' translation as 1675, while all sources I have consulted give 1695. Such a discrepancy is hard to understand. He states that the Heloise-Abelard correspondence includes more than the eight letters accepted by other critics and translators as comprising the total correspondence. Robertson does not mention Walter Man's reference to Heloise, the editors or contents of the 1616 Latin edition, or Hughes' familiarity with the 1616 Latin edition of the letters.

In order definitely to establish Pope's source, more evidence would be needed than just Pope's statement as to his source. Pope's exact source could be identified if, for example, (1) Pope had clearly credited his source; if (2) Hughes had indicated that Pope was using his translation; and if (3) contemporaries of Pope had accounted for the similarities between Pope's poem and Hughes' translation as the result of Pope's use of Hughes' translation. But no such evidence is available. (See The Works of Alexander Pope, ed. Whitwell Elwin and William John Courthope [London, 1886], IX—hereafter cited as Elwin and Courthope: The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. George Sherburn [Oxford, 1956]—hereafter cited as Sherburn: Correspondence; Sidney Lee in DNB s.v. "Hughes, John"; and Tillotson, Twickenham Edition, pp. 279-230.)

Wellington, p. 22n.

The lines (8798-8861) in *Roman de la Rose* which refer to the Heloise-Abelard love story are concerned solely with Heloise's views on marriage. Pope may have utilized Jean de Meung's lines as a basis for ll. 73-93 (Eloisa's views on
marriage) of Eloisa to Abelard, but a careful examination of
the Hughes translation (in Wellington, p. 70 and especially
pp. 73-74) seems to indicate Hughes' translation as the di-
rect source for Pope's lines.

59 Tillotson, Twickenham Edition, p. 280; Root, pp. 95-
96; Wellington, pp. 35, 41; Hamilton, p. 200; John A. Jones,

60 Hamilton, p. 200.

61 See: William K. Wimsatt, Jr., ed. Selected Poetry and
Prose, by Alexander Pope (New York, 1965), pp. xxiv-xxviii--
hereafter cited as Wimsatt; Alexander Pope, "An Essay on
Criticism," especially I, 88-200, and II, 233-266; and

Know well each ANCIENT'S proper character;
His Fable, Subject, scope in every page;
Religion, Country, genius of his Age;
Without all these at once before your eyes,
Cavil you may, but never criticize. (I, 118-123.)

A perfect Judge will read each work of Wit
With the same spirit that its author writ;
Survey the WHOLE, nor seek slight faults to find.

(II, 233-235.)

In Wit, as Nature, what affects our hearts
Is not th' exactness of peculiar parts;
'Tis not a lip, or eye, we beauty call,
But the joint force and full result of all.

(II, 243-246.)

62 Wellington, p. 59.


64 Hamilton, p. 201; Wellington, p. 60.

65 The manuscripts of the original Latin letters of Heloise
and Abelard have not been included as a possible source for
Pope's poem for several reasons. First, copies of the manu-
scripts were rare. There are nine copies of the manuscript
extant today, which means that there were at least nine copies
available to Pope (Wellington, p. 20). Second, since Pope's
contemporaries do not mention the original manuscripts, and
since Pope does not mention the original manuscripts, Pope
probably did not use them. Third, the 1616 publication of the letters was a copy of the original Latin manuscripts (Hamilton, p. 199), and if Pope's poem differs from the 1616 publication, it would also differ from the original Latin manuscript; thus the original Latin manuscripts are eliminated as Pope's possible source.

The 1718 Latin edition of the Heloise-Abelard letters has also been omitted as a possible source for Pope's poem because there is no evidence that Pope saw this edition prior to its publication (Kalmey, p. 167n., and Wellington, p. 23). The discrepancies that exist between the other Latin versions of the letters (the original Latin manuscripts and the 1616 Latin edition) and Pope's poem also eliminate the 1718 edition as a possible source.


67 I have been unable to find any indications of the availability in England of the French translations.

68 Morten, p. 96. (Italics mine.)

[69 Revisions have eliminated this footnote.]

70 Addison "set up Daniel Button, a former servant, as keeper of a coffee-house ... [and it] became the resort of Whig literary men or 'party writers', with Addison as presiding genius of the place." (Sherburn, Early Career, p. 115.)

71 Ault, p. 357.


73 Sherburn, Correspondence, I, 316; II, 28-29; III, 454.

"Helyowys:/That was abbesse nat fer fro Parys." (Chaucer, Works, p. 32, 11. 677-678.)


The date of March, 1716 is uncertain. Sherburn (The Best of Pope, [New York, 1929, 1940], p. 404) dates the letter as "about Easter time, 1716," and explains elsewhere (Sherburn, Correspondence, I, 338, n. 3) that while the date of March, 1716 "is mere guess work[,] [i]t seems probable that Pope is writing from Binfield in Holy Week (Easter came on 1 Apr. 1716)." Elwin and Courthope also accept the year 1716, and theorize that the letter was "probably" written before Passion week and Easter of 1716. Their dating is based on Pope's conclusion to the letter addressed to Martha Blount in which he wishes her "all possible success in your devotions this week, and your masquerade the next." (Elwin and Courthope, IX, 264, and 264, n. 2.)

Tillotson theorizes that the letter was written during Holy Week, 1717. He bases this date on Pope's reference to the "conclusion" he "once intended" for his poem. Tillotson thinks that Pope was changing the conclusion of Eloisa to Abelard once intended to refer to Martha to one favoring Lady Mary. Tillotson thinks Pope would only have altered his conclusion to one which refers to long years of absence following Lady Mary's departure for Turkey in July, 1716. He also thinks Pope would only write to Martha about the changes in the poem just prior to its publication to prepare her for the changes that would soon be made public. (Tillotson, Twickenham Edition, pp. 291-292.)

Part of the problem involved with the dating of this letter may result from the English calendar which, from the thirteenth century until 1751, started the year on March 25. If Pope were writing in March (as claimed by Elwin and Courthope and by Sherburn), the date of March, 1716, in terms of the perpetual calendar, could refer to the end of 1715, the beginning of 1716, the end of 1716, or the beginning of 1717. (See Sir Paul Harvey, ed., The Oxford Companion to English Literature, 3rd. ed. [London, 1946], Appendix IV, "Perpetual Calendar").

I think the dates given the letter by Tillotson, Elwin and Courthope, and Sherburn can all be reconciled if we move Pope's letter into late March of 1716 (sometime between March 19 and March 24, 1716). If we do this, Pope's reference to Martha's "devotions" could refer to Lady Day which would fall on Monday March 25, 1717, and the "masquerade" could refer to a party to be held sometime in early April, 1717. The date of March 19-24, 1716 would agree with the basic date of March, 1716 advanced by Elwin and Courthope and by Sherburn, and it
would also agree with Tillotson's theory that Pope wrote his letter after Lady Mary's departure for Turkey in July, 1716, and just prior to the poem's publication in June, 1717.

It should be noted that if the date of the letter was 1715, 1716, or 1717, my basic point that Pope was composing his poem 1714-1717 remains unaltered.

73 Sherburn, Correspondence, I, 338.


80 Elwin and Courthope, IX, 383.


83 Elwin and Courthope, IX, 360.

84 See: Elwin and Courthope, IX.


86 Exhaustive comparisons between Pope's poem and Hughes' translation support the conclusion that Pope derived all of his material concerning the Heloise-Abelard story and their letters from the Hughes translation.

87 Pettit, pp. 302-304.
88 Citations from Hughes in my text are from Wellington, pp. 65-106.

89 Citations from Pope in my text are from Twickenham Edition, pp. 298-327.


91 See footnote #55 above.
CHAPTER II

THE FIVE MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THE GOTHIC NOVEL

The main purpose of this chapter is to identify the major components of the Gothic novel in order to show in the next chapter that each component appears in Pope's poem after he had finished with Hughes' translation, his only source for *Eloisa to Abelard*. My conception of the components of the Gothic novel is based on a close reading of six novels which I consider to be representative and typical of all Gothic novels.¹ The components of the Gothic novel are multiple themes, one-dimensional characters, supernatural phenomena, atmosphere involving some aspect of terror, and complex setting. These components appear in all Gothic novels. In this chapter, I shall describe each major component of the Gothic novel, identify its literary sources, and show how it was used by the Gothic novelists.

One major component of the Gothic novel was the interplay of multiple themes such as human conflicts, the past, religion, philosophical problems, love, and concealments and discoveries. The theme concerned with human conflicts (Walpole) dealt with the internal struggle between good and evil for mastery in life and with the conflict between religious vows and human passions (Lewis, Maturin). Other conflicts,
which were inspired by the discordant images produced by Gothic architecture, included the struggle between human emotions (all); between triumphs and villainy (all); between the virtues of a simple life and the evils of a life of grandeur (all); and between the radically opposite images of fire and ice, life and desolation, and heat and frost (Shelley).  

Another Gothic theme was an interest in the past, the motif of the ruin, which had been used by the Graveyard Poets.  This theme involved an emphasis on moving and exciting adventures (Reeve, Shelley, Maturin) that had been used by Abbé Prévost. These adventures were often precipitated by a dispute over a family inheritance, usually involving family hatreds and the murder of a family member (Walpole, Reeve, Maturin), a theme that was hinted at in Shakespeare. Other Gothic themes associated with the past were those of the feast (Walpole) and the quest (Reeve, Shelley) that were found in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, and the use of knights (Walpole, Reeve) and duels (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe, Maturin) to settle questions of family honor.  

Another basic theme was religion. The Gothic novels exhibited a depth of religious feeling which was often mixed with fear and awe, and, while they were never based on an anti-religious theme, they tried to show that when religion is abused, it can become horrible (Lewis, Maturin). Rather than deal with essential religious matters, the novels emphasized
the outer appearances of religion, such as monastic dwellings, their inhabitants, and their furnishings that were already associated in the English mind with ruins and the Middle Ages (Walpole). To indicate feelings of religious apprehension in their characters, the Gothic novelists used the Inquisition (Lewis, Maturin) and the plight of the suffering person who rebels at unwillingly joining a monastic order and at being cut off from life (Lewis, Maturin).

Another major theme involved philosophical problems used to awaken moral horror in the reader (Maturin). Sources for such themes were Elizabethan romances and drama in which emphasis was placed on morbid thoughts of death; eighteenth-century interest in questions of life, death, and immortality; and the Graveyard Poets, who had been concerned with the fleetingness of life and the mystery of the future. This particular kind of Gothic theme was concerned with the effects on life of scientific speculation (Shelley), the solitude of man who turns his back on society to study the forbidden secrets of nature (Shelley), the effects on man when he attempts to discover the secrets of life after death (Maturin), and the consequences of tampering with the natural order of life (Shelley).

Another Gothic theme was love and the struggles of passion (Lewis, Maturin). Prévost provided the theme of the rebellious assertion of the rights of love over the tyranny of social convention (Lewis, Maturin), and Naubert's book
Hermann of Unna, provided the themes of the separated lovers (all) and of the heroine imprisoned in a convent with secret dungeons, punished for her sinful love (Lewis). Two love-related themes were those of incest (Walpole, Lewis, Maturin), and eroticism (Lewis, Maturin) that were used to evoke terror.

Another Gothic theme concerned concealments and discoveries. Old recovered manuscripts (Walpole, Radcliffe, Maturin), mysterious, secret letters (Radcliffe, Lewis), and lost wills (Smith) were used to reveal old secrets (Radcliffe, Maturin), were found in secret places (Radcliffe), were associated with past sorrows and happiness (Radcliffe, Maturin), and were often the basis for the whole novel (Reeve, Shelley, Maturin).

A second major component of the Gothic novel was one-dimensional characters. In the Gothic novel, character delineation was subordinated to the manufacture of incidents, the setting, and the plot; and sole emphasis was placed on the portrayal of the emotional and mental states of the characters (Radcliffe, Lewis, Shelley, Maturin). The novelists were interested in the psychological effects of fear and terror on characters and their motivations (Radcliffe, Dacre, Maturin), a technique derived from Richardson and the drama. The Gothic novelists became concerned with human suffering (Lewis, Dacre, Shelley, Maturin), revealing human nature by portraying the reactions of their characters to terrors and
enchantedments (Lewis), and studying morbid psychological effects on their characters (Maturin). Shakespeare's plays and Elizabethan romances and drama were sources for the Gothic characters who lacked individuality, represented classes or types, and epitomized good or evil (all).

The favorite class of character used by the Gothic novelists was the churchman/woman who was remote and unfamiliar to the English reader and who was associated with the ages of chivalry as discussed in Murd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*. The first Gothic churchpeople were presented as helpful protectors (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe); then they were presented as the victims of corrupt religion, such as nuns who were tortured in a convent (Lewis); and as the novel finally developed, the churchpeople were endowed with evil characteristics. Medieval literature had provided material concerning the vices and depravity of monks and priests (Lewis, Maturin), and Prévost provided material concerning ominous priests. Various evil churchpeople who appeared in the Gothic novel included cruel abbots and abbesses (Lewis), friars, and nuns who retired to a convent after a life of crime (Radcliffe). The criminal romantic monk, who was thought to embody all of the evils of the Catholic Church (Radcliffe, *The Italian*; Walpole, *The Mysterious Mother*), developed into a major character who represented the conflict between religious vows and human passions (Lewis), and whose depravity could lead him to commit murder (Lewis, Maturin).
The three main stock Gothic characters were the hero, the heroine, and the tyrant/villain. The melodramatic Gothic hero was foreshadowed by characters found in medieval ballads, by Shakespeare's melancholy Hamlet, and by Prévost's heroes. The Gothic hero was often surrounded with a sense of mystery about his birth (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe, Lewis), was handsome, noble, and lonely (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe, Shelley, Maturin), and was either totally uncorrupted (Walpole, Reeve, Lewis, Maturin), or had momentary lapses of virtue (Radcliffe), or experienced a complete fall from grace by the end of the novel (Shelley). A sub-type of this character was the hero/villain who was torn by the conflict between his basic virtues and the overpowering nature of evil that brought about his eventual destruction which might have been prevented (Lewis, Maturin).

The suffering Gothic heroine who evoked sympathy in the reader had sources in Richardson's Pamela and Clarissa. She was portrayed as epitomizing beauty and innocence (all); was opposed to all early marriages (Radcliffe); was constantly persecuted, either by being forced to renounce her true love and marry someone else (Walpole, Radcliffe, Maturin), or by undergoing physical torture, usually in a convent prison (Lewis, Maturin); and was constantly victimized by evil men who had some power over her (Walpole, Radcliffe, Lewis).

The Gothic tyrant/villain, who resembled Richardson's
Lovelace,\textsuperscript{41} loved power and money (Walpole, Radcliffe), had uncontrollable passions (Walpole, Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin), and possessed a few redeeming virtues that prevented him from being a totally despised character (Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin).\textsuperscript{42} A sub-type of this character was the interfering father (Maturin) or uncle (Walpole, Radcliffe) who tried to force the heroine into a loathsome marriage.\textsuperscript{43}

Aside from these major characters, Gothic novelists also used minor characters such as the talkative servant (Walpole, Radcliffe) derived from Shakespeare. This character might be an old family retainer capable of revealing family secrets (Reeve) who was fiercely loyal and helped the hero or heroine in times of trouble (Reeve, Radcliffe, Lewis).\textsuperscript{44} Other minor characters included scoundrels (Smith), robbers (Radcliffe), bandits (Lewis), superhuman supermen (Radcliffe, Shelley),\textsuperscript{45} and the Wandering Jew (Lewis).\textsuperscript{46}

A third major component of the Gothic novel consisted of mysterious supernatural phenomena. The primary supernatural agent was the ghost (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin), who represented immortality and something old. The ghost was used to stir the emotions of pity and fear, to create an atmosphere of terror, and to renew an interest in religion by recalling to the reader that man's religion had arisen out of a horror of the divine.\textsuperscript{47} The earliest sources for supernatural phenomena in material that was part of the oral tradition and of literature written prior to 1500
included the Greek dramatists Euripides and Seneca, who introduced the ghost to literature, and the Bible, in which the ghost appeared as the Witch of Endor. Other sources, such as legends (including Arthurian), ghost stories, folktales, the supernatural side of the ballad, the epic, and the traditional lore of heathen Europe with its mythology and superstition, provided thrilling and alarming supernatural effects utilized and given new prominence by Gothic authors. Supernatural elements were also derived from foreign literature, such as the fairy tales of Perrault and D'Aulnoy, French classical drama, Prévost, and other French literature. Oriental tales provided supernatural elements that were associated with poetic justice and that were not designed to cause fear; they taught the Gothic novelists how to apply the marvelous and magic. The primary source for supernatural elements in English literature written after 1500 was Shakespeare, who made frequent use of ghosts, evil spirits, and witches, and whose depiction of magic was the basis for many Gothic supernatural elements. The use of ghosts and supernatural elements was also popularized by Elizabethan romances and drama; Spencer's Faerie Queene; Smollet's Ferdinand Count Fathom; Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, which included a ghost of a betrayed lover or wronged one that appeared in the Gothic novel; the Graveyard Poets; and the belief in England during the eighteenth century in witches, spirits, ghosts, and other supernatural phenomena.
When supernatural phenomena first appeared in the Gothic novel, they took the form of ghosts and alarming apparitions such as giants, large helmets, and giant hands (Walpole) the acceptance of which was basic to the impact of the novel. The supernatural phenomena were connected with retributive justice and were combined with elements of historical romance. The ghosts represented murder victims who returned to haunt their murderers or their descendants (Walpole), or who brought messages from beyond the grave about past crimes and hidden identities (Reeve). As the novel progressed, the methods of treating supernatural phenomena varied. Some authors never indicated whether or not their characters believed in the supernatural elements (Reeve), while other authors explained their supernatural spectacles at the end of their novels as the consequences of natural causes, a technique foreshadowed by Prévost, and used them suggestively to create a sense of superstitious dread (Radcliffe). Finally, the novelists returned to the use of supernatural elements which were believed in and feared throughout the novel, and which received new emphasis as agents of horror (Lewis, Maturin). The Bleeding Nun and the Devil appeared (Lewis), as did people who had returned from the grave to seek the destruction of others (Maturin) or to provide ominous messages to the living (Lewis).

Other Gothic supernatural phenomena included the weeping/animated/bleeding statues and pictures found in the
legends of Don Juan and Pygmalion and in Shakespeare's Winter's Tale (Walpole, Radcliffe); praying, cowled skeletons (Walpole); portentous dreams derived from Prévost and the eighteenth-century interest in dreams that revealed past crimes (Walpole, Reeve) or gave warnings (Lewis, Maturin); animated corpses (Lewis, Dacre, Maturin); animated suits of armor (Walpole, Reeve); suspended animation (Lewis); mysterious voices (Lewis); and black magic used to conjure up the Devil (Maturin).

A fourth major component of the Gothic novel was an atmosphere involving some aspect of terror. I define atmosphere as the prevailing tone, mood, or emotional aura of a work that establishes the reader's expectations and attitudes. The primary mood created by the Gothic authors involved some aspect of terror which also involved horror and fear.

The atmosphere of terror (all), which was derived from Prévost, was originally thought to be superior to horror (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe) and might be combined with ruins and legends (Reeve) or with beauty (Lewis, Dacre, Maturin), might involve the supernatural (Lewis, Dacre, Maturin), and might be used to suggest the unknown (Radcliffe). The atmosphere of terror was created by the exploitation of science and pseudo-science (Shelley); by the implication rather than the actual description of what might happen (Radcliffe); by the use of wildness involving savageness and barbarity.
(Walpole); by the combination of the strange and the natural which made the whole work more probable and the terror, by contrast, more frightening (Walpole, Reeve, Lewis, Maturin); and by the use of suggestive settings of terror (Lewis).

The atmosphere of terror was also produced through the use of sensational material designed to shock, startle, excite, or thrill the reader. Sources for sensational material included medieval literature, Elizabethan romances and drama, and continental romances. The Gothic sensational story elements included spectacles (Walpole); the marvelous (Reeve); the use of hideous, intense, distorted scenes of lurid crime and violence (Lewis, Shelley, Maturin); emphasis on the sadistic and masochistic (Lewis); descriptions of sexual ecstasy (Lewis); and scenes of terrible and sinister import (Walpole).

The atmosphere might also suggest, rather than directly portray, terror. An atmosphere that suggested terror was also found in the works of Shakespeare, Prévost, Milton, the Graveyard Poets, and Richardson, and in Smollet's Ferdinand Count Fathom. Terror was suggested through the use of a mysterious mood (Walpole, Smith, Reeve) and suspense in which the reader was supposed to read more into the situation than was really there (Radcliffe) and which was created through the use of sinister events (Walpole) often combined with beauty (Lewis, Dacre, Maturin). Terror was also
suggested by moods involving dread (Reeve) or supernatural dread (Radcliffe),[79] gloom (Walpole, Naturin),[80] melancholy (Walpole),[81] awe or wonder (Walpole),[82] sadness (Naturin),[83] solitude (Radcliffe, Shelley),[84] religious eeriness (Radcliffe),[85] and the funereal (Radcliffe).[86] Other moods that suggested vague possibilities of terror involved the pathetic, [87] the sentimental (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe), and the romantic (Radcliffe).[88]

The last major component of the Gothic novel was a complex setting, which I define as the physical background against which the action takes place.[89] The total Gothic setting included the geographical and historical setting, the physical setting, and the natural setting.

The Gothic novelists preferred an alien geographical setting, such as Italy (Walpole, Smith, Radcliffe), France (Smith, Reeve, Radcliffe), Spain (Naturin, Lewis), Germany (Shelley, Lewis), Switzerland (Shelley), Scotland (Shelley), Ireland (Naturin), and America (Smith), that would take their readers away from their dreary everyday lives.[90] These remote settings provided a wide range of scenery, especially mountains, and they could be endowed with the attributes of the Middle Ages because Catholicism still flourished in many of these countries.[91]

The Gothic novelists also sought a remote historical setting, usually the Middle Ages (Walpole, Reeve, Smith, Radcliffe, Lewis, Naturin).[92] Sources for historical color-
ing were old romances, Prévost, Leland's Longworth, Earl of Salisbury, and other historical novels. The Middle Ages were a popular Gothic setting because of the English attitude toward everything medieval. Bishop Hurd’s essay, which emphasized the valuable attributes of the Middle Ages and defined the qualities of chivalry, influenced a rebirth of interest in England in all medieval things and endowed the Middle Ages with an aura of past grandeur. The Middle Ages represented times and qualities that were foreign but still desirable to the English, and started people thinking about the past and all that it represented. The Gothic historical background was originally inaccurate (Walpole), but as the novel progressed, it increased in accuracy (Smith) and importance (Reeve, Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin). The Gothic novel originally used a medieval background that emphasized the idealistic aspects of chivalry, such as honor, gallantry, and nobility (Walpole, Smith, Reeve, Radcliffe), but as the novel progressed, it began to emphasize the more terrifying aspects of the Middle Ages, such as church domination and the Inquisition (Lewis, Maturin).

In addition to the remote geographical and historical Gothic settings, the Gothic novels also emphasized detailed physical setting, which consisted of buildings, their rooms, and their furnishings. One of the primary Gothic settings was the Gothic castle, which was basic to the atmosphere and themes of the Gothic novel (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe, Lewis,
Sources for the Gothic castle were the legends and real histories associated with medieval buildings, Shakespeare's haunted castle, Pope's description of the Paraclete in *Eloisa to Abelard*, Prévost's castle setting, and Milton's use of cathedral architecture. From the start (Walpole), the Gothic castle was representative of Gothic architecture. This type of architecture had been popularized by rich English travelers who had reconstructed replicas of the ancient Gothic architecture that they had seen abroad. Most Gothic novelists used the traditional aspects of Gothic castles, such as arches, battlements, and towers, in describing their castles (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin). Although the castle was always associated with terror because it was the site for the appearance of supernatural phenomena, as the novel progressed the castle was described more explicitly (Radcliffe) and more suggestively (Lewis); it took on the aspects of a ruin (Radcliffe); and it ended up as the general setting for scenes of real physical suffering (Lewis, Dacre, Maturin).

Another Gothic physical setting was the monastic dwelling which was usually in ruins and which could be a monastery, convent, abbey, cloister, or priory (Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin). The interest in monastic dwellings was partly due to Murd's essay, in which the religious aspects of the Middle Ages were emphasized, and partly due to the fact that monastic dwellings did not exist in
England and were remote to the English reader. Monastic dwellings were originally used in the Gothic novel as a source of refuge (Walpole, Radcliffe), usually from an undesired marriage (Walpole, Radcliffe), as a retreat for evil characters at the end of the novel (Walpole), or as a hideaway for unwanted, illegitimate children (Maturin); but as the novel progressed and the monastic dwelling became a major setting (Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin), it became a place of imprisonment and the site of hideous crimes (Lewis, Maturin).  

Another Gothic physical setting was the ruin, which had its sources in Prévost and the Graveyard Poets. Gothic enthusiasts took pilgrimages to the ruins of convents that still existed in England, and returned home to reconstruct their own ruins that reminded them of the past. Ruined chateaux, castles (Radcliffe), and convents represented ruined social and religious institutions (Walpole), and the ruined old building (Reeve, Smith, Radcliffe) was thought to be more romantic than a sound building.  

In addition to these major physical settings, the interiors, the contents, and the grounds of the buildings were also important. The Gothic castle usually included an empty haunted apartment that helped reveal the history of the castle or its owners (Reeve), a haunted chamber that might be used to test the fortitude of the hero (Walpole) or to house a vengeful ghost (Lewis), subterranean secret passages
(Walpole, Smith, Radcliffe), numerous winding passages that formed a labyrinth (Radcliffe), corridors (Radcliffe), and caverns (Walpole, Lewis). The castles also contained secret and grated dungeons (Walpole, Radcliffe), a detail that had been used by Prévost, that were expanded and used to hide suffering victims (Lewis); secret panels and hidden stairways (Walpole, Radcliffe); trap doors (Walpole, Radcliffe); galleries (Walpole); supposedly haunted chapels (Radcliffe); vaults (Radcliffe, Lewis), a detail derived from the Graveyard Poets; secret hiding places (Radcliffe); castle doors, stained-glass or ivy-covered windows, wall hangings, and gloomy panelling (Radcliffe); statues (Walpole, Radcliffe); pictures (Walpole, Radcliffe) that were important (Reeve, Radcliffe) or horrible and terrifying (Radcliffe, Shelley, Maturin); and mossy, ruined, or moldering towers, a detail derived from Milton and the landscape poets, that might be used as a place of imprisonment (Radcliffe).

Gothic castles also contained a castle bell or clock, devices that had been used by Shakespeare, or timepiece that might be used to tell time or to bear messages (Radcliffe); mysterious music (Walpole, Radcliffe); strange noises (Walpole, Radcliffe); glimmering, flickering, or disappearing lights, lamps, and candles (Radcliffe, Lewis); and fires (Maturin).

The Gothic castle frequently included a graveyard and
properties associated with death, murder, violence, and crimes which were popular in the novels (all). The grave, tombs (Walpole, Lewis), and clanking chains (Lewis) had their source in the Graveyard Poets. The graveyard also included crypts and catacombs (Lewis, Dacre, Maturin), corpses (Maturin), skeletons (Reeve, Maturin), and groans (Lewis).

The Gothic monastic dwelling contained religious properties that evoked feelings of fear and dread. These religious properties included veils (Lewis) derived from the Graveyard Poets, monastic garb (Radcliffe, Lewis), and altars and religious statues (Walpole, Radcliffe, Lewis).

In addition to the physical setting, the Gothic novelists also used the natural setting, including the landscape and elements of weather that affected the landscape. The landscape put the reader in a state of mind in harmony with the story; it inspired or intensified the moods of the characters (all); and it reflected the feelings of the characters (Radcliffe). The primary landscape included a wild, usually mountainous terrain (Walpole, Maturin) which had been inspired by Milton's use of twilight groves; the trees and solitude of the forest (Radcliffe, Maturin); the sounds and silences of nature (Radcliffe); and owls (Lewis), a detail derived from the Graveyard Poets.

In the Gothic novel, the diverse elements of the weather could be tempestuous, mysterious (Walpole), and impressive (Radcliffe). Its nature prepared the reader for
approaching situations (Smith, Radcliffe) and symbolized the psychological states of the characters (Radcliffe). Elements of the weather included wind (Walpole, Smith, Radcliffe, Lewis) that was used to blow out the heroine's lamp at an opportune moment or to resemble a ghost (Walpole); lightning (Walpole, Smith, Radcliffe, Lewis); thunder (Walpole, Radcliffe, Lewis) which was used to represent the existence of avenging, eternal powers (Walpole); clouds (Radcliffe, Lewis); and storms (Radcliffe, Lewis).

In addition to the weather, the Gothic novelists also used the night, evening, darkness, and moonlight to create their natural setting. These elements were full of fantasy and fear, and, when coupled with desolation and silence, produced feelings of supernatural awe (Radcliffe). Moonlight (Walpole, Radcliffe, Lewis) was used to illumine dark scenes, fill the atmosphere with dread and mystery, make objects weird and indistinct, and spotlight scenes of fear (Walpole, Radcliffe).

In the next chapter, I shall show that each major component of the Gothic novel appears in Pope's poem after he had finished with Hughes' translation.
CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

1 Throughout this chapter, I shall refer to six Gothic authors and their novels which I have read and consider to be representative and typical of all Gothic novels. These novels are Horace Walpole's The Castle of Otranto, Clara Reeve's The Old English Baron, Ann Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho, Matthew Lewis' The Monk, Mary Shelley's Frankenstein, and Charles Netherin's Melmoth the Wanderer. I have also relied to a limited extent on secondary criticism concerning these works, and have relied totally on secondary criticism concerning the works of Charlotte Smith and Charlotte Doare. To conserve space, when I refer to these authors and their works within my text I shall enclose the authors' names within parentheses.


3 Varma, p. 213; Raito, p. 22.


5 Raito, p. 34.

6 Varma, pp. 31, 36, 218; Raito, pp. 22, 34.
7 Varma, p. 219.


9 Varma, pp. 211, 219-220.

10 Railo, p. 156.

11 Varma, pp. 26, 27-28, 29; Railo, p. 22.


14 Varma, p. 36.


18 Varma, p. 143; Summers, p. 170; Railo, p. 54; Axton, p. viii.

19 Railo, p. 55.

20 Wagenknecht, p. 117.

21 Railo, p. 54.

22 Railo, p. 55.

23 Railo, p. 54.

25 Summers, p. 111; Varma, p. 107; Wagenknecht, pp. 119, 125, 126-127, 133.

26 Railo, pp. 326-327; Wagenknecht, pp. 126-127.

27 Berryman, p. 16.

28 Wagenknecht, pp. 129-130.


30 Summers, pp. 41-42, 192, 196.

31 Varma, p. 36; Railo, p. 173.

32 Varma, p. 19; Summers, p. 196.

33 Railo, pp. 50-51, 173, 183; Wagenknecht, pp. 114, 118, 120; Berryman, pp. 26-27.

34 Birkhead, p. 223; Varma, p. 60.

35 Varma, p. 36; Railo, pp. 33, 34; Wagenknecht, p. 111.

36 Birkhead, p. 223; Varma, pp. 60, 143; Railo, pp. 38, 283, 307, 308; Clark, p. 48; Wagenknecht, p. 114.

37 Axton, pp. x, xi.

38 Varma, p. 35.
39 Bredvold, III, 170; Varma, pp. 60, 114; Railo, pp. 283, 290; Wagenknecht, pp. 114, 120, 129-130; Axton, p. viii.


41 Varma, p. 35.

42 Birkhead, p. 223; Needleman and Otis, II, 404; Varma, p. 60; Railo, p. 29; Wagenknecht, p. 114.

43 Varma, p. 19.

44 Wagenknecht, p. 114.

45 Railo, p. 32; Wagenknecht, p. 117.

46 Wagenknecht, p. 127.


48 Railo, p. 243.

49 Varma, pp. 24-25, 26; Railo, pp. 58, 63, 243.

50 Varma, p. 36; Railo, p. 243.

51 Varma, p. 37.

52 Varma, p. 30; Railo, pp. 63, 65-66.


54 Lillian Herlands Hornstein, ed. The Reader’s Companion to World Literature (New York, 1956), pp. 191-192—hereafter
cited as Hornstein; Varma, pp. 53-54; Railo, p. 71; Clark, p. 44; Wagenknecht, p. 114.

55 Needleman and Otis, II, 404-405; Varma, p. 206; Railo, p. 58; Wagenknecht, pp. 114, 121; Axton, pp. viii-ix.

56 Needleman and Otis, II, 404; Railo, pp. 69, 340n.; Axton, p. viii.

57 Needleman and Otis, II, 404.

58 Varma, pp. 26, 36, 80, 209, 222.

59 Varma, p. 206.

60 Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman, p. 215.

61 Knight, pp. 78-79.

62 Birkhead, p. 223; Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman, p. 38; Varma, p. 225.


64 Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman, p. 217; Varma, pp. 36, 74, 226; Railo, pp. 71, 319; Wagenknecht, p. 119; Needleman and Otis, II, 405-406; Hornstein, pp. 191-192.

65 Wagenknecht, pp. 125-126.

66 Railo, pp. 70, 71; Wagenknecht, p. 120.

67 Varma, p. 207; Clark, pp. 44-45.

68 Wagenknecht, p. 114; Berryman, p. 16.

69 Railo, p. 156.

70 Eastman, p. 97; Knight, pp. 78-79; Varma, pp. 26, 29, 34, 37; Railo, p. 55; Wagenknecht, pp. 123, 124-125, 126.
71 Axton, p. viii.
72 Wagenknecht, p. 114.
73 Varma, pp. 29, 206; Wagenknecht, p. 129.
74 Varma, p. 207; Wagenknecht, p. 123; Axton, p. ix.
76 Varma, pp. 27-28, 35, 36; Summers, p. 111; Railo, p. 70; Wagenknecht, p. 112.
77 Bredvolld, III, 168; Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman, p. 215; Varma, pp. 19, 57, 58, 62, 74, 209; Axton, p. vii.
78 Eastman, p. 97; Needleman and Otis, II, 405-406; Varma, pp. 62, 199; Railo, pp. 46, 55, 70, 71, 319, 321; Wagenknecht, p. 119; Berryman, pp. 26-27; Axton, pp. viii, viii.
79 Varma, pp. 74, 204-205, 206; Summers, p. 111; Railo, p. 58; Axton, pp. viii-ix.
80 Baker, *English Novel*, p. 175; Varma, pp. 17, 19, 57, 58; Clark, pp. 44-45; Wagenknecht, p. 126; Axton, p. viii.
81 Varma, pp. 21-22; Summers, p. 111; Railo, p. 46.
82 Varma, pp. 21-22, 29, 226; Wagenknecht, p. 112.
83 Wagenknecht, p. 126.
84 Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman, p. 217; Varma, p. 110.
85 Varma, p. 110; Railo, pp. 9-10.
87 Eastman, p. 97; Wagenknecht, p. 114.
88 Birkhead, p. 223; Needleman and Otis, II, 404; Varma,
p. 35; Railo, pp. 10, 46, 47, 71; Wagenknecht, p. 88.

89 Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman, p. 453.

90 Knight, pp. 35-36; Varma, pp. 61, 217; Summers, pp. 12, 13; Wagenknecht, p. 116.

91 Varma, p. 217; Railo, pp. 314-315.

92 Eastman, p. 97; Penzoldt, p. 60; Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman, p. 215; Benét, p. 449.

93 Varma, p. 50; Summers, pp. 41-42; Wagenknecht, pp. 111, 112.


95 Needleman and Otis, II, 404; Varma, pp. 74, 83; Railo, p. 14; Wagenknecht, pp. 118-119.

96 Baker, English Novel, p. 175; Varma, pp. 18, 57; Summers, pp. 169, 233; Railo, pp. 7, 147; Berryman, pp. 16, 26-27; Axton, p. viii.


98 Hornstein, pp. 89, 93-94, 98-99, 191-192; Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman, p. 216; Benét, p. 449; Varma, pp. 17-18, 61, 62; Summers, pp. 404-405; Railo, pp. 9, 13, 15; Clark, pp. 31, 42.

99 Varma, p. 18; Railo, pp. 7, 156, 167, 280; Clark, p. 44; Wagenknecht, p. 114.

100 Varma, pp. 18, 21, 61; Summers, pp. 233, 406; Railo, pp. 9-10, 15; Axton, p. viii.

101 Varma, pp. 17-18, 219-220; Summers, pp. 41-42, 192, 197; Railo, p. 280.
102 Varma, pp. 17, 36, 61, 230; Railo, pp. 13, 22; Clark, pp. 44, 48, 67.

103 Varma, pp. 19, 218; Summers, pp. 189, 197, 404-405, 407; Clark, p. 47.

104 Railo, p. 9; Axton, p. viii.

105 Varma, p. 143; Railo, p. 8; Wagenknecht, p. 115.

106 Varma, p. 61; Railo, p. 11; Wagenknecht, p. 117.

107 Bredvold, III, 170; Railo, pp. 9-10.


109 Axton, p. viii.

110 Bredvold, III, 170; Axton, p. viii.

111 Varma, p. 61.

112 Wagenknecht, p. 117.

113 Bredvold, III, 170; Varma, pp. 17, 27-28, 61; Railo, p. 13; Clark, p. 44.

114 Railo, pp. 9-10, 11.

115 Varma, p. 61; Railo, p. 10.


117 Varma, p. 18; Railo, pp. 10, 18-19.

118 Varma, p. 61.

119 Hornstein, pp. 191-192.
120 Varma, pp. 21, 27-28, 143.
121 Knight, pp. 78-79.
122 Baker, English Novel, p. 175; Benét, p. 449.
123 Varma, pp. 27-28; Railo, p. 22.
124 Knight, pp. 78-79; Railo, p. 280.
125 Varma, pp. 18, 27-28; Summers, pp. 41-42, 233.
127 Varma, pp. 21, 27, 36, 217, 230; Railo, pp. 9-10, 12, 13; Clark, p. 44; Axton, p. viii.
128 Baker, English Novel, p. 110; Needleman and Otis, II, 404-405; Varma, p. 20; Clark, p. 28; Wagenknecht, pp. 117, 118; Axton, pp. viii, xi.
129 Varma, pp. 59, 61; Railo, pp. 11-12, 13, 137; Wagenknecht, p. 117.
130 Wagenknecht, pp. 117, 129.
131 Railo, p. 12.
132 Wagenknecht, p. 129.
133 Railo, p. 13.
134 Varma, pp. 21, 204-205, 209, 230; Railo, pp. 9-10, 12.
135 Varma, pp. 21, 61, 109, 209; Railo, pp. 11-12, 13, 137; Wagenknecht, p. 129.
CHAPTER III

THE GOTHIC ELEMENTS IN ELOISA TO ABELARD

In this chapter I shall prove that Pope Gothicized the material he derived from his only source, Hughes' translation of the Letters of Abelard and Heloise, by showing that all of the major components of the Gothic novel appear in Eloisa to Abelard. While there are some Gothic elements in the Hughes translation, I shall confine my study to the Gothic material which Pope himself introduced. Accordingly, to highlight as clearly as possible the Gothic element introduced into his poem by Pope, I have chosen for comment two kinds of passages in Pope which both rely heavily on Hughes: one kind of passage in Pope might introduce totally new Gothic material not evident in Hughes, thereby letting us see the Popean Gothic addition; the other kind might show Pope's own development of a hint of the Gothic derived from Hughes. It is not my purpose to speculate as to why Pope altered any or all of the Hughes material, or to evaluate the two works under consideration, or to examine the genre of Pope's poem. My research is concerned only with delineating precisely the Gothic character given the poem by Pope. I shall show that each major component of the Gothic novel defined in the preceding chapter--multiple themes, one-dimensional characters, supernatu-
ral phenomena, atmosphere involving some aspect of terror, and complex setting—appears in Pope's poem. I shall demonstrate the Gothic cast Pope gave his poem through juxtaposing selected portions of Hughes' translation and of Pope's poem.

One major component of the Gothic novel, as we have seen, was the use of multiple themes. Two Gothic themes that appear in Pope's poem concern the rebellious assertion of the rights of love over the tyranny of social convention, and the plight of the person who rebels at unwillingly joining a monastic order and at being cut off from life. In Hughes, both Heloise and Abelard give accounts of Heloise's objections to marriage which were based on purely personal reasons and a desire to secure Abelard's love, and which do not reflect the Gothic theme of the assertion of the rights of love over the dictates of society. Heloise displays a concern for her own happiness, and voices a distrust of Abelard's professed constancy when she reveals that she "was very unwilling to be necessitated to love always a Man, who perhaps would not always love me."

Further, Abelard provides his friend Philintus with an account of Heloise's objections to marriage which clearly are not based on a desire for freedom in love. Abelard reveals that Heloise opposed marriage because "it was a bond always fatal to a philosopher; ... [and because] the cries of children and cares of a family were utterly inconsistent with the tranquillity and application
which the study of philosophy required. She quoted to me all
that was written on the subject ... and above all insisted on
the unfortunate Socrates, who quitted life with joy, because
by that means he left Xantippe....[She hypothesized,] will
not love have more power than marriage to keep our hearts
firmly united? Pleasures tasted sparingly, and with diffi-
culty, have always a higher relish, while every thing, by
being easy and common, grows flat and insipid." 2 Abelard's
letter indicates the real basis for Heloise's disapproval of
marriage. She hoped that she could secure Abelard's love
and continued interest by refusing to marry him. Heloise's
self-serving tirade against marriage, which digresses into
concerns about the "cries of children and cares of a family,"
indicates her desire to keep Abelard's love for herself and
definitely does not reflect the Gothic belief in the suprem-
acy of the rights of love over the dictates of society.

In sharp contrast, Pope's Eloisa expresses negative
views on marriage that reflect the Gothic theme of the rights
of love having precedence over the dictates of society. She
curses "all laws but those which love has made" (1. 74), 3
and longs for the "happy state! when souls each other draw,
/When love is liberty, and nature, law" (ll. 91-92). Eloisa's
objections to marriage are based on the Gothic dislike for
all marriages or laws "but those which love has made." She
is concerned with the universal rights of love, and her ob-
jections to marriage stem from a Gothic desire for a world
in which "love is liberty, and nature, law."

Another Gothic theme concerns the plight of a person who rebels at unwilling entry into a monastic order, and at being cut off from life. In Hughes, Heloise's statements concerning her entry into the convent do not reflect a Gothic rebellion at being cut off from life, but indicate her underlying satisfaction that Abelard is in her debt because she entered a convent to please him. Heloise emphasizes her youth and desirability in the eyes of men when she joined the convent to underline the sacrifice she made for Abelard: "If I had loved Pleasure, could I not yet have found means to have gratified my self? I was not above Twenty two Years old: And there were other Men left, tho' I was deprived of Abelard. And yet did I not bury my self alive in a Nunnery, and triumph over Love, at an Age capable of enjoying it in its full Latitude?" (HW., p. 81.) In another passage, she parades her sacrifice before Abelard: "Admire my Resolution of shutting my self up by your Example. I was young when we were separated, and (if I dare believe what you were always telling me) worthy of any Gentleman's Affections. If I had loved nothing in Abelard but sensual Pleasure, a thousand agreeable young Men might have comforted me upon my Loss of him" (HW., p. 103). Heloise's statements do not reflect the Gothic theme of rebellion at being cut off from life, but indicate her desire to impress Abelard with the sacrifice that she has made for him. Heloise declares that she was not forced to
enter a convent, but that she "renounced without difficulty all the charms of life" (HW., p. 83).

Heloise's only objection to her confinement is that after she and Abelard decided to enter monastic orders, Abelard forced her to take her vows first, thus indicating that he questioned her absolute devotion to him:

If my Youth and Sex might give an Occasion of fear, that I should return to the World; could not my Behavior, my Fidelity, and this Heart which you ought to know, could not these banish such ungenerous Apprehensions? ... I could meet him at all his Assignations, and would I decline following him to the Seats of Holiness? I who have not refused to be a Victim of Pleasure to gratifie him, can he think I would refuse to be a Sacrifice of Honour to obey him? Has Vice such Charms to well-born Souls? and when we have once drank [sic] of the Cup of Sinners, is it with such difficulty that we take the Calice [sic] of Saints? Or did you believe yourself a greater Master to teach Vice than Virtue, or did you think it was more easy to persuade me to the first than the latter? No ... Virtue is too amiable not to be embraced, when you reveal her Charms; and Vice too hideous not to be avoided, when you show her Deformities. Nay, when you please, any thing seems lovely to me, and nothing is frightful or difficult when you are by. (HW., pp. 80-81.)

In this passage, Heloise indicates that she willingly entered the convent, and that she is only upset because Abelard could have doubted her loyalty and love.

In Hughes, Heloise is portrayed as being totally obsessed by the desire to keep Abelard's love; thus her entry into the convent appears to have been just another tactic designed to win and keep his love and approval. She says that the only reason she entered the convent was because she
"sought to give you Ease" (HW., p. 95), and later she claims: "I came hither ... that I might make you live quiet and easie" (HW., p. 72). Heloise rebels because Abelard is neglecting her, and not because she was cut off from life. She asks Abelard: "But tell me whence proceeds your neglect of me since being Profess'd?" (HW., p. 77.) Abelard's neglect of her causes her rebellion at her confinement. Later she laments: "How did I deceive my self with the Hopes that you would be wholly mine, when I took the Veil....For in being Professed, I vowed no more than to be yours only, and I obliged my self voluntarily to a Confinement in which you designed to place me" (HW., p. 78). Heloise says that she entered the convent "voluntarily," but she resents Abelard's treatment of her since she became a nun.

Abelard's letters also do not reflect a Gothic rebellion at entry into a monastic order and at withdrawal from life. He reveals in his letters that he contrived to have Heloise placed in a convent for his own selfish reasons. In his letter to Philintus, Abelard confesses that after his castration:

Jealousy tock possession of my mind; and at the very expence of her happiness I decreed to disappoint all rivals. Before I put myself in a cloister, I obliged her to take the habit and retire into the nunnery of Argenteuil. I remember somebody would have opposed her making such a cruel sacrifice of herself, but she answered like Cornelia after the death of Pompey the great:

O my loved Lord! our fatal marriage draws
On thee this doom, and I the guilty cause!
Then whilst thou roost th' extremes of fate to prove,
I'll share that fate, and expiate thus my love.
Speaking these verses, she marched up to the altar, and took the veil with a constancy which I could not have expected in a woman who had so high a taste for pleasures which she might still enjoy. (H., pp. 69-70.)

Abelard's fear that Heloise might desert him for someone else was the basis for his plan to confine her in a convent, but Heloise, he notes, willingly complied with his suggestions:

I will do you justice, you were easily persuaded to it. My jealousy secretly triumphed over your innocent compliance.... I did not persuade you to religion out of any regard for your happiness, but condemned you to it, like an enemy who destroys what he cannot carry off. And yet you heard my discourses with kindness, you sometimes interrupted me with tears, and pressed me to acquaint you which of the convents was most in my esteem.... [T]hanks to Heaven, you resolved to make a vow; I accompanied you with terror to the foot of the altar; and while you stretched out your hand to touch the sacred cloth, I heard you pronounce distinctly those fatal words which for ever separated you from all men. (H., pp. 109-110.)

Abelard says that Heloise "took the veil with ... constancy," that she was "easily persuaded" to take her vows, that he was pleased with her "innocent compliance," and that she "resolved" to take her vows. These phrases do not indicate that Heloise was forced into her religious confinement. Another portion of Abelard's letter also indicates that Heloise willingly joined a convent. Abelard praises the "readiness ... [which she] shewed to take the religious habit,"
and admonishes her to "Bear therefore with courage the cross you have taken up so resolutely" (H., p. 107). Later he reminds her of her religious attitude when she took her vows: "I saw your eyes, when you spoke your last farewell, fixed upon the cross" (H., p. 112), an attitude which indicates Heloise's religious devotion as she became a nun.

In Pope, the Gothic theme of the person who rebels at unwilling entry into a monastic order and at being cut off from life is reflected in the passage in which Eloisa remembers the day that she took her final vows:

Canst thou forget that sad, that solemn day,
When victims at yon' altar's foot we lay?
Canst thou forget what tears that moment fell,
When warm in youth, I bade the world farewell?
As with cold lips I kiss'd the sacred veil,
The shrines all trembled, and the lamps grew pale:
Heav'n scarce believ'd the conquest it survey'd,
And Saints with wonder heard the vows I made.
Yet then, to those dread altars as I drew,
Not on the Cross my eyes were fix'd, but you.

(Il. 107-116.)

Eloisa's unwillingness to take her vows is reflected in her choice of words used to describe the occasion. The day was "sad" and "solemn," she and Abelard were joint "victims" before the "dread altars," her "lips" were "cold"; as she "bade the world farewell," the "shrines all trembled, and
the lamps grew pale," and "Heav'n" and "Saints" watched the
"conquest" with disbelief and "wonder."

In Pope we see the Gothic theme of the two victims,
suffering at the moment of their confinement to a convent,
rebelling at being cut off from life. But in Hughes we see
an evil and conniving Abelard, convincing an all-too-will-
ing Heloise that she should enter a convent. Heloise's re-
bellion begins after her confinement when she realizes that
she has not gained her objective, the gratitude and con-
tinued love of Abelard.

Another Gothic component was the use of one-dimen-
sional characters who epitomized either good or evil.
Hughes, through his Heloise, gives a multi-faceted charac-
terization of Abelard which is quite unlike Pope's uncom-
plicated Gothic portrayal of Abelard as a noble and ideal-
istic character who epitomizes good. While Hughes presents
a favorable picture of Abelard as Heloise remembers the
"tender language" (HW., p. 105) that Abelard used with her,
and "with what Pleasure I have past whole days in hearing
you Discourse" (HW., p. 72), we also see Abelard's negative
qualities as Heloise attributes an ulterior and selfish
motive to Abelard's intentions: "Was it not the sole view of
Pleasure which engaged you to me? And has not my Tenderness,
by leaving you nothing to wish for, extinguish'd your De-
sires? Wretched Heloise! ... since you have Devoted and
Sacrificed your self, you are deserted and forgotten....My
Heart surrendered too soon to gain the Esteem of the Conqueror; you took it without difficulty, and give it up as easily. But ungrateful as you are, I will never consent to ... [being deserted]" (HW., p. 77). Hughes, through his depiction of Heloise, adds dimensions other than nobility to Abelard's character by describing him as an "ungrateful" "Conqueror," a seeker after pleasure, who used her and has now deserted her. Heloise chastizes him for his loss of love for her and portrays him as an "Unfaithful man!" (HW., p. 77) who ceased to care for her as soon as she was confined in a convent. She berates Abelard for neglecting her: "DEAR Abelard, you expect perhaps that I should accuse you of Negligence. You have not answered my last Letter, and ... you shew so much Insensibility for the fatal Passion which had engaged me to you" (HW., p. 97). Abelard is negatively pictured as "Unfaithful," a man who shows "Insensibility" to Heloise's love. Heloise also accuses Abelard of cruelty: "You cannot now be silent, without a Crime. When I was possess'd with so violent a Love, and press'd you so earnestly to write to me, how many Letters did I send you before I cou'd obtain one from you? You deny'd me in my Misery the only Comfort which was left me, because you thought it pernicious. You endeavour'd by Severities to force me to forget you.... [But] A lucky disease [with which she was afflicted] ... hath done [by showing her the fruitlessness of her passion for Abelard] what all human
Efforts, and your Cruelty, in vain attempted" (H.W., p. 101).

The image of the noble, Gothic character differs radically from that in these passages in which Abelard is negatively characterized as "ungrateful," "Unfaithful," and guilty of "Negligence," "Insensibility," and "Cruelty." This negative picture of Abelard, when coupled with Heloise's favorable comments that Abelard's "tender language" gave her "Pleasure," reveals at least two facets of his personality.

Heloise's reference to Abelard's fame also indicates that he was not a totally and simply noble Gothic character. She suggests that even though others thought highly of him, she was not always totally convinced of his worth:

Alas! How was it possible I should not be certain of your merit? If I could ever have doubted it, the universal Esteem would have made me determine in your Favour. What Country, what City has not desir'd your Presence? Could you ever retire but you drew the Eyes and Hearts of all after you? Did not every one rejoice in having seen you? ... Your Reputation, which so much soothe'd the Vanity of our Sex; your Air, your Manner; that Life in your Eyes which so admirably express'd the Vivacity of your Mind; your Conversation, with that Ease and Elegance, which gave every thing you spoke such an agreeable and insinuating Turn; in short, every thing spoke for you.

(H.W., pp. 74-75.)

Abelard also indicates that Heloise was not totally convinced of his merit. He remembers that he "found frequent opportunities to free Eloisa from those suspicions, which the general insincerity of men had raised in her; and she too much desired what I said were truth, not to believe
it" (H., p. 61). We are not sure whether Abelard rose in Heloise's opinion because he was noble or if he was just a gifted speaker.

Heloise's reference to the effects of Abelard's castration presents another complicated and un-Gothic view of Abelard because she emphasizes Abelard's negative qualities and contradicts her former portrayal of him as a man who spoke with "Ease and Elegance" and earned the "universal Esteem" of all who heard him. Heloise assures Abelard: "The Punishment of your Body, has cured the deadly Wounds of your Soul... God, who seemed to lay his Hand heavily upon you, sought only to help you: He is a Father Chastising" (H., p. 93). Here we see Abelard portrayed as having "deadly Wounds" of the soul, who was chastized by God for his sins. Hughes' Abelard, who deserves punishment because he has strayed from the paths of virtue, contrasts sharply with Pope's Gothic portrayal of Abelard as a character who epitomizes good.

Abelard also reveals negative aspects of his personality as he indicates to Philintus his selfish desire to extend his reputation by acquiring a mistress: "I was ambitious in my choice, and wished to find some obstacles, that I might surmount them with the greater glory and pleasure" (H., p. 59). Abelard proclaims that once he had selected Heloise as a lover, he was certain that she would accede to his wishes: "Could a virtuous lady resist a man that had
confounded all the learned of the age?" (H., p. 59.) After Fulbert threw Abelard out of his home, Abelard indicates that he was upset at leaving "the loved house," but was "resolved not to abandon my prey" (H., p. 63). While Abelard indicates feelings of love, we still doubt his true motives as he refers to Heloise as his "prey."

In addition to the preceding indications of Abelard's positive and negative traits, his letters reveal additional aspects of his personality. This multi-faceted depiction of Abelard contrasts sharply with the one-dimensional Gothic portrayal of character. In his initial letter to Philintus, after Abelard talks about his family history, he recounts his early career as a brilliant and self-assured student and lecturer: "I had a natural genius to study, and made an extraordinary progress in it. Smitten with the love of books, and the praises which on all sides were bestowed upon me, I aspired to no reputation, but what proceeded from learning" (H., p. 54). His teacher, Champeaux, soon resented Abelard's genius: "It was impossible he should see himself surpassed by his scholar without resentment. It is sometimes dangerous to have too much merit" (H., p. 55.) Abelard is characterized in these passages as brilliant, confident, and youthfully ambitious.

After Abelard confines himself in a monastery, he portrays himself as a tormented monk as he confesses to Heloise that he is torn by his passion for her and his desire for
forgiveness from God: "How miserable am I! ... My passion grows furious by impotence; and that desire I still have for you amidst all my disgraces, makes me more unhappy than the misfortune itself....In this condition, O Lord! if I run to prostrate myself before thy altars, if I beseech thee to pity me, why does not the pure flame of thy spirit consume the sacrifice that is offered to thee? Cannot this habit of penitence which I wear, interest Heaven to treat me more favourably?" (H., p. 100.) Here we see, as another facet of his personality, the conflict between Abelard's human passions and his religious feelings.

Toward the end of his letters, Abelard is seen in the role of religious educator, trying to insure the devoutness of Heloise. He writes to her: "Tell me that you will honour the habit which covers you; by an inward retirement. Fear God, that you may be delivered from your frailties. Love him, if you would advance in virtue. Be not uneasy in the cloister, for it is the dwelling of saints. Embrace your bands, they are the chains of Christ Jesus: He will lighten them, and bear them with you, if you bear them with humility" (H., p. 114). Abelard expresses his sincere desire that Heloise join him in serving God: "Let us then resign ourselves to God with all our hearts" (H., p. 151).

The character of Abelard as he appears in Hughes is finely drawn and his whole life is set before the reader in great detail. We see him as a young, assured student, as a
brilliant lecturer persecuted by his rivals, as a conniving seducer, as a jealous and frustrated lover, as a tormented monk, and finally as a devout religious person who has consecrated himself to God. This complex picture of Abelard differs from the Gothic portrayal of one-dimensional characters.

In Pope, Abelard is a shadowy Gothic character who is depicted as being saint-like and almost God-like. Recalling the time when she and Abelard fell in love, Eloisa presents a Gothic characterization of Abelard as she describes him in saint-like terms:

My fancy form’d thee of Angelick kind,
Some emanation of th’ all-beauteous Mind.
Those smiling eyes, attemp’ring every ray,
Shone sweetly lambent with celestial day;
Guiltless I gaz’d; heav’n listen’d while you sung;
And truths divine came mended from that tongue.
From lips like those what precept fail’d to move?
Too soon they taught me ’twas no sin to love.
Back thro’ the paths of pleasing sense I ran,
Nor wish’d an Angel whom I lov’d a Man.

(LL. 59-70.)

This passage describes Abelard as totally good and beautiful. He is "of Angelick kind," an "emanation of th’ all-beauteous Mind" who spoke "truths divine," and "heav’n listen’d while ... [he] sung." When Eloisa recounts the
effects of Abelard's castration, she compares his physical calm to that of a saint:

For thee the fates, severely kind, ordain
A cool suspense from pleasure and from pain;
Thy life a long dead calm of fix'd repose;
No pulse that riots, and no blood that glows.
Still as the sea, ere winds were taught to blow,
Or moving spirit bade the waters flow;
Soft as the slumber of a saint forgiv'n,
And mild as opening gleams of promis'd heav'n.

(I. 249-256.)

Here another one-dimensional Gothic characterization of Abelard is presented: he is like a "saint forgiv'n" to whom the "fates" have been "severely kind." Eloisa points out only Abelard's saint-like, perfect characteristics, while the "Wounds of the Soul" that we find in Hughes are ignored. Later in the poem, Eloisa presents an almost God-like picture of Abelard as she recounts his founding of the Paraclete:

Ah think at least thy flock deserves thy care,
Plants of thy hand, and children of thy pray'r.
From the false world in early youth they fled,
By thee to mountains, wilds, and deserts led.
You rais'd these hallow'd walls; the desert smil'd,
And Paradise was open'd in the Wild.

..............................
Thy eyes diffus'd a reconciling ray,
And gleams of glory brighten'd all the day.

(ll. 129-134, 144-145.)

Again we see an idealistic picture of Abelard, who is spoken of almost as a deity. His followers are referred to as his "flock." They were the "plants of thy hand, and children of thy pray'r" who followed him to erect a "Paradise ... in the Wild." Elsewhere in the poem, Eloisa characterizes Abelard as second only to God in her estimation as she begs him to "Fill my fond heart with God alone, for he/Alone can rival, can succeed to thee" (ll. 205-206).

Other references to Abelard also portray him in an uncomplicated idealistic light. In her dreams, Eloisa says: "I ... gaze o'er all thy charms" (l. 233). She finds him "all charming" (l. 281) and praises his "Fair eyes" (l. 295). She wishes to be buried with Abelard, to "graft my love immortal on thy fame" (l. 344). These lines present a one-dimensional picture of Abelard, who possesses only redeeming, beautiful qualities, strictly in the Gothic tradition. Pope selected only the Hughes material that would portray Abelard as epitomizing goodness, and he was content to draw his character in simple Gothic terms, seeing him reflected through Eloisa's idealistic and adoring eyes which endowed Abelard with noble Gothic traits.

Another major component of the Gothic novel was the use of supernatural phenomena. The primary supernatural
agent in Pope's poem is Abelard's "phantom" which appears in Eloisa's dreams. The dream sequence in Pope has its source in two passages in Hughes, but in Heloise's dreams, there are no supernatural overtones, and Abelard is presented only as a desired memory. Heloise claims that during her dreams "I see you, Abelard, and glut my Eyes with the sight....At my awaking I open my Eyes and see no Abelard; I stretch out my Arm to take hold of him, but he is not there; I call him, he hears me not" (Hw., p. 105). In the other dream sequence in Hughes, Heloise imagines in her dreams that "I am still with my dear Abelard. I see him, I speak to him, and hear him answer" (Hw., p. 93). Heloise's dreams contain no supernatural overtones, but are only an indication that she misses Abelard.

In Pope, the dream sequence becomes an event with powerful supernatural overtones complete with the appearance of Abelard's "phantom." Eloisa remembers:

And round thy phantom [I] glue my clasping arms.
I wake--no more I hear, no more I view,
The phantom flies me, as unkind as you.

(Il. 234-236.)

The supernatural nature of Eloisa's dream is emphasized through her references to the "curst, dear horrors of all-conscious night" (l. 229) and to "Provoking Daemons" (l. 231) who bring Abelard's phantom to her. In her dreams, the supernatural quality of Abelard's appearance is again
emphasized as his phantom appears to rise up to heaven:
"Sudden you mount! you becken [sic] from the skies" (l. 245).

In Pope, there is a lengthy passage with strong overtones of the supernatural that has no source in Hughes, in which Eloisa hears the spirit of a dead nun speaking to her:

In each low wind methinks a Spirit calls,
And more than Echoes talk along the walls.
Here, as I watch'd the dying lamps around,
From yonder shrine I heard a hollow sound.
Come, sister, come! (it said, or seemed to say)
Thy place is here, sad sister, come away!
Once like thy self, I trembled, wept, and pray'd,
Love's victim then, tho' now a sainted maid:
But all is calm in this eternal sleep;
Here grief forgets to groan, and love to weep,
Ev'n superstition loses ev'ry fear:
For God, not man, absolves our frailties here.

(Ll. 305-316.)

The supernatural qualities are emphasized through the use of phrases such as "more than Echoes talk along the walls," "I watch'd the dying lamps around," "I heard a hollow sound," and "in this eternal sleep."

Pope suggests other supernatural phenomena, such as the weeping statue. Eloisa refers to "pitying saints, whose statues learn to weep" (l. 22). Two of his descriptions of
Eloisa's religious life take on supernatural overtones. When Eloisa takes her vows, "The shrines all trembled, and the lamps grew pale" (l. 112), and when she thinks of Abelard during the course of her religious duties, "Altars blaze, and Angels tremble round" (l. 276). Eloisa is plagued by "Daemons" (l. 231) who bring unwanted dreams of Abelard to her, and she foresees the time when her "pensive ghost" (l. 365) will be soothed by verses of love. Pope alone introduced these portrayals of supernatural phenomena, because there are no sources in Hughes for any of these passages.

Another major component of the Gothic novel was an atmosphere or mood involving some aspect of terror. The primary mood in Pope's poem is that of religious terror combined with gloom and melancholy. In Hughes, the religious terror that appears in Pope is hinted at, but Heloise's fear of the convent, of its life, and of her surroundings is never quite believable because she speaks of her terror-filled surroundings only when she is trying to gain sympathy from Abelard.

The material contained in Hughes about the convent and convent life generally alternates between pictures that suggest terror and peaceful tranquility. There are hints of religious terror in Hughes. Abelard's motivation in committing Heloise to the convent implies that evil pervades monastic institutions and that religious people are not
always devout. Abelard reveals: "I engaged your prioress in my guilt by a criminal bribe, with which I purchased the right of burying you" (H., pp. 109-110). Heloise claims that she has had to "bury her self alive [in a convent]" (HW., pp. 81, 95); and she expresses her fear of convent life when she asserts: "O Vows! O Convent! I have not lost my Humanity under your inexorable Discipline! You have not made me Marble by changing my Habit: My Heart is not hardened by my Imprisonment ... [and] your rigorous Rules.... Retirement, Solitude! You will not appear terrible" (HW., p. 82).

These hints at religious terror do not, however, indicate the only attitude toward religion that is found in Hughes. An idealistic picture of convent life is reflected in Abelard's statement that "the monastery, when one has an inclination to make it so, is exceedingly charming and pleasant" (H., p. 57). He also describes the cloister as the "dwelling of saints" (H., p. 114), the "abode of peace and repose" (H., p. 105), and the home of those who display a "happy indifference" (H., p. 104) to their life and surroundings. Heloise views the convent as "the Haven of Grace" (HW., p. 83).

Heloise's hints at her own religious terror contrast sharply with two passages in which she admits that she might have been overemphasizing her plight. She tells Abelard that she has suffered unnecessarily:
Solitude is insupportable to a Mind which is not easie, its Troubles increase in the midst of Silence, and Retirement heightens them. Since I have been shut up within these Walls, I have done nothing but weep for our Misfortunes. This Cloyster has resounded with my Cries, and like a Wretch condemned to eternal Slavery, I have worn out my Days in Cries and Sighing. Instead of fulfilling God's mercifull Design upon me, I have offended him; I have look'd upon this Sacred Refuge, like a frightful Prison, and have born with Unwillingness the Yoke of the Lord. Instead of sanctifying my self by a Life of Penitence, I have confirm'd my Reprobation. (HN., p. 99.)

Later she admits that her whole outlook on convent life has changed: "What have I not suffer'd Abelard, while I kept alive in my Retirement those fires which ruined me in the World? I saw with Horror the Walls which surrounded me, the Hours appear'd as long Years. I repented a thousand times for having buried my self here. But since Grace has opened my Eyes all the Scene is changed. Solitude looks charming, and the Tranquility which I behold here enters my very Heart. In the Satisfaction of doing my Duty I feel a Pleasure" (HN., p. 101). These two passages indicate Heloise's sense of religious fulfillment and negate any Gothic feelings of religious terror that may appear elsewhere in her letters.

I have shown that Hughes does not reflect the atmosphere of religious terror found in Pope. To emphasize the striking differences between the general un-Gothic mood in Hughes and Pope's Gothic terror-filled atmosphere, I have
chosen the following passages that indicate the general atmosphere of the Heloise and Abelard letters. In Heloise's letters, the general atmosphere, which involves accusation and rejected love, cannot be considered Gothic because it does not contain elements of terror. Heloise indicates her frustration at having lost Abelard, and her wish to be beloved by him. She asks: "What is the Occasion of your Coldness" (HW., p. 77)? Since she has entered a convent, she is "deserted and forgotten" (HW., p. 77), and Abelard has "forsaken" (HW., p. 83) her. She laments: "I have done too much, and now have nothing more to do, but to triumph over your Ingratitude" (HW., p. 81). Heloise threatens Abelard with her love: "You must bear with my Passion, as a thing which of right belongs to you, and from which you can no ways be disengaged" (HW., p. 77). And she claims: "I cannot live if you do not tell me you always love me" (HW., p. 69). But she finally realizes that she has lost Abelard: "You have been the cruel Occasion of this by your Conduct: Unfaithful Man! Ought you at once to break off loving me? Why did you not deceive me for a while, rather than immediately abandon me?" (HW., pp. 77-78.) Heloise's letters all reflect the mood of frustrated love which is not Gothic because it does not involve any aspect of terror.

The general atmosphere/mood of Abelard's letters involves regret over his past sins, a mood that is also
un-Gothic because it is not an aspect of terror. In his letter to Philintus, Abelard indicates his regret that he has displeased God, but also his hopes for salvation: "I am left alone to my own tormenting thoughts. I make it my endeavour to merit by my sufferings, and to appease an angry God....Come, Philintus, let us make a strong effort, turn our misfortunes to our advantage, make them meritorious, or at least wipe out our offences; let us receive without murmuring what comes from the hand of God, and let us not oppose our will to his" (H., p. 72). In his letters to Heloise, Abelard also expresses regret over their past relationship. He confesses: "Our former irregularities require tears, shame, and sorrow to expiate them. Let us offer up these sacrifices from our heart; let us weep" (H., p. 113). Abelard's regret fills him with the desire to strengthen Heloise's religious devotion. He begs her to "Drink of the chalice of saints, even to the bottom" (H., p. 107). He says that he will send his dead body to the Paraclete: "You shall see me in that condition; not to demand tears from you ... [but] to strengthen your piety by the horror the sight of my remains will cause; and my death, then more eloquent than I can be, will tell you what you love, when you love a man" (H., pp. 116-117). The only terror that is evident in Hughes is Heloise's fear that she will lose or has already lost Abelard, and her fear does not parallel the Gothic atmosphere of religious terror that we find in Pope.
Pope made selective use of the Hughes material, emphasizing and giving prominence to Hughes' hints of religious terror, and ignoring the redeeming views of the convent, in order to create a Gothic, terror-filled atmosphere. Pope's atmosphere of terror, which pervades his entire poem, is created primarily through descriptions of convent life, the convent, natural scenery, the ideal nun's life, and death.

Eloisa's description of life in the convent is colored by her feelings of religious terror. She describes herself as "lost Eloisa" (l. 15), and she gives a frightening description of the day that she took her vows:

Canst thou forget that sad, that solemn day,
When victims at yon' altar's foot we lay?
Canst thou forget what tears that moment fell,
When, warm in youth, I bade the world farewell?
As with cold lips I kiss'd the sacred veil,
The shrines all trembled, and the lamps grew pale;
Heav'n scarce believ'd the Conquest it survey'd,
And Saints with wonder heard the vows I made.
Yet then to those dread altars as I drew,
Not on the Cross my eyes were fix'd, but you.

(Ll. 107-116.)

Eloisa's fear is emphasized through her terror-filled allusions to "that sad ... solemn day," "victims at yon' altar's foot," the "tears that ... fell," her "cold lips ... [as she] kiss'd the sacred veil." "the shrines ... [that]"
trembled, and the lamps [that] grew pale," and "those dread altars."

Her description of the Paraclete emphasizes the evils of other religious houses and implies religious terror:

No weeping orphan saw his father's stores
Our shrines irradiate, or emblaze the floors;
No silver saints, by dying misers giv'n,
Here brib'd the rage of ill-requited heav'n.

(ll. 135-138.)

Other religious houses are endowed by the fathers of "weeping" orphans and by "dying misers," who all hope to "bribe the rage of ill-requited heav'n" with their meaningless ornate offerings. Heloise's description of the Paraclete is similar to Eloisa's, but it does not explicitly emphasize religious terror. Heloise claims that "These Cloisters owe nothing to publick Charities; our Walls were not rais'd by the Usury of Publicans, nor their Foundations laid in base Extortion" (HW., p. 70). Eloisa emphasizes the horrors often associated with religious institutions, while Heloise speaks of the general evil that pervades society.

Eloisa's religious terror is emphasized by her description of her feelings as she approaches the altar and as she prays. Her "plunging soul" is "drown'd" in "seas of flame"; as she prays, "Altars blaze, and Angels tremble round," and she lies "prostrate in humble grief" and
"trembling, in the dust" (ll. 275-279).

Her terror causes her to hear the voices of dead spirits who inhabit the convent. She describes herself as "Sad Eloisa," who is "spread" in her "Cell," a "neighbor of the dead," and she hears a "Spirit" call who offers her more hope in death than she can see in life (ll. 303-308).

Eloisa's religious life is described in terrifying terms. In the convent, "'Tis all blank sadness, or continual tears" (l. 148). She spends "each sad, sorrowing day" (l. 225) in the convent, which is a "last retreat" (l. 5) and a place where "frozen chastity retires" (l. 181). She is "Lost in a convent's solitary gloom" (l. 38) where "stern Religion quench'd th' unwilling flame" (l. 39) of her love. Her life is so unpleasant that she has "No happier task" than "to read and weep" with "faded eyes" (ll. 47-48). Her life is filled with "pray'rs ... fasts ... [and] tears" (ll. 27-28), her lips are "in holy silence seal'd" (l. 10), and her feelings are hidden "within that close disguise" (l. 11). Her comment that the convent is a place where "frozen chastity retires" is derived from Heloise's statement that she has put on a "Habit of Chastity" (M., pp. 78-79). Here Heloise is indicating her type of dress, while Eloisa indicates her fear of "frozen" religion.

The convent itself is described in Pope in terror-filled, melancholy terms. Eloisa spends her days amidst "deep solitudes and awful cells" (l. 1) where "ever-musing
melancholy reigns" (l. 3). She sees an overpowering sense of depressing Gothic gloom and melancholy pervading the convent's

... lone walls (their day's eternal bound)
These moss-grown domes with spiry turrets crown'd,
Where awful arches make a noon-day night,
And the dim windows shed a solemn light.

(ll. 141-144.)

Pope's description of the melancholy that surrounds the convent stems from Heloise's statement: "I must confess I was much easier in my mind before I read your letter" (Hw., p. 67). Heloise is uneasy, but Eloisa experiences terror as she views her surroundings.

The natural scenery that surrounds Eloisa is also gloomy and melancholy. The Paraclete is surrounded by "darksom pines that o'er yon rocks reclin'd/Wave high, and murmur to the hollow wind" (ll. 155-156), and she hears "dying gales that pant upon the trees" (l. 159). She sees melancholy pervading the entire scene:

But o'er the twilight groves and dusky caves,
Long-sounding isles, and intermingled graves,
Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws
A death-like silence, and a dread repose:
Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,
Shades ev'ry flow'r, and darkens ev'ry green,
Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,
And breathes a browner horror on the woods.

(LL. 163-170.)

Even in Eloisa's dreams, the scenery is clouded by melancholy. She and Abelard wander

Thro' dreary wastes, and weep each other's woe;
Where round some mold'ring tow'r pale ivy creeps,
And low-browed rocks hang nodding o'er the deeps.

(LL. 242-244.)

Religious terror is also indicated in Eloisa's distorted visions of the ideal religious life and of death. These bright and visionary descriptions indicate her fear of her real surroundings—only in the unattainable can she see beauty and happiness. She describes the life of a devout nun, so much in contrast to her own misery:

How happy is the blameless Vestal's lot!
The world forgetting, by the world forgot.
Eternal sun-shine of the spotless mind!
Each pray'r accepted, and each wish resign'd;
Labour and rest, that equal periods keep;
'Obedient slumbers that can wake and weep';
Desires compos'd, affections ever ev'n,
Tears that delight, and sighs that wait to heav'n.
Grace shines around her with serenest beams,
And whisper'ring Angels prompt her golden dreams.
For her th' unfading rose of Eden blooms,
And wings of Seraphs shed divine perfumes;
For her the Spouse prepares the bridal ring,
For her white virgins Hymenaeals sing;
To sounds of heav'nly harps, she dies away,
And melts in visions of eternal day.

(I. 207-222.)

The gloom and melancholy of the convent are in sharp con-
trast to the beauty and happiness that Eloisa envisions for
those who are willing to accept God. She longs for the
happiness of being devout and for the release from her suf-
ferring that it will bring:

O grace serene! oh virtue heav'nly fair!
Divine oblivion of low-thoughted care!
Fresh blooming hope, gay daughter of the sky!
And faith, our early immortality!
Enter each mild, each amicable guest;
Receive, and wrap me in eternal rest!

(I. 297-302.)

Eloisa feels that life would be bearable if she could become
religious.

Eloisa sees happiness, which contrasts with her own
feelings of terror as she views her own life, in the vision
of death that the spirit voice reveals to her. The spirit
recalls that

Once like thy self, I trembled, wept, and pray'd,
Love's victim then, tho' now a sainted maid;
But all is calm in this eternal sleep;
Here grief forgets to groan, and love to weep,
Ev'n superstition loses ev'ry fear:
For god, not man, absolves our frailties here.

(Ll. 311-316.)

The spirit, who suffered as does Eloisa, offers hope, salvation, and an escape from the terror-filled life of the convent. Prompted by the spirit's vision of death, Eloisa sees her own death as a relief from suffering:

I come, I come! prepare your roscate bow'rs,
Celestial palms, and ever-blooming flow'rs.
Thither, where sinners may have rest, I go,
Where flames refin'd in breasts seraphic glow.

(Ll. 317-320.)

Eloisa describes herself as a sinner, she fears God's punishment because she has profaned her holy vows, and she sees her only hope in death. She assumes that Abelard's life is also filled with terror, and she pictures his death as an equally happy escape from a life of misery:

Then too, when fate shall thy fair frame destroy,
(That cause of all my guilt, and all my joy)
In trance extatic [sic] may thy pangs be drown'd,
Bright clouds descend, and Angels watch thee round,
From opening skies may streaming glories shine,
And Saints embrace thee with a love like mine.

(Ll. 337-342.)

Pope's ending to the poem expresses a summation of the
melancholy life that Eloisa has led. Since she sees little hope for escape from her terror-filled life, she must find comfort in her vision of the future:

And sure if fate some future Bard shall join
In sad similitude of griefs to mine,
Condemn'd whole years in absence to deplore,
And image charms he must behold no more,
Sure if there be, who loves so long, so well;
Let him our sad, out tender story tell;
The well-sung woes will sooth my pensive ghost.

(L1. 359-365.)

All of these passages indicate the general atmosphere in Pope. Eloisa's life in the religious confines of the convent is filled with terror because she realizes that she has sinned, and her surroundings are a continual reminder of what her life ought to be but what she cannot make it. Her fear of God and of the convent, which stem from her belief in God's ability to punish her for her earthly passion, permeate her life, her concept of her surroundings, and her hopes for the future.

The fifth major component of the Gothic novel was a complex setting, which is the area in which Pope's Gothic treatment of Hughes' material is most abundant. To indicate the extent of Pope's Gothic additions, I shall cite first the references in Hughes to the physical and natural setting, and then deal with the setting in Pope's poem.
In Hughes, both Héloïse and Abelard refer to the Paraclete, which is the major physical setting. Héloïse presents a scanty description of the founding of the convent: "If we could be so ungrateful as not to speak our just Acknowledgements to you, this church, these Altars, these Walls, would reproach our Silence and speak for us. ... These Cloisters owe nothing to publick Charities; our Walls were not rais'd by the Usury of Publicans, nor their Foundations laid in base Extortion. The God whom we serve, sees nothing here but innocent Riches, and harmless Votaries, whom you have placed here. Whatever this young Vineyard is, it owes it all to you" (HW., p. 70). The only references to the physical setting included in this passage are: "Altars," "Walls," and "Foundations," which are all very broad and do not describe a complex Gothic setting. Abelard only refers to the "Paraclete" (H., pp. 71, 72, 116, 148), and gives no additional information about the physical setting of the convent.

All of the other references in Hughes to the physical setting are equally scanty. Aside from general allusions to the Paraclete and to monasteries in general, Héloïse's letters include the following references to the interior, the furnishings, and the grounds of the Paraclete: "my Habit" (HW., p. 82); "Holy Places ... the Altar" (HW., p. 93); "those Walls" (HW., p. 99); "the Walls" (HW., p. 101); "my Rounds ... Chambers" (HW., p. 103); and "our
Walls and Grates" (H., p. 70). These phrases and Heloise's other references to the physical setting, that are merely synonyms for the Paraclete, reveal nothing about the setting of the Paraclete or its contents.

Abelard's letters, aside from generalized references to the Paraclete and other convents, include the following references to the physical setting of the Paraclete and its contents: "dark cells" (H., p. 104); "the holy altar" (H., p. 105); "Ye holy mansions, ye impenetrable retreats... your grates and high walls" (H., p. 109); "the chalice of saints" (H., p. 107); "our very habits" (H., p. 112); "foot of the altar... incense" (H., p. 114); "the habit which covers you... Embrace your bands, they are the chains of Christ Jesus" (H., p. 114); "habit... altar... veil" (H., p. 69); "veil... cross" (H., p. 112); and "chains... altars... habit" (H., p. 100).

The only reference in Hughes to the natural setting is contained in Abelard's letter to Philintus in which he relates: "I live in a barbarous country... My walks are on the inaccessible shore of a sea, which is perpetually stormy" (H., p. 72).

Hughes' few references to setting are expanded by Pope, who presents a complex Gothic picture of the physical and natural setting surrounding Eloisa. The physical setting, the Paraclete, is described in several places. Eloisa recounts the founding of the convent and describes it in much
greater detail, emphasizing melancholy aspects that we do not see in Hughes:

You rais'd these hallow'd walls; the desert smil'd,
And Paradise was open'd in the Wild,
No weeping orphan saw his father's stores
Our shrines irradiate, or emblaze the floors;
No silver saints, by dying misers giv'n,
Here brit'd the rage of ill-requited heav'n:
But such plain roofs as piety could raise,
And only vocal with the Maker's praise.
In these lone walls (their day's eternal bound)
These moss-grown domes with spiry turrets crown'd,
Where awful arches make a noon-day night,
And the dim windows shed a solemn light;
Thy eyes diffus'd a reconciling ray,
And gleams of glory brighten'd all the day.

(l. 133-146.)

She gives another expanded description that emphasizes the beauty of the convent as she later refers to "Paraclete's white walls, and silver springs, 'O'er the pale marble" (ll. 348-349). Eloisa's description of the physical setting of the Paraclete is more vivid than the one in Hughes because she includes the following references to the interior, the furnishings, and the grounds of the convent: "hallow'd walls," "floors," "plain roofs," "lone walls," "moss-grown domes with spiry turrets crown'd," "awful arches," "dim
windows," "white walls," and "pale marble." Contrary to fact, but strongly in the Gothic tradition, Pope adds an element of ruin to his description of the Paraclete, which had been founded only a few years before the Heloise-Abelard correspondence began. Pope's Paraclete has "moss-grown domes with spiry turrets crown'd," while Hughes' translation refers to the Paraclete as a "young Vineyard" which contains no Gothic element of ruin.

Eloisa presents a detailed Gothic description of the interior setting of the convent:

Relentless walls! whose darksom round contains
Repentant sighs and voluntary pains;
Ye rugged rocks! which holy knees have worn;
Ye grots and caverns shagg'd with horrid thorn!
Shrines! where their vigils pale-ey'd virgins keep,
And pitying saints, whose statues learn to weep!
Tho' cold like you, unmov'd, and silent grown,
I have not yet forgot my self to stone.

(ll. 17-24.)

Heloise's scanty description of the interior of the convent is expanded by Eloisa in this passage to include the following references that indicate the prison-like quality of her environment: "Relentless walls," "darksom round," "rugged rocks," "grots and caverns," and "statues."

Eloisa's detailed description of her own cell, which has no source in Hughes, includes specific references to its
contents that fill her with thoughts of death and of graveyards:

See in her Cell sad Eloisa spread,
Propt on some tomb, a neighbour of the dead!
In each low wind methinks a Spirit calls,
And more than Echoes talk along the walls.
Here, as I watch'd the dying lamps around,
From yonder shrine I heard a hollow sound.

(Ll. 303-308.)
The convent also contains "deep solitudes and awful cells" (l. 1). In her description of the convent, Eloisa uses details that give a sense of gloomy furnishings and depressing grounds: "Cell," "some tomb," "walls," "dying lamps," "awful cells," "Tapers," "Temples" (l. 274), "lamps" (l. 112), and a "mold'ring tow'r" (l. 243).

In the Gothic novel, monastic institutions contained religious properties that evoked feelings of fear and dread, and these Gothic elements associated with religion, which have little or no basis in Hughes, are also important in Pope's setting. Eloisa's description of her daily prayers includes references to the Gothic religious properties that fill her with awe and apprehension:

I waste the Matin lamp in sighs for thee,
Thy image steals between my God and me,
Thy voice I seem in ev'ry hymn to hear,
With ev'ry bead I drop too soft a tear.
When from the Censor clouds of fragrance roll,
And swelling organs lift the rising soul;
One thought of thee puts all the pomp to flight,
Priests, Tapers, Temples, swim before my sight;
In seas of flame my plunging soul is drown'd,
While Altars blaze, and Angels tremble round.

(II. 267-276.)

Eloisa's description contains the following references to Gothic religious properties that fill her with a sense of fear and forboding: "Matin lamp," "ev'ry bead I drop," "from the Censor clouds of fragrance roll," "swelling organs," "Priests, Tapers, Temples," and "Altars."

Eloisa's description of the day she took her religious vows also involves Gothic religious properties that inspire her with terror:

As with cold lips I kiss'd the sacred veil,
The shrines all trembled, and the lamps grew pale;
Heav'n scarce believ'd the conquest it survey'd,
And Saints with wonder heard the vows I made.
Yet then, to those dread altars as I drew,
Not on the Cross my eyes were fix'd, but you.

(II. 111-116.)

Eloisa is overcome by feelings of dread and apprehension inspired by the Gothic religious properties contained in the convent: "the sacred veil," "dread altars," "the Cross," "shrines" (II. 21, 112, 134, 308), "silver saints" (I. 137),
and "pitying saints" (l. 22). Eloisa is "Lost in a convent's solitary gloom! / There stern religion" (ll. 38-39) imposes its will on hers. She kneels at the "altar's foot" (l. 103) in her "last retreat" (l. 5), her lips are in "holy silence seal'd" (l. 10), and she is shrouded in a "close disguise" (l. 11). She participates in "pray'rs" and "fasts" (l. 27), and laments being placed "where frozen chastity retires" (l. 181). She sees "sacred vestments ... / the hallow'd taper ... / the Cross" (ll. 325-327), views the "hopeless, lasting flames! like those that burn / To light the dead, and warm th' unfruitful urn" (ll. 261-262), and is tormented by thoughts of Abelard that "before the altar rise" (l. 265).

Pope also makes use of Gothic natural setting, which is derived from only one passage in Hughes in which Abelard mentions that he lives in a "barbarous country," and that he "walks ... on the inaccessible shore of a sea, which is perpetually stormy" (H., p. 72). In Pope, the Paraclete lies amidst a melancholy Gothic landscape:

The darksom pines that o'er yon' rocks reclin'd
Wave high, and murmur to the hollow wind;
The wandering streams that shinc between the hills,
The grots that echo [sic] to the tinkling rills,
The dying gales that pant upon the trees,
The lakes that quiver to the curling breeze;
No more these scenes my meditation aid,
Or lull to rest the visionary maid:
But o'er the twilight groves, and dusky caves,
Long-sounding isles, and intermingled graves,
Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws
A death-like silence, and a dread repose;
Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,
Shades ev'ry flow'r, and darkens ev'ry green,
Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,
And breathes a browner horror on the woods.

(Ll. 155-170.)

Eloisa's detailed description, which bears no resemblance to Hughes' scanty description of the natural setting, includes the following references to elements that indicate the predominantly desolate cast of the Gothic natural scenery: "darksom pines," "rocks," "wandering streams," "hills," "grots that echo to the tinkling rills," "trees," "lakes," "twilight groves," "dusky caves," "long-sounding isles," "ev'ry flow'r ... ev'ry green," "falling floods," and "woods."

Eloisa provides another description of the complex Gothic natural setting as she imagines in her dreams that she and Abelard walk

Thro' dreary wastes, and weep each other's woe;
Where round some mold'ring tow'r pale ivy creeps,
And low-browed rocks hang nodding o'er the deeps.
Sudden you mount! you becken [sic] from the skies;
Clouds interpose, waves roar, and winds arise.

(LL. 242-246.)

The brooding and gloomy elements associated with the complex Gothic natural scenery described in this passage, which has no source in Hughes, include: "dreary wastes," "pale ivy," "low-brow'd rocks," "the skies," and "waves."

Elsewhere in the poem, Pope creates a rugged and cruel Gothic landscape that includes "mountains, wilds, and deserts" (l. 132); "the Wild" (l. 134); "caverns shagg'd with horrid thorn" (l. 20); and "rocks" (l. 19). Eloisa describes the effects of Abelard's castration in terms of the serenity of the natural scenery: "Still as the sea, ere winds were taught to blow,/Or moving spirit bade the waters flow" (ll. 253-254). Eloisa emphasizes the overpowering qualities of nature as she begs to be released from her love for Abelard; she wishes for "Alps" to rise between them, "and whole oceans [to] roll" (ll. 289-290). She emphasizes the beauty and grandeur of nature as she sees in death "roseate bowers,/Celestial palms, and ever-blooming flow'rs" (ll. 317-318), and she imagines that as Abelard dies, "Bright clouds [will] descend .../[and that] From opening skies ... streaming glories [will] shine" (ll. 340-341).

Hughes does not make use of Gothic weather, but Pope includes ominous and terror-filled references to "noon-day night" (l. 143), "a solemn light" (l. 144), "each low wind"
(l. 305), "the hollow wind" (l. 156), "dying gales" (l. 159), "death-like silence, and a dread repose" (l. 166), "clouds ... winds" (l. 246), and "winds" (l. 253.) Pope also refers to peaceful and calming weather such as "the curling breeze" (l. 160), and "gleams of glory [that] brighten'd all the day" (l. 146).

In this paper, I have established that Pope's only source for *Eloisa to Abelard* was Hughes' translation of the *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*. I have identified the major components of the Gothic novel, and I have shown that all of these major Gothic components appear in Pope's poem after he had finished with Hughes' translation.
CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES


3 Citations from Pope in my text are from The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems, ed. Geoffrey Tillotson (New York, 1942), pp. 299-327 (Vol II. of The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. John Butt.)
CONCLUSION

I think that this paper is important because it demonstrates at length that Gothic elements do appear in Pope's poem. The critical commentary mentioned in the introduction to my thesis indicates that at least seven authors felt that the Gothic quality of *Eloisa to Abelard* was significant, but these critics never expanded upon their passing references because their research was not concerned primarily with Pope's Gothicization. The scanty references to the Gothic elements in Pope's poem are not conclusive because they are not substantiated by explicit evidence. I have provided this evidence, and have shown that Pope's entire poem contains Gothic elements. I think that examining the Gothic quality of Pope's poem leads to a greater appreciation of Pope's creative genius, adds to the overall understanding of Pope's poem, and indicates the wide range of material that Pope employed in his works.
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