

Religion and Alienation: The Case of Catholic Poet Alexander Pope

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Alexander Pope (1688-1744) is known to be the first professional English poet. Pope accrued a fortune of approximately £5,000 from his translation of Homer's *Iliad* (1715-1720), making him equivalent to modern day millionaire status.¹ He was able to garner a similar amount of profit from the subsequent translation of the *Odyssey* which followed in 1725-1726.² These were monumental feats for a poet in eighteenth-century England, as many writers still depended on royal or aristocratic patrons for their subsistence and success. Pope refused offers of patronage and instead negotiated business transactions with publishers and was careful to retain the copyrights to his own writings. Thus it is that he came to be recognized as the first professional writer in England, one who supported himself independently from the profit of his works.

However, Pope did not come from the most privileged circumstances. While his father, Alexander Pope senior, was a wealthy linen merchant in London, he retired from his occupation in 1688, the year in which the poet was born. From around the age of twelve, Pope also suffered from a physical condition which resulted in stunted growth and fragile health throughout his life.³

This paper will focus on the effects which Pope's Catholic faith had on his life and career.⁴ As remarked by Helen Deutsch that Pope seemed "destined for the margins," coupled with his physical deformity, his life was marked by factors of alienation.⁵ Regarding Pope's rise to fame and incontestable reputation, Pat Rogers comments that Pope exhibits a tendency for "compensatory over-achievement." I argue in this paper that Pope's legally disadvantaged status played an ironic yet significant role in cultivating his ambitions for success.

Beginning with the history of Catholics in England, I will examine the ways in which Pope was barred from mainstream education and university life on account of his faith. I will then trace how, notwithstanding the religious obstacles, Pope managed to build an immensely successful career and will conclude with his statements on the Poet Laureateship and burial in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey, public honors

¹ See Foxon 1991, 61-63.

² See Sherburn 1934, 259 and Foxon 1991, 101.

³ For detailed analyses of Pope's deformity, see Nicholson and Rousseau (1968) and Rousseau (2007). See also Turner (2012) which, though making clear that his focus is not on already celebrated figures such as Pope, offers insight into representations of disability, broadly defined and previously unexplored.

⁴ See, among others, Colley (1992), Tumbleson (1998), and Shell (1999) on Catholicism and English literature. More recently, Jonathan Pritchard is at work on a book studying the relations between Pope, property ownership, and Roman Catholics; see Pritchard 2012, 560.

⁵ Deutsch 2007, 15; Rogers 2006, xiii.

which he knew would never be conferred upon him because of his religious faith.

I. Catholics in England

The major event in the history of the plight of Catholics in England may date back to King Henry VIII's separation from the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church. Collectively known as the English Reformation, a series of laws concerning church reform was implemented in the sixteenth century. By the first Act of Supremacy of 1534, Parliament recognized the King as the Supreme Head of the Church of England. Although the Act was repealed in 1554 by Henry VIII's Catholic daughter Queen Mary I, it was introduced again as the Second Act of Supremacy of 1559 by her Protestant half-sister Queen Elizabeth I. The Acts of Supremacy of 1534 and 1559 included the Oath of Supremacy, which required those intending to hold public office to take an oath of allegiance to the Church of England. The Oath eventually became mandatory for Members of Parliament as well as university students.⁶

The Restoration of 1660, in which Charles II returned as monarch, brought an end to the Civil War. Disturbing events such as the Popish Plot of 1679, in which rumors spread about a plan by Catholics to assassinate the King, continued. However, in the aftermaths of the Civil War England for the most part leaned towards Passive Obedience,⁷ as avoidance of religious contention was an important factor in restoring national peace and stability. Then, in 1685 James II, a Catholic, succeeded the throne. The birth of James II's son – a Catholic heir – in 1688 sparked once more a religious and political upheaval. This led to the Glorious Revolution in which James II was dethroned in favor of Mary II and her Protestant husband William III.

Upon his accession to the throne, William III initially attempted to reverse some of the penal laws against Catholics and to prevent new ones from being implemented. However, such efforts at religious tolerance were met with fierce opposition in Parliament. As a result, anti-Catholic legislation tightened and new laws were also passed under Queen Anne, who succeeded William III in 1702.

⁶ Thomas More (1478-1535) and John Donne (1572-1631) were Catholic writers who were affected by the English Reformation. Upon his refusal to take the oath required by the Act of Supremacy of 1534, the author of *Utopia* was imprisoned, tried and convicted for treason, and beheaded in 1535. Donne was able to attend universities at Oxford and Cambridge, but he could not obtain a degree. Anti-Catholic measures continued to be imposed in England until the Papists Act of 1778. Subsequent Catholic Relief Acts in the late eighteenth century and nineteenth century gradually allowed Catholics to own land, inherit property, attend Catholic schools, and hold military and other professions which had been previously illegal.

⁷ See Erskine-Hill 1979, 15.

The Glorious Revolution occurred a mere few months after the birth of Alexander Pope. It may be assumed that Pope's father retired from his vocation as a precaution to the precarious state of Catholics in England. Pope was born in London, but Pope's father moved his family to Hammersmith in 1692 and then to Binfield in 1700. In 1708, in direct consequence of a Jacobite scare which occurred early in the year, the Queen issued a royal proclamation which required Catholics over the age of sixteen to remove ten miles outside of London and Westminster. It seems that Pope was forced to relocate for a temporary period, as he wrote in a letter to the Reverend Ralph Bridges dated 11 March 1708: "I am so suddenly Proclaimed out of Town that I have but just Time to pack up and be gone."⁸

Life as a Catholic became increasingly difficult after Queen Anne's death in 1714 and, by the Act of Settlement of 1701, it was George I who arrived from Hanover to ascend the throne. King George I, a Protestant, implemented a new law in which Catholics must take an oath of loyalty. Alexander Pope senior refused to do this.⁹ Catholics were also ordered to register their real estate. A fellow Catholic Edward Blount wrote to Alexander Pope on 23 June 1716: "Yesterday the Bill to oblige Papists to Register their names and Estates pass'd the Lords with many amendments, and this day was sent to the Commons for their Concurrence."¹⁰ Unjust taxes would later be levied in accordance to the estate's value. Pope senior had purchased an estate with nineteen acres of land for his family in Binfield, but a short while later in 1700 a new legislation was passed which prohibited Roman Catholics from purchasing or inheriting land unless if they officially renounced their faith.¹¹ In order to avoid the heavy additional taxation, Pope senior had no choice but to sell his estate and, moreover, to sell it to a Protestant.¹² Pope lamented his departure from Binfield in a letter to his Catholic friend Caryll: "I write this from Windsor Forest, which I am come to take my last look and leave of. We here bid our papist-neighbours adieu."¹³

Pope recalled the fate of his family of his early years in a 1737 poem, *Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace*:

And certain Laws, by Sufferers thought unjust,
Deny'd all Posts of Profit or of Trust:

⁸ Erskine-Hill 2000, 17.

⁹ See Erskine-Hill 1981, 132.

¹⁰ *Corr.*, 1:344.

¹¹ See Young 2007, 118.

¹² Fortunately a Protestant nephew of Pope's mother, Samuel Mawhood, arranged to take the family's Binfield estate in trust for them.

¹³ *Corr.*, 1:336.

Hopes after Hopes of pious Papists fail'd.¹⁴

Nevertheless, the Pope family never abjured their faith. In 1716 Pope senior moved his family a final time, from Binfield to the west of London in Chiswick. He passed away a year later. Alexander Pope subsequently relocated with his mother to Twickenham in 1718. As Pope could not purchase property, he lived there on a leased estate of five acres until his death in 1744.

It may be worthwhile to mention that by Pope's era, Catholics constituted a small minority of the population. They comprised ten to fifteen percent of the population in England, and only two to three percent may be said to have been practicing Catholics. Brian Young comments that they were mostly concentrated in Lancashire and Cheshire, as well as in the Thames Valley.¹⁵ This may help explain why the Pope family continued to live in the outskirts of London, despite the numerous changes of residence due to interdictions. They wished to remain close to the small communities of co-religionists.

Finally, there was even a law which forbade Catholics from owning a horse that was worth more than ten pounds.¹⁶ This law too affected Pope, as he had received a horse as a gift from Caryll. Pope wrote to him on 14 August 1714: "The greatest fear I have under the circumstances of a poor papist is the loss of my poor horse; yet... If I had a house and they took it away, I could write for my bread."¹⁷ Fortunately for Pope, his literary career showed a promising start while still a youth in Binfield. In 1706, when Pope was barely eighteen years old, he had received a letter from the leading bookseller Jacob Tonson the Elder: "Sir, - I have lately seen a pastoral of yours... If you design your Poem for the Press no person shall be more Carefull in the printing of it, nor no one can give a greater Incouragement to it."¹⁸ His first publication appeared in 1709 and Pope's career was steadily on the rise.

II. Education and Success

Anti-Catholic legislation in England not only involved double taxation and prohibition of property ownership, but it also extended to education as well and Pope was certainly not immune to its effects. He received very little formal education.

¹⁴ Lines 60-62; *TE*, 4:169.

¹⁵ Young 2007, 118.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*

¹⁷ *Corr.*, 1:241-42.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

As a young child, Pope attended two Catholic schools, one in Twyford and another near Hyde Park Corner. Both schools were unauthorized. He also learned classical languages from a priest named John Banister.¹⁹ He once made a journey to Oxford University as an adult in 1717, in which he described the visit to his female Catholic friends Teresa and Martha Blount: “I wanted nothing but a black Gown and a Salary, to be as meer a Bookworm as any there.”²⁰ Despite the awe and rapture, Pope was never able, apparently on account of his faith, to become a scholar or a professor at a university.²¹ From around the time of the family’s move to Binfield when Pope was about twelve years old, he resorted largely to self-education. Later in life, Pope commented about his schooling: “God knows, it extended a very little way.”²²

In addition to his Catholicism, a major obstacle which would inflict Pope from adolescence until the end of his life was his physical deformity. Pope suffered from a tubercular infection of the bone, later called Pott’s Disease.²³ Pope most likely contracted it from contaminated cow’s milk, as pasteurization was not a current practice in Pope’s time.²⁴ The curvature of his spine and limited growth led to other ailments, and he suffered from poor health throughout his life. However, notwithstanding the physical impediments, he convinced his concerned parents to allow him to leave Binfield for a period in 1703 or 1704 to study French and Italian in London.²⁵ Pope was an ambitious learner and he was determined to procure the best education for himself.

Catholics were prohibited from sending their children abroad, to be educated in their own faith.²⁶ However, the interdiction was not strictly enforced until the accession of George I in 1714. Families who could afford the voyage often sent their children, clandestinely, to Continental Europe. Teresa and Martha Blount were sent to receive a Catholic education in France as young girls. Pope could not do so, not because of

¹⁹ See Gordon 1976, 5.

²⁰ *Corr.*, 1:430.

²¹ Towards the end of his life in the early 1740s Pope was offered an honorary degree from Oxford University, but he declined it on the grounds that his friend William Warburton was denied the same honor; see *ibid.*, 4:362 and 436-38.

²² Spence 1966, 1:8.

²³ Cf. George Rousseau: “By the time [Pope] entered puberty, he began to shrink rather than grow tall, eventually dwindling to no more than four and a half feet tall as an adult, and the fact that one leg was significantly shorter than the other caused him to develop his humped back. The protrusion was painful as well as noticeable, and in time forced him to walk with a stick (cane) and to wear specially fitted shoes” (2007, 210). See Guerinot (1969) for the malicious criticisms which Pope received throughout his career that mocked his appearance and physical limits.

²⁴ Cf. Nicolson and Rousseau: “[Pott’s Disease] was widespread in Europe and America down to the early years of [the twentieth] century, when pasteurization began to be practiced, though almost unknown in tropical countries where milk was boiled for preservation” (1968, 15).

²⁵ See Spence 1966, 1:12-3.

²⁶ See Young 2007, 118 and Aden 1978, 3-33.

financial constraints, but because of his physical condition. Pope was never physically strong enough to travel abroad in his life.

In his native England, however, Pope continued to write and publish. His first commercial success came with the publication of the five-canto version of the *Rape of the Lock* on 4 March 1714. The poet wrote with rapture to Caryll on 12 March 1714: “*The Rape of the Lock*... has in four days time sold to the number [of] three thousand, and is already reprinted.”²⁷

Profit occupied a significant part of Pope’s mind in his career as a poet. In 1739 he told Joseph Spence: “An author who is at all the expenses of publishing ought to clear two thirds of the whole profit into his own pocket.”²⁸ Spence also recorded the example which Pope gave him:

For instance, as [Pope] explained it, in a piece of one thousand copies at 3s each to the common buyer, the whole sale at that rate will bring in £150. The expense therefore to the author for printing, paper, publishing, selling, and advertising, should be about £50, and his clear gains should be £100.²⁹

While never on the verge of bankruptcy, Pope knew that he had to support his elderly mother and other members of the family. He was no landowner. Nor did he have an aristocratic title to claim. Financial success, in addition to recognition for his literary talent, became an important symbol of status for the Catholic poet.

Pope was fortunate to be endowed with influential literary friends since youth including William Wycherley (1640-1716), John Caryll (1667-1736), William Walsh (1663-1708), and Sir William Trumbull (1638-1716). Pope similarly received several offers from aristocratic patrons. Towards the end of his career in 1738, he boasted: “SOMMERS once, and HALIFAX were mine.”³⁰ Lord Somers (1651-1716) was a successful Whig politician, and Charles Montagu, the Earl of Halifax (1661-1715) was a poet and politician. Both were supporters of Pope’s poetry and had proposed to become his patrons. However, Pope turned down the generous proposals.³¹ He desired to maintain his independence. To be a client-poet under a patron would curb freedom for the writer, as he must be heedful not to include content which the patron may disapprove. Depending on the patron, the writer may even be subject to

²⁷ *Corr.*, 1:214.

²⁸ Spence 1966, 1:85.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue II*, 77; *TE*, 4:317.

³¹ For Halifax’s proposal of patronage to Pope, see Spence 1966, 1:87-88. For Pope’s polite reply of refusal, see *Corr.*, 1:237 and Sherburn 1934, 64 and 126. Another figure who offered patronage was James Craggs (1686-1721), Secretary of State. He proposed numerous times a pension of £300 a year, from money which came from secret service funds; see *TE*, 4:354.

producing political propaganda.³²

The ingenious solution which Pope came up with was to publish a complete translation of Homer's *Iliad* by subscription. While Pope modeled his publication method from John Dryden's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (1700), publication by subscription was traditionally reserved for material for which profitability was difficult to predict. Gathering subscribers who would pay in advance decreased the risk of loss, and, in Pope's case, he devised a plan to divide the twenty-four books of the *Iliad* into six volumes, so that a regular annual installment was delivered to the subscribers between 1715 and 1720. This allowed the income from the first volume to supply the cost of production for the second volume, from the second volume for the third, and so forth.

The support from Pope's large circle of aristocratic friends must not be underestimated.³³ Pope had renowned figures such as Isaac Newton on his list of subscribers for the first volume of his translation of the *Iliad* in 1715. Some subscribers ordered multiple sets to distribute as gifts to friends. The Earl of Halifax subscribed to ten sets.³⁴ The Earl of Carnarvon was the largest single subscriber, who ordered twelve sets. Taking into account the number of wealthy nobility who became subscribers, David Foxon comments that Pope's publication venture resembled "collective patronage" and Paul Baines similarly calls it "diffused patronage."³⁵ Pope himself, in the Preface to the first volume of his *Iliad*, wrote: "I have found more Patrons than ever *Homer* wanted."³⁶

Nevertheless, regarding the business aspects, Pope was unable to reach his target of finding 750 subscribers for the first volume. The true figure is estimated to have been 654 copies for 575 subscribers.³⁷ Assuming that 650 subscriptions were faithfully paid, David Foxon calculates the maximum profit to have been about £5,435, after deducting payment for the publisher Bernard Lintot. He calculates the minimum to have been £4,372. Taking the middle figure, Foxon thus concludes that a personal profit of approximately £5,000 was made by Pope.³⁸ Pope repeated much the same procedure for his translation of the *Odyssey*, though this time hiring Fenton and

³² This was especially the case with royal patrons. See Steinberg 1996, 108-9 for examples with authors writing for Queen Elizabeth I and Queen Anne.

³³ Cf. Pat Rogers' comment on the system of subscription: "[an] easy 'commission' is a myth: there was only the struggle to find, and to keep, an audience interested enough to subscribe" (1978, 35).

³⁴ See Spence 1966, 1:88.

³⁵ Foxon 1991, 39; Baines 2000, 17.

³⁶ *Prose Works*, 1:255.

³⁷ See Griffith 1922-27, 1:41.

³⁸ See Foxon 1991, 61-63.

Broome to facilitate the translation. Even after payments to his two assistants, he managed to secure a similar profit of approximately £5,000.³⁹ These were no small feats for a poet when we take into account that the average cost of living in England in the eighteenth century was about £30 a year.⁴⁰

IV. Poet Laureateship and Burial in Westminster Abbey

Pope continued to compose highly acclaimed works of poetry such as the *Dunciad* in three books (1728), the *Dunciad Variorum* (1729), *Epistles to Several Persons* (1731-1735), *Essay on Man* (1733-1734), and the *Dunciad in Four Books* (1743).

The history of Poet Laureateship in England may date back to Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343-1400). Chaucer received an annual allowance of wine for the title, a tradition which continues to this day. However, the position of Poet Laureate as it exists today requires appointment by the monarch. By this standard, Ben Jonson (c. 1572-1637) may be said to be the first Poet Laureate in England, who was appointed to the position by King James I in 1617.

Catholics were excluded from appointment as a Poet Laureate. John Dryden (1631-1700), whom Pope greatly admired, was a poet, literary critic, playwright, and in the final two decades of his life, a translator. Dryden was appointed Poet Laureate in 1668 by Charles II and Historiographer Royal two years later. Sometime in the 1680s he converted to Roman Catholicism. The act was very possibly a result of his loyalty to James II. However, when James II was ousted from his throne in 1688, Dryden was stripped from his titles by Mary II and William III. Dryden remains the only figure in England who was dismissed from the position as Poet Laureate.

Like his predecessor Dryden, Pope's Catholic faith meant that he could not hope for a Poet Laureateship. In the *First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated* (1733), Pope as a poet affirms his will to continue to write. The poem is set in an imaginary dialogue between his lawyer-friend Fortescue and himself. Fortescue suggests:

Or if you needs must write, write CAESAR's Praise:

You'll gain at least a *Knighthood*, or the *Bays*.⁴¹

Pope makes the character Fortescue give an ironic advice: to compose a panegyric

³⁹ See *ibid.*, 101 in which Foxon calculates £5,549. 5s from 610 subscribers and 1,057 copies. Pope also received copy-money from his publisher Lintot, and the total would then have been closer to £5,916. 15s. Fenton and Broome were paid £200 and £400, respectively. Foxon thus concludes that Pope made approximately £5,000 from the translation of the *Odyssey*; see also Sherburn 1934, 259.

⁴⁰ See Steinberg 1996, 110.

⁴¹ Lines 21-22; *TE*, 4:7.

(“CAESAR’s Praise”) for King George II in order to receive a knighthood or appointment to the Poet Laureateship (“Bays”). Pope makes the lawyer-character miss the point that a Catholic could expect neither of those rewards, and he, in a subtle yet mocking manner, points out the injustice of living as a Catholic poet in his own nation.

Pope personally knew many of the Poet Laureates of his time, including Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718), who was appointed in 1715 by King George I, and Laurence Eusden (1688-1730), who succeeded after Rowe’s death. Pope was openly critical of George II’s 1730 appointment of the playwright Colley Cibber (1671-1757):

And idle Cibber, how he breaks the laws,
To make poor Pinky eat with vast applause!
But fill their purse, our Poet’s work is done.⁴²

Pope questions the aesthetic qualities exhibited in Cibber’s works. It may be true that Cibber’s plays were highly popular, receiving “vast applause” from the audience. Yet their appeal was due more to the spectacle of an actor wolfing down chicken on the stage (“make poor Pinky eat”) than appreciation of the drama as a literary work. Moreover, Pope perceives that, for many dramatists including Cibber, their primary motivation was monetary gain: “fill their purse.” He laments the lack of appreciation for gifted poets: “our Poet’s work is done.” In addition to the fact that Pope himself can never hope to be appointed Poet Laureate, he is unable to hide his disillusionment that the highest literary honor is conferred upon a playwright whose works, in Pope’s opinion at least, contain no literary merit.

Another public honor which Pope knew could never be bestowed on him was burial in Westminster Abbey. The reason, once again, was on account of his religious faith. Chaucer became the first poet to receive a grave in what is today called the Poets’ Corner in Westminster Abbey. Highly renowned English poets such as Edmund Spenser, Ben Jonson, Sir John Denham, and Abraham Cowley have followed since. They were Pope’s predecessors from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and Pope had admired their works since childhood. In the eighteenth century, Pope’s contemporaries Nicholas Rowe, Joseph Addison, and John Gay were buried there. Pope wrote epitaphs for both Rowe and Gay.⁴³

Pope knows that he will not be able to join them in Westminster Abbey. He wrote his own epitaph, which he titled: “For One who would not be buried in Westminster

⁴² *First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated*, 292-94; *ibid.*, 221.

⁴³ See *ibid.*, 6:349-50 for Gay’s epitaph and *ibid.*, 400-1 for Rowe’s.

Abbey.”⁴⁴ The date of composition is unknown, but it was published in 1738, six years before his death. Despite his incontestable fame and the immense fortune which he accrued, Pope remained aware that he was excluded from the possibility of one of the greatest literary honors in the nation.

However, earlier in his life Pope had revealed in the *Ode to Solitude* that he wished for a quiet life and an anonymous resting place after death:

Thus let me live, unseen, unknown;

Thus unlamented let me dye;

Steal from the world, and not a stone

Tell where I lye.⁴⁵

The *Ode on Solitude* was published in 1717, but the first draft may have been composed as early as 1700, when Pope was only a youth of twelve years. It may sound as if Pope, as a poet whose desire for recognition and success was apparent, is being inauthentic when he claims that he wishes to be “unseen [and] unknown” in life. This may be an instance of posturing in which Pope feigns humility. The expression, “not a stone | Tell where I lye,” may similarly be a slight exaggeration.

It is nevertheless quite true that Pope imagined serenity as an ideal state after burial. In his epitaph of 1738, he wrote: “In peace let one poor Poet sleep.”⁴⁶ Pope’s life was filled with contention. He made many foes in the literary circle, such as the abovementioned dramatist Cibber, on several occasions only marginally escaped censorship by Sir Robert Walpole’s administration, began a legal dispute with the publisher Henry Lintot over a copyright issue, and consulted lawyers for cases of piracy.⁴⁷ Taking all this into account, it becomes understandable that Pope sincerely wished for some peace after his death. It may also be that, because he was proud and content of the success which he attained in his lifetime, he had no more to fight or yearn for and only desired peace after his life was over.

One must keep in mind that religious faith accounted for only one factor in Pope’s disadvantaged status. Although not mentioned in this article, the effects of his physical deformity must not be overlooked in tracing Pope’s life and career. He suffered emotional damage from malicious pamphlet attacks ridiculing his short stature, and in his private life he was never able to muster the courage to get married.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 376.

⁴⁵ Lines 17-20; *ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 376.

⁴⁷ See, among others, Clegg (2008) for the history of censorship in England; Mack 1985, 683 and *TE*, 4:xxxvii-xxxviii for Pope regarding political issues in his *First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated*; Foxon (1991) for copyright matters; and *ibid.* and Rose (1992) for Pope’s cases of piracy.

Nevertheless, unlike the physical state over which he had no control, with regards to faith he had a choice. And yet he chose, perhaps with due deference to his parents, to remain a Catholic.

In the case of Alexander Pope, one sees a poet whose disadvantaged status fueled his ambitions for success. Posterity has borrowed expressions from Pope's own creations. His legacy still lives in titles of notable works such as E.M. Forster's *Where Angels Fear to Tread* (1905) and the more recent film *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind* (2004).⁴⁸ In an ironic way, Alexander Pope stands as testament that it is possible for a writer, and moreover a person, to attain success even in the face of adverse and unjust circumstances.

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⁴⁸ From *Essay on Criticism*, 625; *TE*, 1:310 and from *Eloisa to Abelard*, 209; *ibid.*, 2:337.

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