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Abstract

This essay addresses the authorship and complicated history of "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment," the seminal Gothic short story often attributed to Anna Laetitia Barbauld. I acknowledge the existence of a completed "B-Text" of that fragment, which survives in an obscure anthology titled Gothic Stories (1797). The existence of a cohesive conclusion to this text, a work normally discussed only as "a fragment" and correspondingly tied to theoretical discussions of the Gothic as a genre of fragmentation, underscores the need for a critical reevaluation of "Sir Bertrand" as both fragment and completed tale, and a new understanding of its role in the development of Gothic and supernatural fiction. I confront the problem of authorship and analyze the literary descent of both texts, and then I interrogate the "lost" conclusion not only to determine its impact on the tale's narrative style and genre, but also to retrace its newly revealed historical roots in order to uncover a potential historical source for the rediscovered B-text.

Keywords

"Sir Bertrand", Gothic, fiction, melodrama, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, editions

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This essay addresses the authorship and complicated history of "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment," the seminal Gothic short story often attributed to Anna Laetitia Barbauld. I acknowledge the existence of a completed "B-Text" of that fragment, which survives in an obscure anthology titled *Gothic Stories* (1797). The existence of a cohesive conclusion to this text, a work normally discussed only as "a fragment" and correspondingly tied to theoretical discussions of the Gothic as a genre of fragmentation, underscores the need for a critical re-evaluation of "Sir Bertrand" as both fragment and completed tale, and a new understanding of its role in the development of Gothic and supernatural fiction. I confront the problem of authorship and analyze the literary descent of both texts, and then I interrogate the "lost" conclusion not only to determine its impact on the tale's narrative style and genre, but also to retrace its newly revealed historical roots in order to uncover a potential historical source for the rediscovered B-text.

As AN early example of what would later come to be known as Gothic literature, the celebrated "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment," often attributed to Anna Laetitia Barbauld, remains one of the most influential pieces of Gothic short fiction. The work first appeared in 1773, when Barbauld (writing under her maiden name, Aikin) produced *Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose* with her brother John Aikin. The text predates every major Gothic narrative in English with the single exception of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*; and, as a practical exercise of the principles laid out in the Aikins' seminal essay, "On the Pleasures Derived from Objects of Terror," its influence on the aesthetics, language, and generic conventions of English Gothic fiction is undeniable and difficult to overstate.

The stock devices of Gothic melodrama are present to excess in "Sir Bertrand": worn to cliché by the end of the 1790s, they hold few surprises for readers familiar with Gothic aesthetic conventions. The fragment's famous cliff-hanger ending, however, has

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intrigued readers throughout its distinguished lifespan, hanging as expectantly and mysteriously today as it did when first published. At the story's climax, its terrifying Gothic devices (the mist-covered moor, the ruined castle, the disembodied hand, narrow passages, veiled apparitions) give way to "a lady of incomparable beauty" and a lavish banquet, after which "all retired but the lady, who leading back the knight to the sofa, addressed him in these words: ———."1 This abrupt ending to "Sir Bertrand" is of special interest to critics in the wake of an observation by Robert Miles that the Gothic genre as a whole "is 'disjunctive,' fragmentary, inchoate, so that ... theory is required to sound the Gothic's deep structure in order to render the surface froth comprehensible."2 Within a genre defined by its fragmentation, the Aikins' establishment of "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment" as a practical model of the principles of literary terror also implies the importance of the piece as an early exemplar of what Deborah Harter calls "a poetics of fragmentation and disfigurement" in fantastic narrative.3

Given the text's importance to both this poetics of fragmentation and Gothic fiction in general, the existence of a longer, completed B-text of "Sir Bertrand" that survives from Anna Barbauld's lifetime should resonate as a consequential discovery. I am at a loss to explain why this completed text escaped notice until now, particularly given its availability. The B-text of "Sir Bertrand," more completely titled "Sir Bertrand's Adventures in a Ruinous Castle," has been scanned into several widely available digital facsimiles and even reprinted in a modern anthology, where it received neither critical attention nor, it seems, recognition as a "lost" narrative. I have not found any critical mention of the completed B-text, not even to acknowledge its existence; it is to this oversight that I hope to attend here.

With the fragment's powerful influence on the genre long established, this late rediscovery of its conclusion will prompt no radical revision of the original text's literary impact or importance. That the tale has long been referred to as a "fragment"

¹ John Aikin and Anna Laetitia Aikin, "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment," *Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose* (London: J. Johnson, 1773), 137. References to "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment" or to the A-Text of "Sir Bertrand" are to this edition.

² Robert Miles, *Gothic Writing*, 1750–1820: A Genealogy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 1.

³ Deborah A. Harter, *Bodies in Pieces: Fantastic Narrative and the Poetics of the Fragment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 4.

in criticism and that nearly all modern reprints are drawn from the unfinished A-text in *Miscellaneous Pieces* largely affirm that the story has always been primarily known as an incomplete fragment, even to the early nineteenth-century readership to whom the complete B-text was available.

The unique situation of these two texts provokes theoretical questions of reception and recovery that are too broad to directly confront here. As a result, my exhumation of the B-text plays perhaps too readily into an established search-and-rescue tradition in Gothic criticism, in which once-obscure works "of merit" are occasionally restored to prominence. The work of determining which works "deserve" renewed critical attention, and which ought to be condemned to the back shelves of a few Special Collections or dismissed as mere curiosities of antiquity, uses a language that constructs literary obscurity as a "fallen" state, from which a few works are redeemed by the once-hidden merit of their literary character. While I consider this agenda of Gothic criticism worth questioning, it is beyond my reach to answer such questions here. Instead, I am concerned with a more practical preliminary analysis of the rediscovered "Sir Bertrand," and my goals are correspondingly centred on this text alone. I will begin by briefly summarizing the bibliographical situation of the two texts and the critical debate surrounding the authorship of the A-text, before complicating matters by considering separately the authorship of the B-text. The distinction this sets between the complete story and its parent fragment prompts an independent evaluation of the B-text as a distinct work, with attention to how the unusual dénouement and the otherwise conventional concluding scene alter the tone, function, and genre of the story. Finally, I will plumb the historical depths of "Sir Bertrand's" newfound conclusion in order to understand better its sources and its place in the tradition of supernatural romance.

The B-text appears in *Gothic Stories*, a relatively obscure 1797 anthology that nevertheless survives in the "themed" Gothic collections of a few academic libraries.⁴ Under the long title "Sir Bertrand's Adventures in a Ruinous Castle," attributed to

⁴ I am working here from the original 1797 printing of *Gothic Stories*, which survives in the Sadleir-Black Collection of Gothic Fiction at the University of Virginia. The best description of the collection, though it makes no mention of "Sir Bertrand," is found in Frederick S. Frank, "Gothic Gold: The Sadleir-Black Gothic Collection," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 26 (1998): 287–312.

"Mrs. Barbauld," the story's first three pages are identical to "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment," with only a few discrepancies of punctuation. Several subsequent printings were issued between 1798 and 1804, some of which are now available electronically through Eighteenth-Century Collections Online. In contrast to the monumental arrival of "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment," which was unique and groundbreaking in 1773, the B-text appears alongside several stories of similar character in a relatively conventional 1790s "terror fiction" anthology. Such collections, containing both short fiction and excerpted fragments of longer works, are frequently among the worst offerings from a period described by Miles as "the effulgence of Gothic," or less generously by Terry Castle as the "Gothic craze." In the sensational wake of Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis, the explosion of texts⁶ that recycle the aesthetics and narrative gimmickry of Gothic romance has left critics with a confusing landscape of purple prose, from which works are occasionally scavenged, either for critical consideration or for popular short-fiction anthologies, such as those edited by British journalist Peter Haining.⁷

Harriet Devine Jump is the only modern editor to reprint the B-text, including it in her anthology *Nineteenth-Century Short Stories by Women* (1998) where it appears with little fanfare and continued to elude critical attention. Of her rationale for the contents of the anthology, Jump states: "My principles of selection have been simple. I have tried to represent the changing tastes and preoccupations of a hundred years of literary work, and I have included stories which I myself have enjoyed." Of

- Miles, "The Effulgence of the Gothic," in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 41. Terry Castle, "The Gothic Novel," in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, 1660–1780, ed. John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 673.
- ⁶ Miles records 184 novels published from 1790 through 1800, without counting the volumes of short stories, abridged excerpts, Gothic poetry, and reprinted/revised titles from the same period ("The Effulgence of the Gothic," 44).
- 7 Among Peter Haining's more noteworthy anthologies are *The Clans of Darkness: Scottish Stories of Fantasy and Horror* (New York: Taplinger, 1971); *The Everyman's Book of Classic Horror Stories* (London: Dent, 1976); and *Great British Tales of Terror* (London: Gollancz, 1972), in which his edition of "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment" appears.
- ⁸ Harriet Devine Jump, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Short Stories by Women* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- ⁹ Jump, 8.

"Sir Bertrand" itself her comments are similarly sparse: "The Gothic mode was well adapted to both long and short fiction. Anna Barbauld's early experiment in the genre, The Story of Sir Bertrand, has all the hallmarks of an archetypal Gothic tale. Set in a mysterious castle at some unspecified time in the past, the story provides exactly the judicious combination of terror and horror culminating in a happily romantic resolution that readers of the period would have enjoyed."10 The anthology's table of contents offers 1804 as the story's date, pointing to the 1804 printing of Gothic Stories as Jump's initial source and suggesting that she is unaware of the B-text's earlier printings. Whether she is aware of the A-text's early existence is similarly unclear. She recognizes Anna Laetitia Barbauld from her surname alone (the 1804 printing, like earlier ones, credits her only as "Mrs. Barbauld"), but never mentions Barbauld's maiden name or the alternative text published under it. Finally, and most ironically in an anthology of nineteenth-century women's fiction, she does not address the prevailing contemporary view that "Sir Bertrand" is an eighteenth-century story written by a man.

The man in question is Barbauld's brother John Aikin; the most compelling argument for his authorship comes from Barbauld's niece Lucy Aikin, who collected Barbauld's works in 1825. In *The Works of Anna Laetitia Barbauld*, Lucy Aikin specifically addresses the authorship of "Sir Bertrand," which she deliberately omitted from the collection, stating that "several of the pieces have in consequence been generally misappropriated. The fragment of Sir Bertrand in particular ... has been repeatedly ascribed to Mrs. Barbauld, even in print." This outright denial from a close authority has convinced most critics to read the fragment as John Aikin's: in *Gothic Readings*, Rictor Norton anthologizes it under John Aikin's name, and E.J. Clery and Miles both attribute the story to John Aikin in *Gothic Documents: A Sourcebook*. However, Lucy Aikin's attempt to clarify the fragment's authorship becomes ambiguous

¹⁰ Jump, 4.

¹¹ Lucy Aikin, "Memoir," in *The Works of Anna Laetitia Barbauld*, ed. Lucy Aikin (Boston: David Reed, 1826), xiii.

¹² Rictor Norton, ed., Gothic Readings: The First Wave, 1764–1840 (London: Continuum, 2005). Norton identifies an earlier authoritative attempt to attribute the story to Aikin in the December 1798 issue of Analytical Review (7).
E.J. Clery and Robert Miles, Gothic Documents: A Sourcebook, 1700–1820 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 127.

as the B-text comes to light. She describes the tale only as "a fragment," unaware of the story's completion even though the success of *Gothic Stories*, evinced by its several reprints and the many surviving copies, suggests a considerable readership. The A-text of "Sir Bertrand," however, is the only version commonly anthologized, and I find Lucy Aikin's attribution of the story to John Aikin most convincing when I take it to refer to the fragment alone. To further navigate the question of the authorship of the conclusion requires a closer look at the texts themselves, and an examination of how the form and genre of "Sir Bertrand" are destabilized by the happily romantic resolution.

The 1773 A-text of "Sir Bertrand" is considered one of the first Gothic writings to use fragmentation as a deliberate formal narrative device. "Sir Bertrand" influences the disparate "crafted fragments" of 1790s Gothic fiction and contributes to the growing popularity of an authentic fragmentation created by the abridgement of Gothic novels to chapbook sizes, or the excision of "scenes of horror" from their source novels, to be read as shocking tales in their own right. 13 In "On The Pleasures Derived from Objects of Terror," the author cites as an influence not the whole of Tobias Smollett's Ferdinand Count Fathom, but rather a scene from the novel; accordingly, the fragment is crafted to raise dramatic tension without being forced to slacken it. As an illustrated principle, the piece is a success, but as an unfinished tale with an abrupt cliff-hanger, the fragment has long frustrated and intrigued readers by ending in limbo with an unresolved dramatic pause before the lady's speech. It is "these words" (A-text, 137), delivered in the once-silenced voice of the damsel, that make up the bulk of the fragment's missing piece; the final fifth of the B-text is a dénouement in which the unnamed lady reveals herself to be no mere apparition, but a fellow prisoner of the castle's magic.

This revelation radically alters not only the meaning of the story, but also in some respects its genre. The tale transforms from a simple "catalogue" of the devices of Gothic sublimity to a complete narrative with a middle and an end, whose beginning is recounted in the lady's retrospective monologue:

¹³ A famous example of this kind of scene is the passage that describes Ludovico's disappearance from Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, most often anthologized under the title "The Haunted Chamber."

Sir Knight, the grateful remembrance of my delivery from the iron hand of the Moorish tyrant, who in dying bequeathed his soul to the prince of the air for the horrid purpose of confining me in this my patrimonial estate, shall never be erased from my memory ... My father approved of my union with him, but, alas! I never beheld him without the utmost horror ... I was induced to sign, in obedience to my father's will, a covenant with Almanzor, which he pretended would place me next heir to the Moorish throne. Each signature was made with our blood, and a requiem was afterward sung for the success of our union. But, alas ... because I peremptorily refused to drink his blood, this monster swore he would invoke every power to confine me until some more valorous knight should arrive to release me from his hands.¹⁴

The first of the revelations here, that the castle's enchantment is a form of imprisonment, is unsurprising to a reader familiar with the tradition of continental fairy-tales, but this revelation does connect "Sir Bertrand" to that tradition in a way not previously considered. The obvious mythic parallel, in which the patrimonial estate is bewitched so that it serves as the enchanted prison, is the most commonly known version of Sleeping Beauty, drawn from Charles Perrault's "La Belle au Bois dormant." The Grimms' later variant, known as "The Glass Coffin," preserves the enchanted-prison trope as well as the reasons for its invocation:

My long-desired deliverer! A gracious heaven has led you hither to put an end to my sorrows ... The black Magician appeared once more, and told me he had changed my Brother into a Goat, enclosed my castle with all its surrounding buildings in another glass case, and shut up my people in the form of smoke in glass bottles. If I were willing, he said, to fulfil his wishes now, nothing was easier for him than to put things in their previous position ... I answered him, however, as little as before, and he disappeared, leaving me lying in my glass prison-house, where I presently fell into a deep sleep. ¹⁶

^{14 &}quot;Sir Bertrand's Adventures in a Ruinous Castle," in *Gothic Stories* (London, 1797), 6–7. References to the "B-Text" are to this edition.

¹⁵ In folkloric studies, Sleeping Beauty and its variants are presently catalogued in the Aarne-Thompson-Uther classification system of folktales under the number ATU-410. Charles Perrault's "Sleeping Beauty," on which nearly all English retellings are based, was first published in Histoires ou Contes du temps passé, avec des moralités (1697).

¹⁶ This English translation is from Jacob Ludwig Grimm, *Household Stories Collected by the Brothers Grimm*, trans. E.H. Wehnert (London: Routledge, 1853), 710–12. References are to this edition. This book provides a direct translation of the original, which first appeared in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1819–22).

While the Grimms' 1819 text is too late to be a direct source for "Sir Bertrand," both the antagonist's curse and his provocation to bestow it render "The Glass Coffin" a useful analogue: in both tales the lady's refusal to submit to an unholy union provokes the wrath of her non-Christian husband, and the spell is broken by a wandering Christian to whom the lady is hastily married at the work's conclusion. In the two tales, the hero finds himself lost in the wild after "night overtook him" (B-text, 3, and Grimm, 707). The anxiety of each hero is clear to the reader, and both are led on in the darkness by a "dim twinkling light" (B-text, 3), revealed more specifically in "The Glass Coffin" as "the glimmering of a candle" (Grimm, 708).

From here, the progress of Sir Bertrand conforms more rigidly to English traditions of the sublime and picturesque established by Edmund Burke and William Gilpin: his journey is marked by solitude, silence, and ruined architecture, contrasting with the encounters with old men and wild beasts in "The Glass Coffin." Sir Bertrand's adventure is dominated, as befits the Gothic romance, not with the vibrant action of a fairy-tale but with an eerie visual stillness. But in both cases the journey serves as a narrative processional past sights of wonder and terror, and most studies of "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment" conclude that this processional is the story's primary purpose. Edith Birkhead, in The Tale of Terror, for example, takes this stance, judging the included moments of the dénouement an awkward end that "breaks the spell" of the fragment's sublimity: "the happy ending, which wings our thoughts back to the Sleeping Beauty of childhood, is wholly incongruous. If the fragment had ended abruptly at the moment when the lady arises in her shroud from the coffin, Sir Bertrand would have been a more effective tale of terror." In the shadow of its accompanying essay, this is a valid critique of the A-text: here the goal of terror fiction is to lift the reader's imagination to excitement and curiosity with some weird object or situation, and to keep it at such a height with a continuing sequence of wonders: "though we know beforehand what to expect, we enter into [scenes of artificial terror] with eagerness, in quest of a pleasure already experienced. This is the pleasure constantly attached to surprise from new and wonderful objects. A strange and unexpected event awakens the mind, and ... our imagination, darting forth, explores with rapture the new world which is laid open to its view ... and the pain of terror is

¹⁷ Edith Birkhead, The Tale of Terror (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 30.

lost in amazement." The anti-climactic moment following Sir Bertrand's kiss—when he awakens to "[find] himself seated on a velvet sofa" (A-text, 136)—heralds a slackening of the dramatic tension that has endured through a formidable parade of improbable sights. Birkhead's stance, which is underscored by the survival of a complete dénouement, is that as a model of the principles outlined in its companion essay, "Sir Bertrand: A Fragment" is a failure in editing, an aborted fragmentation. Speaking of the A-text as a Gothic exercise in terror rather than as a Perraultian fairy-tale weakens the story's effect not because its happy ending has been cut, but rather because it has not been cut enough.

Such evaluations play into discussions of Gothic fiction as a fragmentary mode or genre, highlighting the disjunctive nature of Gothic writing as explored by David Punter and others. By elevating rather than denigrating the abortive text as a formal and self-reflexive symbol of Gothic aesthetics, Birkhead's vision of the fragment is one in which narrative and aesthetic collide: the fragment does not merely describe or express Gothic ruins, but comes to embody them textually. By channelling the decay and entropy of Gothic aesthetics into the flesh of its own formal structure, the more fragmented "Sir Bertrand" becomes the closer it approaches a Gothic ideal of incompleteness. In this capacity, the fragmented "Sir Bertrand" remains an essential Gothic text even after the discovery of its completed twin, and the study of the fragment as a text in its own right is still possible and desirable for many reasons. Vijay Mishra's description of "Sir Bertrand" as "the definitive Gothic fragment ... a work that produced ... imitations with monotonous regularity" remains valid; 19 while the rediscovered ending may radically alter the story's internal meaning, the existence of an alternative text means little when discussing the story's direct literary impact or profound influence, as such effects were spawned primarily by the fragmented original. Furthermore, the complete text's origin and authorship remain far from clear: the historical muddiness into which the rediscovered ending casts this tale prevents any dismissive reading of previous criticism as misguided or obsolete. In spite of this discovery, Robert F. Geary's statement that "whether Mrs. Barbauld intended for these paragraphs to remain

¹⁸ John Aikin and Anna Laetitia Aikin, "On the Pleasure Derived from Objects of Terror," in *Miscellaneous Pieces*, 125.

¹⁹ Vijay Mishra, *The Gothic Sublime* (New York: SUNY Press, 1994), 86.

alone, we cannot but conjecture" continues to ring true.²⁰ When Mishra observes that "Mrs. Barbauld's contrived ending ... is clearly designed to shock readers, or at least it is an invitation to them to complete the text," the appearance of the completed text reveals his comments not as misinformed, but as potentially prophetic.²¹ Despite the tale's attribution to "Mrs. Barbauld" (B-text, 3) in *Gothic Stories*, and notwithstanding the initial fragment's convincing attribution to John Aikin, this text might easily have been completed by a second author, answering what Mishra calls Barbauld's "invitation" to resolve the narrative cliff-hanger and make sense of the fragment.²²

The authorship of the complete "Sir Bertrand," then, may as well be anonymous. If we view the tale not as a work of Gothic horror, but as a Perraultian fairy-tale (complete with happy ending) from which a scene of some terror could be excerpted, the result is something less "alien from the character" of Barbauld than it seems, bringing at least the possibility of doubt to Lucy Aikin's otherwise convincing claim that Barbauld could have had nothing to do with the tale.²³ It also seems unlikely that either John Aikin or Barbauld would step in to complete the successful fragment some twenty-four years after the appearance of the original. The scenario I find most likely, then, is one in which John Aikin wrote the original 1773 text as a deliberate fragment, and an enterprising second writer or editor of the 1790s, influenced by and infatuated with early Gothic writing, completed it as the lead story of Gothic Stories in order to capitalize on the name of Anna Barbauld (itself a misattribution) and ensure the book's popularity.

Part of the difficulty in reaching a two-author conclusion arises from the B-text's tonal and narrative consistency with the original fragment, in spite of a powerful departure from the mood of Gothic terror. The supernatural predator-husband, Almanzor, reads as a stock villain but marks a movement away from the mundane kidnappers of Radcliffe's explicable Gothic world or the too-familiar Catholic oppressors of Lewis, and towards a

²⁰ Robert F. Geary, "Carmilla' and the Gothic Legacy," in *The Blood is the Life: Vampires in Literature*, ed. Leonard G. Heldreth and Mary Pharr (Madison: Popular Press, 1999), 19–30.

²¹ Mishra, 88.

²² Mishra, 88.

²³ Lucy Aikin, xiii.

foreigner defined by the power of his blood-fuelled sorcery to suspend time. If we read "Sir Bertrand" as a Sleeping Beauty analogue, Almanzor is surprisingly effective in the "wicked fairy" role. Although he is mentioned by name only twice and makes no personal appearance in the story, Almanzor's introduction not only makes sense of the castle's weird apparitions, but also remains subtly consistent with the supernatural aesthetic of the original fragment. The threatening and unexplained animation of "gigantic statues of black marble, attired in the Moorish habit" (B-text, 5) signals the presence of a supernatural force that is not just uncanny, but ethnically foreign in a story that otherwise bears no mark of cultural otherness.²⁴

At first glance, the "Moorish" descriptor here may be a common eighteenth-century English shorthand for any dark-skinned foreigner; the etymology of the term is too complex to trace in full here, but as an eighteenth-century label it frequently signifies nothing more than skin tone.²⁵ In the case of the original fragment, this seems plausible: if Barbauld (or more probably John Aikin) intended the fragment only as a parade of exotic situations, the Moorish statues are simply one more new and wonderful object of terror, the cultural specifics of which are irrelevant to the story's intended effect. By extending the "Moorishness" of the statues onto Almanzor, however, the writer of the tale's conclusion ascribes a greater significance to the use of the term, and in the curious figure of Almanzor a possibly historical connection is forged in which the "ethnic accuracy" of the term may become vitally important. This potential connection is uncertain at best, but by bringing it to light, I hope to discover Almanzor's place in the tradition of supernatural terrors. His status as a fictionalized historical figure, I think, is no more remote (and not much more

- 24 The ruined castle itself—with its turrets, battlements, moat, and drawbridge—is described in painstaking architectural detail, but the text mentions nothing Moorish or otherwise "oriental" about the castle's construction.
- 25 In brief, the English term likely descends from an Indo-European root, morcos, meaning simply "dark" or "black." The term has cognates in languages as wideranging as Occitan (maura), Spanish (moro, perhaps remotely related to the adjective moreno as well), Old High German (Mōr) and Greek (αμαυρός). The root also survives in the European names of the west African regions (Morocco, and perhaps Mauritania) from which the Moors (when the term is meant to be ethnically specific) were presumed to hail. Nevertheless, attempting anything approaching ethnic specificity with the term is difficult because of its widespread general use: as early as 1911, the Encyclopedia Britannica accepted that "the term 'Moors' has no real ethnological value" (18:812).

dubious) than that of Bram Stoker's Dracula, whose connections to Vlad Ţepeş have prompted several volumes of both critical study and fictional speculation since the early 1970s.²⁶

The history of the term "Moor" in eighteenth-century Christian Europe is complicated and troubled: quite frequently the term serves a xenophobic agenda by confusing and collapsing continental origin, religious faith, and racial and cultural difference into a homogeneity of threatening otherness. Nevertheless, even in medieval and early modern instances of the label, it is frequently ascribed a more specific ethnic definition, referring in more exacting terms to specific North African Islamic Berbers who migrated to the Iberian Peninsula. The clashes (military and cultural) between Islamic Al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms of the Reconquista provided a regular complement of exotic situations and settings for English literature, especially on the Elizabethan and Restoration stages.²⁷ In the case of "Sir Bertrand," however, something more concrete than this customary association suggests that the revisionist of the B-text had the Andalusian Moors specifically in mind, even if the fragment's originator did not: the name Almanzor is a characteristically Spanish orthography of an Arabic title (المنصور) meaning "the Victorious," which has no uniform Romanized spelling today, and which was even less orthographically stable prior to the nineteenth century.²⁸ The characteristic elimination of the hyphen (the mark is practically nonexistent in early Spanish, particularly within words) and the use of the distinctively Spanish "z" and

²⁶ The most important and reliable of these works is Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu, In Search of Dracula: The History of Dracula and Vampires (New York: Greenwich, 1972), the landmark study that uncovered connections between Bram Stoker's vampire and the historical Vlad Dracula for the first time. Elizabeth Kostova, The Historian (New York: Little, Brown, 2005) and C.C. Humphreys, Vlad: The Last Confession (London: Orion, 2008) are two recent novels that capitalize on Vlad the Impaler's relationship to Stoker's Dracula, a connection so broadly taken for granted today by scholars and horror fans alike that it is surprising to hear how comparatively recently it was brought to light.

²⁷ Plays ranging from George Peele's The Battle of Alcazar (1594) to John Dryden's The Conquest of Granada (1672) are well-known examples of this tradition.

One of the earliest attempts at a standardized, Romanized transliteration of Arabic was put forward by the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (German Oriental Society) in 1936. For more information, see Hans Wehr, *Dictionary* of *Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J.M. Cowan (Urbana: Spoken Language Services, 2001).

"-zor" ending mark the Almanzor of "Sir Bertrand" as an Iberian Moor, much like the Almanzor in John Dryden's The Conquest of Granada, and distinct from, for example, Ahmad I al-Mansur of Morocco with whom Elizabeth 1 corresponded, whose name was directly transliterated in English orthography as al-Mansur instead of coming by way of medieval Spanish.²⁹ The importance of recognizing an inherent Andalusian quality of the tale's Almanzor lies in narrowing the otherwise broad field of prominent historical figures on whom the honorific title of المنصوو, "the Victorious," was bestowed. Only two figures who bore the name made significant marks on the history of the Iberian peninsula: Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Mansur, the late twelfth-century emir of the Almohad Dynasty, and an infamous tenth-century Andalusian general with the difficult full name of Abu Aamir Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Abi Aamir, Al-Hajib Al-Mansur. The latter, a warlord often known to historians as Ibn Abi Aamir, was an infamous figure in medieval Europe, with a mythology of his own that is echoed by the seemingly hackneyed villain of "Sir Bertrand" in surprising and specific ways.

Ibn Abi Aamir was the de facto ruler of Cordoba from about 981 until his death in 1002. He began his career under the child caliph Hisham II (اهشاه) as a "tutor and estate manager." When the ten-year-old boy ascended to the caliphate, the advisor crafted for him an elaborate existence as an isolated and ineffectual puppet ruler. Of the subtle coup, Richard Fletcher writes:

The young caliph Hisham was encouraged to enter upon an adulthood entirely given over to the gratification of the senses. His time fully occupied with girls, he made no attempt to play any active political role ... [Almanzor] had constructed a new palace complex of his own to the east of Córdoba, which came to be known as al-Madina al-Zahira, "the glittering city." It was obviously intended to rival the caliphal complex of Madinat az-Zahra to the west of the city. To his new creation Almanzor transferred all the offices of government in 981.³¹

²⁹ Henri de Castries, Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, 1st series (Paris: E. Leroux, 1918). For a more widely available summary of Elizabeth i's letters to Ahmad al-Mansur that deal primarily with a proposed anti-Spanish alliance, see the note in Khali Ben-Srhir, Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay (London: Routledge, 2005), 287–88.

³⁰ Gabriel Jackson, *The Making of Medieval Spain* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972), 47.

³¹ Richard Fletcher, Moorish Spain (London: Phoenix, 2001), 74.

Once in power, Ibn Abi Aamir embarked on an unprecedented scourging of the Christian kingdoms in Iberia: he earned the epithet Al-Mansur by waging some "fifty-seven victorious expeditions" against León, Castile, Barcelona, and several independent feudal lords.³² In 997, he sacked Santiago de la Compostela, demolished the original church and shrine of St James, and "used chained Leonese captives to carry back to Cordoba [a five-hundred-mile journey] the bells of the cathedral."³³ Al-Mansur's destruction of the third holiest site in Christiandom cemented his mythic reputation among the Christian kingdoms as a Moorish bogeyman and enemy of the faith: the "Chronicon Burguense," one of only two Christian annals from Spain contemporary to Al-Mansur's death, records his obituary with terse satisfaction: "Era MXL. Mortuus est Almozor, & sepultus est in inferno."³⁴

Al-Mansur's legendary infamy already casts him as a more likely model for a stock villain than the better-known but comparatively honourable Almanzor from Dryden's The Conquest of Granada. Yet what specifically suggests Al-Mansur as an inspiration for the revisionist text of "Sir Bertrand" are the scattered accounts describing his diplomatic marriages to the noblewomen of at least two desperate Iberian kingdoms: "Two of Almanzor's wives were Christian princesses. One of these was given to Almanzor by the king of Navarre, who hoped thus to keep the victorious Moorish army from his borders. This Christian girl later became one of the most religious Moslems in Córdoba. King Vermudo of León also gave his daughter in marriage to the Moslem leader."35 The two "princesses" are Urraca the Basque (called Abda after her conversion to Islam), the daughter of Sancho II of Navarre, and Teresa, daughter of Bermudo 11 of León.³⁶ While Urraca embraced the marriage

³² William Montgomery Watt and Pierre Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 83.

³³ Jackson, 50.

^{34 &}quot;[Hispanic] Era 1040 [1002 CE]: Almanzor is dead, and is buried in hell" (my translation). "Chronicon Burguense," in España Sagrada: Theatro Geographico-Historico de la Iglesia de España, ed. Henrique Florez (Madrid: Antonio Marin, 1767), 23:308.

³⁵ John Armstrong Crow, Spain: the Root and the Flower: an Interpretation of Spain and the Spanish People, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 61–62.

³⁶ This Teresa must be distinguished from Theresa, Countess of Portugal (1080–1130) and Teresa Ansúrez, the wife of Sancho I (d. 997), two near-

and proved an ideal bride, Teresa's resistance to her husband and his faith was pronounced enough to cast her as a heroine in the early histories of Christian Spain. From the nineteenth-century Dutch-Arabic historian Reinhardt Dozy comes this powerful anecdote:

After the death of Bermudo II, his son and successor Alfonso v, with the object of obtaining peace from his enemy the king of Toledo (Al-Mansur), gave him his sister in marriage ... she who was a pious Christian shook with horror at the very idea of being the wife of an infidel, and when she came together with her husband she told him: "I do not want you to come near me because you are a pagan, and if you do, the angel of the Lord will kill you." The king mocked her threat, and slept with her, but only once, for he was wounded at once by the angel of the Lord; so, feeling his end close at hand, he ordered his ministers to return Teresa to León and to offer magnificent gifts to Alfonso. On returning to León, Teresa took the veil, and died in Oviedo at the convent of San Pelayo, where she was buried.³⁷

The most intimate details of this account (particularly the angelic intervention) can hardly be verified as historical fact, but neither are they Dozy's own inventions. The story of Al-Mansur and his bride appears elsewhere in the folklore of medieval Christian Spain, and always Teresa's resistance coincides with Dozy's account. "La Princesa Doña Teresa," a medieval ballad preserved by English orientalist Guy Le Strange, is one of the better examples:

Yo te digo que no llegues—a mí, porque soy cristiana, y tú, moro, de otra ley—de la mía muy lejana. No quiero tu compañía, —tu vista no me agradaba; si pones manos en mí, —y de ti soy deshonrada, el angel de Jesucristo, —a quien él me ha dado en guarda, herirá ese tu cuerpo, —con su muy tajante espada.

[I order you to not come near me, for I am a Christian, and you, Moor, are of another law—one very distant from my own. I do not wish for your company; I am displeased by the sight of you; if you put your hands on me, and I am dishonoured by you,

contemporaries (and there may be others) who are also known in historical accounts as Teresa de León. Further, she predates, and is not to my knowledge connected with, any of the St Teresas recognized by the Church, in spite of her importance to medieval Christian Spain.

³⁷ Reinhardt Dozy, *Investigationes Acerca de la Historia y de la Literature de España Durante la Edad Media*, trans. Antonio Machady Y Alvarez (Madrid: Libreria de D. Victoriano Suarez, 1859), 1:276 (my translation).

the angel of Jesus Christ, to whom He has given me in safekeeping, shall wound your body with his very sharp sword.]³⁸

In the ballad, too, the Moor fatefully ignores the warning, receives his divine punishment, and not only returns his bride to León but also does so with an unexplained payment of magnificent gifts. Teresa's forceful rejection of her Moorish husband—delivered not in a tone of meek protest but "con crecido enojo" ("La Princesa," 65), with risen anger—is the centrepiece of the ballad, in which the portrayal of the lady's righteous heroism borders on hagiographic. What we are left with as historical fact is the arranged marriage, in the year 993, of an unwilling Christian princess given over to a Moorish husband called Almanzor. The embellishments in later retellings render certain details historically unreliable, yet Teresa's pronounced resistance features in most of the surviving accounts that have reached England.

The tenth-century marriage of Al-Mansur and Teresa of León seems an obscure piece of trivia, perhaps as remote from the English reader in Barbauld's time as in ours. But we know that the story had reached England well before this time because a discussion of the marriage, which seems to expect the reader's familiarity with it, survives in a 1580 pamphlet by Henry Howard, the first Earl of Northampton, renouncing John Stubbs's Gaping Gulf and supporting Elizabeth I's marriage to François, Duke of Anjou: "Hereof I call to witness the example of Alfonso the Fifth ... who, for that he perceived Almanzor, the barbarian prince, to have greatly abased and reduced to a very miserable plight by his often incursions the estate of Christian affairs throughout the whole nation of Spain ... to him delivered his sister Teresa, being a Christian, in marriage."40 Like Dozy, Howard claims Teresa's brother Alfonso (rather than Bermudo) as instigator of the union. There is no mention of Teresa's resistance or the protective angel, but this is not a surprising omission, given that the pamphlet was arguing in favour of Elizabeth i's marriage. What the pamphlet does illustrate, however, is that Almanzor

^{38 &}quot;La Princesa Doña Teresa," *Spanish Ballads*, ed. Guy Le Strange (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), 65. References are to this edition.

³⁹ The text of "La Princesa" refers to the caliph as "Audalla" or Abdullah, another of Ibn Abi Amir's many names.

⁴⁰ Henry Howard, "Henry Howard's Answer," in *John Stubb's "Gaping Gulf"* with Letters and Other Relevant Documents, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (reprint; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia; Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1978), 181.

and his exploits were known in England (and known by the same spelling of his name that is preserved in "Sir Bertrand") well before Dryden popularized the name in *The Conquest of Granada*. The possibility remains that use of the name by Dryden in England and by Anne de la Roche-Guilhem in France had, by the end of the eighteenth century, reduced Almanzor to a stock literary name for the conquering foreigner, as Moll/Molly was for prostitutes or Betty for domestic servants. ⁴¹ Even in light of this, and notwithstanding the many historical confusions in the B-text, ⁴² the similarities are too striking and precise to dismiss the theory that the writer who completed "Sir Bertrand" had the legendary tenth-century *hajib* in mind when he or she penned the conclusion.

With these similarities in place, it becomes possible to consider Almanzor's mutation from the figure detailed in historical accounts to one of supernatural terror. The two notable differences between the wedding of Al-Mansur and the one that prompts the adventure of Sir Bertrand are both significant in relation to the development of supernatural fiction (and perhaps to the tradition of vampire-stories in particular). First, there is the introduction of the sanguinary element: a contract of blood is signed to cement the civil marriage, and a second, more-intimate blood covenant (a drinking of blood, no less) is the ritual of spiritual marriage refused by the lady. Second, the absence of an interfering angel, combined with Almanzor's ability to put the lady and the castle under a Perraultian spell, signals a shift in the agency of supernatural power from the righteous providence of the divine to the threatening otherness of the blood sorcerer. The sanguinary element may have some roots in the medieval anti-Semitic accusations grouped together under the term "blood libel," which were common throughout Europe and especially in Spain, but the growing fascination with blood and the body brought about through scientific and medical advances, combined with the proliferation of lurid

⁴¹ Anne de la Roche-Guilhem's French work, *Almanzaïde* (1674), was best known in England by a 1678 translation, which was intentionally misattributed to Philip Sidney.

⁴² The lady, for example, speaks of "our valiant king Edward" and "his return from the crusades" (B-text, 7). The historical Almanzor predates the crusades by centuries, and no king Edward (English or otherwise) participated in the crusades, save Edward I who was not so crowned until his return from the Ninth Crusade.

"bluebooks" capitalizing on the shock value of blood, would have worked to further sensationalize the trope.

As for the second marked difference—the transfer of manifest supernatural power from a divine source to a demonic one—Charles Taylor's recent study A Secular Age identifies a broad movement in supernatural belief, of which this miniature shift may be considered a telling effect. The vast journey of European belief that Taylor charts, from a world of perceived enchantment to one of disenchantment, is neither simplistic nor perfectly linear. But among its necessary steps he identifies a movement from a world view in which the power of God is manifested in things-relics, rosaries, physical bodies and beings, shrines, and so forth—to a largely Calvinist world view in which that power is invisible in the material world and "above" containment in one thing more than another. In order to reject the notion of God's direct presence in the manifest world, Taylor writes, "we must reject everything which smacks of idolatry. We combat the enchanted world, without quarter ... [not] because enchantment is totally untrue, but rather because it is necessarily ungodly. If we are not allowed to look for help to the sacred, to a 'white' magic of the church, then all magic must be black. All spirits now are ranged under the devil, the one great enemy. Even supposedly good magic must really be serving him."43 What Taylor sees in the broad shift away from medieval belief and towards secular humanism is the creation of a climate wherein the power of God no longer manifests in ways corresponding with "magic." ⁴⁴ In the oldest legends of the doña Teresa, her protector is the angel of Christ. She is not merely a benevolent protector, but a direct agent of the divine who takes

⁴³ Charles Taylor, A Secular Age (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 80.

⁴⁴ The first part of this shift in belief, Taylor would argue, is expressed by the Protestant Reformation and simultaneously makes the Reformation necessary. Between the medieval romance and the hero of secular modernity, then, the Gothic protagonist is at times an implicitly Protestant figure, embodying middle-class progressive values in the face of a threatening medieval Catholic aristocracy. This construction fits surprisingly well with Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall's claims that Gothic writing itself is both a "bourgeois genre" and a space of religious-political identity whose anti-Catholic sentiment is frequently written off to familial and erotic anxiety. For further details, see my later comments on Baldick and Mighall's "Gothic Criticism," *The Blackwell Companion to Gothic Literature*, ed. David Punter (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 209–28.

on a vengeful immanence in the natural world. Because no such divine figure is present in "Sir Bertrand," the heroine becomes trapped "outside of time" in a typically Gothic fashion until Sir Bertrand, the fallible and frightened human replacement of Christ's personal angelic emissary, arrives to free her.

Sir Bertrand is hardly a completely secularized substitute. The medieval tradition of associating the knight with divine will or providence remains intact here; similarly, the terrifying sights and situations of the tale are not meant to test his strength in battle (as with, for instance, the dragon- or beastslaying hero), but to gauge his worthiness in a more intangible sense. Consider the idea of worthiness as it relates to Joseph Campbell's summary of the heroic: "the motif of the difficult task as prerequisite to the bridal bed has spun the herodeeds of all time ... when a fit candidate appears, no task in the world is beyond his skill. Unpredicted helpers, miracles of time and space, further his project ... barriers, fetters, chasms, fronts of every kind dissolve before the authoritative presence of the hero."45 Campbell articulates a situation in which the obstacles of the quest, however insurmountable, part in the path of the "fit candidate." In "Sir Bertrand," the terrifying obstacles of the castle—from a spectral hand to a phalanx of gigantic, animated warrior-statues-are overcome almost effortlessly by the surprisingly passive hero. The impression given is that Sir Bertrand's intangible worthiness is what predetermines his safe passage; if Campbell offers no sounder definition of worthiness here by his vague term "a fit candidate," the damsel is just as vague, stating only that her imprisonment endured "until some more valorous knight should arrive to release me" (B-text, 7). Her focus, and the focus of Almanzor's curse, is not on the hero's conquest of specific obstacles or adversaries, but on the virtue he embodies even in the absence of conventionally performative acts of heroism.

Reading "Sir Bertrand" as a Gothic fairy-tale, the B-text portrays righteousness as an inherent quality of the knight-hero equal to that of the angelic protector described in the medieval accounts. But considering again Taylor's comments on disenchantment, we can see that by the end of the eighteenth-century this righteousness is now working in reverse: where righteousness

⁴⁵ Joseph Campbell, *The Hero With A Thousand Faces* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 318.

in the medieval tale of dona Teresa works by empowering the forces of good, this later tale works by enfeebling the forces of evil in "Sir Bertrand." The angel's righteousness contributes to a sort of "arms race" of enchantment wherein the Christian God triumphs over the pagan villain through superior supernatural firepower. Conversely, Sir Bertrand's righteousness works not by enchantment but by disenchantment; it does not manifest supernaturally, and is inherent only in what might have been considered "natural virtues" by the late eighteenth-century reader: valour, curiosity, and sensibility. 46 Its power is not to smite evil so much as it is to render evil completely ineffectual. In spite of the seeming dangers Sir Bertrand endures, he is not harmed, nor must he face his challenges with active courage. While the dark castle is full of passageways, he does not become lost; when a bloody spectre appears to threaten him, it simply "vanishe[s] ... letting fall [the] massy iron key" (B-text, 5) that he needs to continue on his way. Even the menacing "dead hand," that classic symbol of Gothic terror, is "left powerless in his" (B-text, 5) as part of an assault on the supernatural that triumphs by debilitating, rather than overpowering, black magic.

The transference of righteousness from an angelic deus ex machina onto Sir Bertrand is not only intertwined with the general agenda of disenchantment identified by Taylor, but it is also a direct step away from the "semi-sacred" romances tied to medieval Catholicism and a step towards the modern secular action hero, who performs the rescue of the damsel for romantic reasons rather than reasons of righteousness. At the intermediary point between these chronological and ideological extremes, Sir Bertrand is a secular individual who takes a romantic/sexual interest in his quest-object, yet embodies divine virtue and is himself a divine instrument—a figure in which modern "human flourishing," as Taylor calls it, and the divine justice of the old romance are intertwined. In this synthesis, the late-eighteenth-century Sir Bertrand is less a secular humanist substitute for

46 Although considered a dangerous and subversive impulse at the time of the Restoration, curiosity eventually came to be known as an exalted passion, especially through its complicated relationship to empiricism and its use in anti-Catholic rhetoric. For an in-depth study of this shift, which plays a pivotal role in both the major shift towards secular modernity and the transformations of literature discussed here, see Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

the avenging angel than an essentially Protestant one. This observation supports a theory advanced in Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall's "Gothic Criticism" that Gothic fiction rises out of a Protestant spirit in conflict with the medieval and Catholic worlds (which it often conflates), a conflict largely overlooked by Gothic scholars working in a psychoanalytical vein: "in spite of some significant attempts to recall attention to the importance of Protestant-Catholic conflict in Gothic fiction ... the tendency to disregard such surface 'details' in the pursuit of psychological 'depth' remains particularly persistent in Gothic Criticism ... the metaphorical is given more weight than the literal, the psychological more than the historical."47 What bridges the gap between this sectarian conflict and Sir Bertrand is something Michael Walzer identifies as a "conscious effort to minimize the role of angels, as of all other intermediaries."48 While an element of righteousness pervades Sir Bertrand's adventure—as it does in many fairy-tales of the eighteenth century—the shift in the personal agency of that righteousness is what paves the way for the self-contained hero of secular humanism. This heroic model of the modern self is apparent a century later in Dracula, and in spite of the Victorian vampire novel's enormous and fundamental differences in style, scope, and genre, there are parallels to be explored between "Sir Bertrand" and Stoker's famed blooddrinker. The memorable opening act of Dracula, dealing almost entirely with "Mr. Harker's adventures in a ruinous Castle," seems a direct descendant of the A-text—the part of "Sir Bertrand" much more widely known and readily available in Stoker's time as in ours. Harker, the timid cavalier who similarly "enjoys a 'feminine' passivity"49 throughout his role as traveller and prisoner, is no angel, nor a righteous champion by proxy: he is a solicitor late of Exeter, a figure whose mythic "call of the hero," in Campbellian terms, is neither divine mandate nor divine providence, but

⁴⁷ Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall, "Gothic Criticism," in *The Blackwell Companion to Gothic Literature*, ed. David Punter (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 217–18. See Baldick and Mighall's comments on the reduction of anti-Catholic anxieties to familial anxieties by Freudian scholarship.

⁴⁸ Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 163.

⁴⁹ Christopher Craft, "Kiss Me with Those Red Lips': Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," in *Dracula: Contemporary Critical Essays*, ed. Glennis Byron (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 95.

rather a lucrative real estate deal. If "human flourishing" is the ultimate goal of Taylor's modern secular age, Harker is a symbol of the ambition towards it that is omnipresent at the heart of supernatural fiction.

It is in the centre of this shift, at a crossroads between the secular heroic melodramas of modern horror and the ballads and romances of the late middle ages, that "Sir Bertrand" takes on a definitive importance. The B-text's direct influence on the emerging genre of supernatural fiction, if it had any, is probably small. Between 1798 and 1804, the success of Gothic Stories was enough to warrant several reprints, but beyond this short-lived increase in public appetite for Gothic fiction, the fragment's mysterious conclusion seems to have vanished entirely from literary consciousness. In this article, I did not intend to cast the B-text as a direct antecedent of *Dracula* (in spite of some useful parallels); in contrast to the highly influential A-text, the significance of "Sir Bertrand's Adventures in a Ruinous Castle" is not as a seminal work or a likely inspiration of later supernatural fiction. Rather, the B-text is a well-preserved record of the popular understanding of supernatural terror during the Gothic effulgence. By revising and answering the powerfully influential A-text at a time when supernatural fiction was developing as something distinct from the increasingly "probable" Gothic novel, the text in many ways is a nexus of discursive influence, a meeting place where the traditions driving and informing the rise of supernatural fiction continue to echo.



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