

The University of Manitoba

Puritan Poetics:

The Development of Literal Metaphor

From John Bunyan to Nathaniel Hawthorne

by

Eleanor Johnston

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

Winnipeg, Manitoba

March 1985

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1985)

English

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba

TITLE: Puritan Poetics: The Development of Literal Metaphor
from John Bunyan to Nathaniel Hawthorne

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Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Dr. David Williams, the "Interpreter" of this "Progress," for his excellent guidance, and Wayne Fraser and our children, for their patience and love.

E.J.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Notes	15
Chapter One: "A literall God . . . a metaphoricall God too": The Reformation of Augustinian Aesthetics in Seventeenth-Century English Poetics	16
Notes	77
Chapter Two: "I am the Way": The Aesthetics of Continuing Incar- nation in <u>The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One</u>	89
Notes	175
Chapter Three: Epistles from the Preacher: The Hieratic Mode of Writing in Puritan Devotional Literature	189
Notes	243
Chapter Four: "Not even a metaphorical existence": Hawthorne in an Age of Hieratic and Demotic Language	247
Notes	281
Chapter Five: "The figure, the body, the reality of sin": Haw- thorne's "Progress" in his " <u>Letter</u> "	287
Notes	344
Bibliography	354

Abstract

"Puritan Poetics: The Development of Literal Metaphor from John Bunyan to Nathaniel Hawthorne." By Eleanor Johnston.

Medieval catholicism, with its heritage of Platonic and Augustinian dualism, has left literary criticism with a heritage of symbolism and allegory, two differing forms of figurative language which point to the same end--a transcendent reality beyond language. Recent critics have begun to argue for a "reformed" aesthetics to account for a Protestant belief in the Real Presence of God in scripture. This thesis articulates a specifically Puritan poetics by examining writings which insist upon a literal identification of the Word with the named "thing."

The cornerstone of Reformation theology which shaped Puritan writing is the active power of Logos, God's creative expression in things of this world. The Word is made word in Scripture, made flesh in Christ. But divine authorship continues in other imagines Dei: the Book of the Creatures; the Providential histories of chosen peoples; and the spoken and written words of prophets, including contemporary "voyses of God," who express that Word anew. The crucial factor which distinguishes Puritan from medieval theology and aesthetics is a kind of "univocation" which requires metaphor to say "one thing." The "one literal sense" of Reformation exegesis is thus centred, in Puritan poetics, of the Word, on literary and literal incarnation.

In Bunyan's use of Christ's metaphor, "I am the Way," the pilgrim learns to read God's "Work" in his own heart, to become the continuing incarnation of God's Word in the world, made one with Christ. The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two exchanges metaphor for allegory inasmuch as it falls back upon an absence of the thing referred to; the Real Presence is missing from the mimetic word.

Hawthorne, in an age of Transcendental metonymy and demotic descriptive realism, revives incarnational metaphor--his Letter is made flesh and made word or art--and articulates an aesthetics which involves the reader as well as the artist-narrator in the heroic act of creative interpretation and identification. While Hawthorne's theology is more ironic than Bunyan's, they share the Puritan perception of literal metaphor as the Word made flesh in chosen individuals and the Word made word in their stories of salvation.

Introduction

As early as 1614 when Ben Jonson, in Bartholomew Fair, satirized the hypocrite Zeal-of-the-Land Busy's pious objections to puppets as idols, Protestant literalism was already considered a simplistic tradition of interpretation which excludes, in both aesthetics and theology, any symbolic or spiritual dimension. Norman O. Brown presents the more modern, if typical, complaint in Love's Body (1966) as he equates Protestant literalism with a temporarily popular branch of early twentieth-century theology which sought to define "the historical Jesus": "To say that historical events have a single meaning is to say that historical events are unique (singular); univocation constructs unilinear time. And on the other hand to see symbolism is to see eternal recurrence."¹ Such historical consciousness binds the Protestant, Brown continues, to belief that the Incarnation is a remote, unique event, that "Old and New Testament are made consistent, forced into conformity, to reveal the same literal truth. And the Puritans in New England can embark on a literal reproduction of Israel in the wilderness. Bondage to the letter is bondage to the past."²

But Protestant literalism, long before fundamentalists began the quest for the historical Jesus, formed the cornerstone of an aesthetics and theology which were literal in a very different sense. Luther's insistence on sola fide, sola litera is, rather, the claim that as there is one God, there is also one faith in, one Word of, God. Georgia B. Christopher describes the aesthetic development of this belief when

she argues, in "Milton's 'Literary' Theology," that Reformation theology focusses on Logos, which Erasmus translated as sermo, speech, the continually active expression of God.³ Luther and Calvin put such emphasis on the Word as ongoing creative expression that the transition from their theology to a specifically Reformation aesthetics was inevitable and immediate. Reading the scriptural Word was an occasion for epiphany, a further revelation or incarnation of Christ the Word in the reader through the power of the Spirit: "According to Luther, the discovery of clarity in Scripture waited upon an epiphany of the Holy Spirit. . . . The Holy Spirit's work, formally considered, was that of rhetorical expertise. In a very important sense, faith became a 'poetic' activity-- a passionate reading of a divine text (in which the figures were identified and read aright) followed by a reading of experience through this text. With the Reformation, religious experience, to an overwhelming degree, became 'literary' experience."⁴

Northrop Frye, whose The Great Code expresses the theological as well as the aesthetic premises of early Protestantism, explains the power of Logos: "According to Genesis 1:4, 'God said, Let there be light; and there was light.' That is, the word was the creative agent that brought the thing into being."⁵ The Word, with this great power, is made flesh in Christ and, because Christ is the Word, He also is Scripture, again, the Word of God. From this essentially metaphorical perspective, "literal" refers to the literary activity of God's expression of Himself in radical, literal, metaphors:

The events the Bible describes are . . . "language events," brought to us only through words; and it is the words themselves that have the authority, not the events they describe. The Bible means literally just what it says . . . without primary reference to a correspondence of what it says to something outside what it says. . . . We could almost say that even the existence of God is an inference from the existence of the Bible: in the beginning was the Word. . . . The primary and literal meaning of the Bible . . . is its centripetal or poetic meaning. . . . This primary meaning, which rises simply from the interconnection of the words, is the metaphorical meaning. . . . Traditionally, the Bible's narrative has been regarded as "literally" historical and its meaning as "literally" doctrinal or didactic: the present book takes₆ myth and metaphor to be the true literal bases.

Frye here uses the word "literally" as a pun. His own statement--"The Bible means literally just what it says"--has two meanings, depending upon whether the emphasis is on "literally" or "means." The terms "metaphor" and "metaphorical," from this perspective, involve the issue of identity, as does a pun, but specifically identity through creative expression, a continuing incarnation in words of the spiritual world in the natural.

To move from Reformation exegesis of Scripture as continuing incarnation to the writing and reading of Puritan literature, one must first realize that Bunyan's contemporaries considered works such as The Pilgrim's Progress as the Bible made new and that, in the work of writing/preaching, Bunyan was received as an instrument or voice of God. His metaphors are literal, that is, radically metaphorical (A is B) as the result of incarnation (A is made B). Bunyan's word is perceived to be made Word.

Therefore literal metaphor, in the context of Puritan poetics, means something radically different from the oxymoronic and even self-contradictory sense one might at first assume. If, to use I. A. Richards' terms, a metaphor somehow connects the vehicle and tenor of an image, and if either the vehicle or a simply allegorical interpretation is the literal level, how can the metaphor as a whole be literal? Furthermore, how can there be a Puritan poetics, since so many Puritan congregations have been iconoclastic, suspicious of art as Papist worship of images, the essential ingredient of metaphor? The partial validity of this popular understanding of Puritanism must be acknowledged. Certainly many Puritans from the seventeenth century to the present, both in England and New England, have been repressive and legalistic in their religious and social behavior. They have closed theaters and constructed churches of as stark a simplicity as their didactic, allegorical stories. Brown attacks all Protestants in terms of such narrow-minded rigidity more frequently associated with Puritans. He sees literalism as the anti-aesthetic and ultimately anti-spiritual cornerstone of Protestant culture: "The crux in the reduction of meaning to a single meaning--both in scriptural and in literary exegesis--the crux in univocation, is the reduction of meaning to conscious meaning: intentio auctoris, the author's intention. But the unconscious is the true psychic reality; and the unconscious is the Holy Spirit. The opposite of the letter is the spirit."⁷ Protestant literalism is "the letter [which] killeth," whereas symbolism reaches into the spiritual world and thus "giveth life." From Brown's perspective,

Protestant, and even more emphatically, Puritan exegesis reflects the fundamentalist tendency to read everything in the Bible as history, fact, reality; the art of these Puritans can itself be only allegory or descriptive realism. There can be no spiritual force either in such Puritan interpretation or in such Puritan writing.

Nevertheless, the letter, in Reformation theology which shaped another branch of Puritan literature, was seen to give life. Frye, attacking the tradition of reading the Bible as historical fact, seems to declare the irrelevance of history for reading the Bible; but there was, along with fundamentalist Puritanism, a sacramental tradition which discovered the Spirit in the history and the letter of both the Bible and contemporary life and literature. Another principle of Luther's revisionist reading of the Scriptures, according to Christopher, is the analogy of the Word.⁸ Wherever Christ is present by analogy, the analogical word can become one with Christ, the Word. Language becomes potentially sacramental in fictions based upon a reading of Scripture. These literary responses to the Bible begin with analogical language which, because it takes the Word which it imitates as the Real Presence, as "God's own verbal revelation,"⁹ could thereby become, as Calvin argued, the instrument of continuing revelation, a "visible sign of a sacred thing, or a visible form of an invisible grace,"¹⁰ much as the bread and wine are consecrated by the Holy Spirit to become sacramentally one with the Body of Christ, and as all who, with faith, partake of that sacrament are made one with Christ.

Christopher contends that the Reformation emphasis on the presence of the active Word in Scripture distinguishes the Protestant from the Roman Catholic tradition: "Luther had not set out to abolish the Mass, but he nonetheless introduced an alternative means of grace that shifted the locus of religious experience from visual symbol and ritual action to verbal action."¹¹ The reading and preaching of the Word, as well as the celebration of the sacraments instituted verbally by Christ, are signs of the revelation of the Real Presence of the Spirit, "the instruments of gracious divine action whereby what is represented to us is also presented to us."¹² The bread and wine do not contain, nor are they transubstantiated into, the Real Presence. Whereas the Catholic believer is drawn by the Mass into the Body of Christ, the Protestant, according to Frye, returns to an hieroglyphic phase of verbal experience, one common to the Homeric (or pre-Socratic) era in which "subject and object are linked by a common power or energy. . . . Words in such a context are words of power or dynamic forces."¹³ The power linking subject and object, of course, is the metaphor which asserts that A is B. Christian faith "is closely connected with the linguistic fact that many of the central doctrines of traditional Christianity can be grammatically expressed only in the form of metaphor. Thus: Christ is God and man."¹⁴

The social effect of this difference in understanding of the metaphor of the Body of Christ is far-reaching:

the metaphor is turned inside out. Instead of an individual finding his fulfillment within a social body, however sacrosanct, the metaphor is reversed from a metaphor of integration into a wholly decentralized one, in which the total body is complete within each individual. The individual acquires the internal authority of the unity of the Logos, and it is this

unity that makes him an individual. . . . Paul's conception of Jesus as the genuine individuality of the individual . . . indicates a reformulating of the central Christian metaphor in a way that unites without subordinating, that achieves¹⁵ identity with and identity as on equal terms.

Logos, for the Protestant, can thus be made Word in the reader. If Christ becomes the individual believer, if the individual is transfigured by the Word, then the authority of the Church is dissipated, and the rise of Protestant individualism is hastened by this process of relocating authority in the various forms taken by the Word, not in any social body of which the individual is a part. The acts of reading and writing are both sacramental "literary responses," predicated upon the perception of metaphor as the literal vehicle of continuing incarnation.

The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One is in these terms the progress of the pilgrim into the Word as Christ who is the Way--Christian's identity with Christ becomes his identity as Christ--and into the Word as Scripture. The setting, both of time and place, is scriptural and the characters encountered by Christian are themselves "voices" from the Bible. Christian's recognition or interpretation, and then acceptance, of his Way becomes the Word newly written, renewed in precisely that sort of eternal recurrence which N. O. Brown says was not available to the Protestant literalist. In the act of finding himself in the Valley of the Shadow, or rather in the very pages of Psalm 23, Christian signals a new way of reading, a new kind of literary experience in which the text is resurrected in the protagonist and the reader himself; the Word is spoken anew as it was in the beginning. "Newness is renewal The

true nature of life is resurrection; all life is life after death, a second life, reincarnation."¹⁶

Bunyan's Christian is a good example of Frye's reader who thus "acquires the internal authority of the unity of the Logos," even as Bunyan's fictional word is transfigured into the Word. For where the text is made identical with the Word, where the Word is made literal in the metaphorical things of this world, and where the protagonist's progress is really a progress into the text, the literary progress is towards the full embodiment of the Word: the Word made flesh, the Son of God as the Word, the protagonist as a continuing incarnation of Christ. The careful reader's encounter with the Word may lead to the Holy Spirit's epiphany which may then complete the literary Work by uniting the reader with the protagonist in sacramental union with Christ.

The role of the reader, as well as of Christian, as an "Interpreter" is implicit in much of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One. Hawthorne, a much later "Puritan," also makes the recognition of the Word--which identifies the Interpreter himself with the Word--his focus in The Scarlet Letter. A woman is made to wear a letter, to be reduced to a single meaning, as it were, and yet that letter is slowly transformed into a metaphor, that metaphor transfigured into the person of Christ, through the course of the work. Hester Prynne's struggle to understand the meaning of her punishment, her "letter," becomes the struggle of the narrator and the reader to read metaphors aright. And so what seems a strange conception of making a letter into a metaphor is hardly a unique

phenomenon in Puritan literature. The writer's word literally is made the Word, made one with it by journeying into it, and also made one as it by becoming the story of the progress of the Word made flesh again in the protagonist and the reader.

While examination of the nature and function of literal metaphor in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One and The Scarlet Letter is the central thrust of this thesis, the varieties of metaphor peculiar to other religious works must also be explored in order to distinguish literal metaphor in the history of English and American religious literature. Chapter One examines pre-Reformation meditative poems and morality plays in order to define the traditions of symbolism and allegory which grew out of and expressed the Platonic and Augustinian aesthetics of writers of the medieval Church. Chapter Three explores a few of the many seventeenth-century English Puritan allegories, including Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two, which use language as did the authors of medieval morality plays, that is, as all Puritans are generally thought to have written.

Bunyan's own career moves from literal metaphor to didactic, metonymic allegory; Chapter Three explores this movement from the Word to commentary on the Word, from the Gospel, as it were, to the Epistles. These two modes of writing correspond to what Frye calls, respectively, the hieroglyphic and the hieratic.¹⁷ Chapter Four traces their evolution in American religious writing from Edward Taylor to R. W. Emerson, as language entered a demotic phase,¹⁸ characterized by descriptive realism, qualified only by Transcendental (A is put for B) metonymy. Study of a

few of Hawthorne's short stories shows his uncertain attempts, before The Scarlet Letter, to make his metaphors literal. Despite the differences in their theologies, he is a direct heir of Bunyan in his stories too, sending his protagonists as well as his narrators and his readers into their own Interpreter's Houses.

I attempt to show in my first chapter how the mimetic traditions of Anglo-Saxon and medieval religious writing have coloured our modern definitions of metaphor, symbol and allegory, thereby rendering them inadequate tools to describe a reformation in Protestant theories of language and metaphor. Because no seventeenth-century English Puritan articulated a coherent poetics, Chapter One turns to John Donne for some of the concepts underlying literal metaphor. Although he belonged to the Established Church and was thus influenced by Catholic as well as Reformation theology and aesthetics, Donne is the most articulate Protestant poet-priest of the seventeenth century, and in his sermons and poems he expresses more clearly than anyone else something of the new Protestant poetics from which Bunyan moulded his particularly Puritan poetics.

Labelling Donne or any other writer who is typical of a particular Church in terms of either style or content is fraught with complexity. The Protestant Church of Donne's time involved two main groups, the Established Church of England and the various Separatist Churches; the former combined Calvinist, Arminian and Roman Catholic theologies whereas the latter emphasized differing facets of Calvinist or Arminian theologies. Puritanism is not at all synonymous with Calvinism, the theology of most

Reformed churches including the state church of sixteenth-century Scotland, though it has much in common with Separatist or Congregationalist, with the more ecclesiastical concerns of these dissenting churches. Historically, the term refers to the elimination of unscriptural forms and ceremonies; thus there were Roman Catholic Puritans as well as Protestant. But a strict historical definition of Puritan, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, refers to "a member of that party of English Protestants who regarded the reformation of the church under Elizabeth as incomplete, and called for its further 'purification' from unscriptural and corrupt forms and ceremonies retained from the unreformed church; subsequently, often applied to those who separated from the established Church on points of ritual, polity, or doctrine." The sort of poetics and poetry (or, more often, prose) which these people derived from their theological and ecclesiastical positions can be distinguished as Puritan, since the manner in which they used Scripture to determine their relationship to both civil and ecclesiastical authorities has direct bearing upon the way in which their manner of reading the Word necessitated "purification" of "corrupt" assumptions about language itself. For the problem of authority--the authority of Church and state versus the authority of the individual believer--is at root the problem of authorship. What institutions and practices are authorized by God? In what terms, and under what circumstances, does man's word carry the authority of the Word of God?

The several revolutions of this turbulent time--revolutions in political theory, in economic practice, in church governance--are made

even more tangled by a gradual shift in assumptions about language itself. Richard Baxter offers one example of the many leaders whose political, ecclesiastical, and aesthetic beliefs changed both as he matured and as he reacted to the events and ideas of his time. Baxter himself was forced by political events into a position, in ecclesiastical terms, half-way between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists (believers, respectively, in national theocracy and individual church self-government) although his goal was simply the reform of the Established Church. This theology was Calvinist although, because he sometimes argued the necessity and value of good works, he was accused by his contemporaries of Arminianism. He halfheartedly supported Oliver Cromwell in the Civil War and was by 1660 the leader of the Nonconformist preachers, although his political goal was limited monarchy. Arguing that government should suppress heresy, he was not only himself imprisoned for his radical opinions but was also capable of arguing that some Papists could be saved. The apparent contradictions in Baxter's beliefs and practices are repeated in his diverse comments on writing style. In his Autobiography, Baxter tells how his aesthetic values developed: "At first the style of authors took as much with me as the argument, and made the arguments seem more forcible. But now I judge not of truth at all by any such ornaments or accidents, but by its naked evidence."¹⁹ As for his own writings, "I wrote them in the crowd of all my other employments, which would allow me no great leisure for polishing and exactness, or any ornament . . . some sudden occasions or other extorted almost all my writings from me; and the apprehensions of present usefulness or necessity

prevailed against all other motives."²⁰ The question of ornaments as opposed to plain style, traditionally held to reflect the difference between the writers of the Established and Puritan Churches, remains as unresolved for Baxter as are his political and ecclesiastical theories. Certainly, as John R. Knott, Jr. argues in The Sword of the Spirit: Puritan Responses to the Bible, Baxter was one of the many Puritan writers "concerned with recovering the original simplicity of the Word of God and conveying what they perceived to be its extraordinary power to transform the individual and society."²¹

Donne's position on all these issues was perhaps less contradictory and certainly more conservative than that of Baxter, who was himself more traditional than Bunyan. Some recent critics, notably Joan Webber, argue that Puritan poetics are more radical, at least in practice, than those of writers of the Established Church,²² qualifying the assumption of others such as Barbara Lewalski who contends that all seventeenth-century Protestants shared the same aesthetics, no matter how their theological, political and ecclesiastical beliefs differed.²³ This thesis will demonstrate such real differences, not only between Catholic and Protestant, but also between Established Church and Dissenting Protestant writing, and will attempt a redefinition of the truly radical assumptions about Christ and the Word as metaphor. To that end, Donne's radical aesthetic statements--those most akin to the Reformation elements of his theology--will serve in this thesis as no more than a useful starting point for a discussion of the larger assumptions behind Bunyan's, and, later, Hawthorne's, re-creation of the Word through, and in, literal metaphors.

This thesis, finally, is an exploration of varieties of identity: of the transfiguration of the word into the Word, of the writer/preacher into the voice of God, of ritual repetition into spiritual re-enactment, of protagonist into Christ, of reader and writer into protagonist. In some Puritan literature, identity is expressed by literal metaphor; the premise "Christ is the Way" connects character, plot and setting much as the "pilgrim" becomes his own "progress" and as Hester, like Pearl, becomes "the scarlet letter, only capable of being loved."²⁴ Christopher's introduction to the assumptions underlying the composition and reception of Paradise Lost provides a valuable summary here:

[We must] take into account the extraliterary properties that God's "word" was presumed to have in Milton's religious tradition--properties that ultimately derive from Hebrew idiom. As Luther was quick to note, dabar (דָּבָר), unlike sermo, has an almost palpable weight and can be translated as "thing," "cause," "order," "something," as well as "word" and "speech" (LW 16.27). Behind the propositional language of doctrine, the puritan scholastics still felt the enactive force of dabar, which was understood to unite speaker and speech to hearer in one mighty deed This unity of divine deed governs the web of metonymies that make Reformation rhetoric almost impossible to label and fix in a doctrinal taxonomy, because often the same biblical phrase is used to describe the God who speaks, the language that conveys the divine word, the Spirit who underlines it, and the heart (or faith) that hears the word. This unity of deed makes the puritan esthetic, as it were, a "syntactical" esthetic. Spiritual mystery resided, not in being,²⁵ but in grasping, via words, the relation between beings

Bunyan and Hawthorne themselves use literal metaphors to create such a "relation" of "unity," the paradox of continuing incarnation.

FOOTNOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

- ¹Norman O. Brown, Love's Body (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), p. 200.
- ²Brown, p. 204.
- ³Georgia B. Christopher, "Milton's 'Literary' Theology," in Milton and the Science of the Saints (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 3.
- ⁴Christopher, pp. 6-7.
- ⁵Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (Toronto: Academic Press Canada, 1982), p. 18.
- ⁶Frye, pp. 60-64.
- ⁷Brown, p. 195.
- ⁸Christopher, p. 13.
- ⁹Frye, p. 11.
- ¹⁰John Calvin, quoted in Ronald S. Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1957), p. 133.
- ¹¹Christopher, p. 4.
- ¹²Wallace, p. 160.
- ¹³Frye, p. 6.
- ¹⁴Frye, p. 55.
- ¹⁵Frye, pp. 100-01.
- ¹⁶Brown, p. 206.
- ¹⁷Frye, pp. 6-7.
- ¹⁸Frye, p. 13.
- ¹⁹Richard Baxter, The Autobiography of Richard Baxter (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1931), p. 115.
- ²⁰Baxter, p. 102.
- ²¹John R. Knott, Jr., The Sword of the Spirit: Puritan Responses to the Bible (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 4.
- ²²Joan Webber, The Eloquent "I": Style and Self in Seventeenth-Century Prose (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).
- ²³Barbara Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).
- ²⁴Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, ed. Sculley Bradley (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1978), 2nd ed., p. 84.
- ²⁵Christopher, p. 21.

Chapter One

"A literall God . . . a metaphoricall God too": The Reformation of Augustinian Aesthetics in Seventeenth-Century English Poetics

John Donne's Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions (1623) might be said to typify the aesthetic as well as the spiritual concerns of Protestant religious writing. For the Protestant, poetics were inextricably connected with theology, and in *Expostulation XIX*, Donne presents theological issues in terms of the literary style of both the Bible and his own writings. When he describes God and His creations, he does so in literary terms: "My God, my God, Thou art a direct God, may I not say a literall God, a God that wouldest bee understood literally, and according to the plaine sense of all that thou saiest? But thou art also (Lord I intend it to thy glory and let no prophane misinterpret abuse it to thy diminution) thou art a figurative, a metaphoricall God too."¹ That God can be "direct" and "literall," and at the same time "figurative" and "metaphoricall," is possible, given the Protestant's understanding of these terms. In a sermon on the interpretation of Scripture, Donne explains:

the literall sense is not alwayes that, which the very Letter and Grammar of the place presents, as where it is literally said, That Christ is a Vine, and literally, That his flesh is bread But the literall sense of every place, is the principall intention of the Holy Ghost, in that place: And his principall intention in many places, is to expresse things by allegories, by figures; so that in many places of Scripture, a figurative sense is the ₂ literall sense.

Two assertions in this passage reflect central tenets of Reformation theology. That the "figurative sense is the literall sense" echoes the exegetical commonplace, "the one sense of Scripture, the literall sense," which grew from Martin Luther's insistence that the Bible has one meaning. Secondly, as Christ is the Word made Flesh, Scripture is the Word of God, or Logos, "the principall intention [which] is to expresse things by allegories, by figures"; the Word is made word.

The concept of the one literal sense as not always the letter of the words, i.e. the things which are pointed to by verbal signs, but rather as the figurative or metaphorical speech expressing divine intention, is a radical transformation of traditional Christian exegetical assumptions. A. D. R. Polman, who takes care to distinguish between the early neo-platonic beliefs in the writings of St. Augustine which so profoundly influenced the medieval Catholic Church and his later, more Pauline writings which the Protestants used as authority for their theology, summarizes the concepts which grew into Catholic theology:

St. Augustine, under the influence of Neo-platonism, saw Christ mainly as the eternal Word. The contemplation of this Word leads to knowledge of the truth and hence to salvation. Here, Christ's incarnation was no more than precept and example, just as, in the attainment of a blessed life of contemplation, the Scriptures are no more than a starting point. And the preaching of God's Word, [sic] is but a call to follow the glorious example₃ of Christ.

St. Thomas Aquinas, whose writings extended those of Augustine into

the exegetical system adopted by most Christians until the time of the Reformation, specifies that it is the literal sense of Scripture which is the stepping stone to the spiritual sense, the subject of meditation. He defines the two levels: "What is peculiar to Holy Scripture is this, the things there signified by words may also in their turn signify other things. The first signification, whereby words signify facts, is called the historical and literal sense; the second signification, whereby the facts signified by the words also signify other facts, is called the spiritual sense."⁴ For Thomists, then, Scripture has spiritual meaning when its literal sense is interpreted, usually on one or more of the levels which Aquinas, again developing Augustine's concepts, specifies: the allegorical or typological; the tropological or moral; and the anagogical or eschatological.⁵ Donne calls into doubt this very process of signification: words do not signify facts so much as they are the deeds ("facts," from facere, to do) of the Spirit. God's "plaine sense" is thus both "literall" and "direct," an immediate perception of the divine life incarnate in words.

The literal sense, according to Reformation theology, is direct and plain only to those "elect" persons gifted by God with clear and correct understanding. Luther defines "Scripture, with Its 'Internal' and 'External' Clarity, as the Test of Truth," arguing that there are "two sorts of judgment," of interpretation of the Word:

One is internal, whereby through the Holy Spirit or a special gift of God, anyone who is enlightened concerning himself and his own salvation, judges and discerns We have called it above "the internal clarity of Holy Scripture." . . . There is therefore another, an external judgment This judgment belongs to the public ministry of the Word and to

the outward office, and is chiefly the concern of leaders and preachers of the Word. . . . This is what we earlier called "the external clarity of Holy Scripture." . . . the Holy Scriptures are a spiritual light far brighter than the sun itself, especially in things that are necessary to salvation.⁶

The concept of election, which was developed and emphasized by John Calvin, led seventeenth-century English Protestants to the belief that exegesis is not exclusively the study of scholarly priests but rather the perception of divine intention, the understanding of divine speech, by the gifted elect, the priesthood of all believers. The one literal sense, then, became both the gift of true interpretation of the letter and grammar of biblical text and of the divine intention expressed in that text.

This special reception of meaning also gives special status to the Word as text. The "principall intention" or the literal sense not only is the figurative sense but also is expressed (from expressāre, to press out) by the figurative sense. And the Protestant insistence on the literal fact coexisting with the metaphorical fact predicated, in practice, a distinctive use of metaphor as the substance of the incarnate Logos, and it is this incarnation which makes Scripture the Word.

The belief in incarnational metaphor which connects Reformation theology with Protestant aesthetics contains a movement from the sacred to the profane which is essentially the opposite of the movement of the Catholic from the literal sense to the spiritual. Joseph Anthony Mazzeo, in "St. Augustine's Rhetoric of Silence: Truth vs. Eloquence and Things vs. Signs," explains that St. Augustine was the first influential writer

after Plato to relate aesthetics to philosophy and theology: "The nature and uses of signs became strictly related to the realities to be sought (discovery) and to their formulation (statement), so that the use of the arts of language is utterly dependent on the structure of reality

. . . . Thus the theme that underlies the whole of Book IV [of De doctrina Christiana] is that of the eloquence of words (verba) versus the immeasurably greater eloquence of realities (res), of truth."⁷

The hermeneutical assumptions of the pre-Reformation concept of language, which derived from Augustine, reveal a Platonic ontological hierarchy and an equally Platonic quest from lower to higher levels of being and understanding. Mazzeo concludes that St. Augustine's "platonic concept of mimesis culminates in a mystical theology in which ultimate reality is beyond rational comprehension and in which all things and all linguistic potentialities are simply symbols of a reality which transcends them but to which they serve to elevate the soul."⁸ Thus, "the movement from words to silence, from signs to realities, is the fundamental presupposition of Augustinian allegorical exegesis."⁹

Augustine defines allegory, the term which until the Reformation was used interchangeably with metaphor, type, symbol and figure,¹⁰ with such a Platonic ontology in mind: "It is called allegory, when any thing appears to sound in words of one thing, and in meaning it signify [sic] another. As Christ is called a Lamb: is He cattle? Christ a lion: is He a wild beast? . . . Therefore, we say a figure is an

allegory in that a sacred meaning is figured."¹¹ Metaphors, for the Augustinian, were one step further removed than most words from expressing spiritual sense. Aquinas explains the reasons for their use in Scripture: "gross understatement is well adapted to our present knowledge of God. We know what he is not, rather than what he is, and a modesty of expression brings home to us how far he is above us. . . . crude symbolism serves to screen divine truths against those unfitted to look at them."¹² Thomists, heirs of the Augustinians, saw biblical metaphor at best as a "gross understatement" which points man to spiritual intuition transcending words; Protestants came to believe that the words of Scripture embody the Word and that biblical metaphors are the special means of this incarnation.

The influence of theology upon literature was immediate in each tradition. The medieval Catholic writer could hope to direct his readers through symbols toward intuitive experience of the divine. The Protestant, on the other hand, who "knew" his literal and metaphorical God directly through Scripture, sought to become, through his own metaphors, another expression of the Word. Donne prays to be one of the religious leaders, descended from the Old Testament prophets through Christ to contemporary preachers, who incorporates God's creative style:

Neither didst thou speake and worke in this language, onely in the time of thy Prophets: but since thou spokest in thy Son, it is so too. . . . This hath occasioned thine ancient servants, whose delight it was to write after thy Copie, to proceede the same way in their expositions of the Scriptures, and in their composing both of publike liturgies, and of private prayers to thee, to make their accesses to thee in such a kind of language, as thou wast pleased to

speake to them, in a figurative, in a Metaphoricall language; in which I am bold to call the comfort which I receive now in this sicknesse, in the indication of the concoction and maturity thereof, in certaine clouds, and recidences, which the Physitians observe, a discovering of land from Sea, after¹³ a long, and tempestuous voyage.

Thus, whether composing public liturgies or private prayers such as the Devotions in which he too makes bold to write after God's "copy," Donne could assume the role of prophet. He demonstrates, in "Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse," the cohesion of public sermon and private prayer which takes the form of religious poetry:

And as to others soules I preach'd thy word,
Be this my Text, my Sermon to mine owne,
Therefor that he may raise the Lord throws down.¹⁴

Claiming the role of preacher, Donne writes a prayer which, with its "Text," is both poem and "Sermon." Religious writings, whether public or private, sermon or poem, were alike in that they were felt to be divinely inspired, ultimately the Work of the Spirit through the medium of the poet and his works.

The distinctive qualities of the Protestant religious writer or preacher centre on his claim that, inspired by the Spirit, he incarnates or embodies the Logos in his works. William Perkins, a seventeenth-century Puritan preacher, puts this connection of the prophet with the Holy Spirit succinctly and radically: "every Prophet is partly the voyce of God, to wit, in preaching."¹⁵ Expressing the same conviction, Donne writes:

Religious preaching is a grave exercise the Holy Ghost hath spoken in those Instruments, whom he chose for the penning of the Scriptures, and so he would in those whom he sends for the preaching thereof. . . . Then are

we Musicum carmen in modo, musick to the soul, in the manner of our preaching, when in delivering points of Divinity we content our selves with that language, and that phrase of speech, which the Holy Ghost hath expressed¹⁶ himself in, in the Scriptures.

Perkins and Donne, in these quotations, reflect the Reformation belief which was postulated in Luther's extensive study of the manifestations of God's Word. In his "The Gospel of St. John" he writes:

Thus St. Paul calls the church a letter and himself the pen. . . . "I am the pen, the tool for writing. Christ uses what I write, so that the heart of the Holy Spirit engenders faith in the Christian and convinces him of the truth." Others do not do this; therefore they do not put their seal to it. Those who do, however, have the Holy Spirit, who imprinted the message in their hearts, so that they can say: "The truth is in this Word." In this way the Holy Spirit brings it about that God is God in our hearts. . . . The Holy Spirit speaks to those who read the Word of God. In this¹⁷ way speaking and writing become identical.

Repeatedly through his writings, Luther makes the same point, for example, "Since we preach the Word of God, we staunchly maintain that God has called us."¹⁸ That Protestants widely believed such claims is seen in the public acknowledgement of Calvin's calling; in Geneva "in 1552 . . . the Council voted that the Institutes contain 'the holy doctrine of God.'"¹⁹ For Donne as well, because the Holy Ghost speaks in the sermon, the preacher, whether at public liturgy or in private prayer, was raised to the role of prophet, or "voyce of God"; his creative work was, by extension, like Scripture the expression of divine meaning, Logos.

The full implication of Protestant incarnational metaphor extends beyond the concept of the Holy Spirit as the inspirational

force of the writer as "voyce of God" and of the elect's understanding. Further study of Reformation doctrines and aesthetics reveals the extension of the presence of the Spirit in the letter to include Christ himself in the word. Donne meditates on Christ's use of himself as a literal metaphor: "How often, how much more often doth thy Sonne call himselfe a way, and a light, and a gate, and a Vine, and bread, than the Sonne of God, or of Man: How much oftner doth he exhibit a Metaphoricall Christ, than a reall?"²⁰ The term "metaphoricall Christ" encapsulates the incarnational focus of Donne's argument as well as of Reformation Christological doctrine. From the context of the passage in which this phrase is found, the argument that Christ, as a prophet or preacher, used metaphor is readily apparent. But the syntax of the phrase suggests that Christ is himself a metaphor, an incarnation; in the words of the Gospel of John, he is "the Word . . . made flesh."²¹ He is also the source of other incarnations:

In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. . . . He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become ²² the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name.

Since the gift of perception of the Word was given only to the elect, they alone could see, in Scripture and contemporary religious writings and sermons, the literary incarnations of the metaphorical and literal God.

Protestants discovered God's Word not only in Christ, in Scripture, and in contemporary "voyces," but also in His work of creating the world and its history. Donne connects these creative acts, in his "Expostulation," as the activity of the Word which is a "work" in the literary sense:

Neither art thou thus a figurative, a metaphoricall God in thy word only, but in thy workes too. The stile of thy works, the phrase of thine actions, is metaphoricall. The institutions of thy whole worship in the old Law, was a continuall Allegory; types and figures overspread all; and figures flowed into figures, and powred themselves out into farther figures; Circumcision carried a figure of Baptisme, and Baptisme carries a figure of that purity,²³ which we shall have in perfection in the new Jerusalem.

The concept of "works" as "copies" of God's Word, as "deeds" of the Spirit, was extended, in the Reformation understanding of history, to what Lewalski terms incarnational typology.²⁴ William G. Madsen summarizes the seventeenth-century Protestant's concept of types:

A type is a historical person or event

A type looks forward in time, not upward through the scale of being. The theory of typology is thus . . . fundamentally alien to the Greek philosophy of essences. . . .

There must be both similarities and differences between a type and its antitype.

Neither the actors of a typical event nor the authors of their history understand the typological significance of what they are doing or writing. The Jews wandering in the wilderness did not know that manna prefigured the Eucharist

Hence, the meaning of a type cannot be known until it has²⁵ been fulfilled in its antitype.

Unlike the Thomists who read the typological meaning of a scriptural passage as one of its possible spiritual senses, Calvin and his followers believed that "the typological meaning is the literal meaning."²⁶ The belief that the embodiment of divine meaning in history

is the one literal sense of Scripture grew from Luther's insistence on the varying repetition of incarnations not only in Jewish history but also in the Protestants' present and future: "Luther came to describe the whole of scripture, New Testament as well as Old, as 'Testimonies' of Christ which look toward the future for their fulfillment. . . .

'Hence, just as the law was a figure and preparation of the people for receiving Christ, so our doing what is in us (factio quantum in nobis est) disposes us to grace. And the whole time of grace is preparation for future glory.'" ²⁷ That Protestants saw God's Providential patterning in the sequence of typological events from the time of the Old Covenant to the New (which includes the present) and on into the time of the Apocalypse extends the possibility for incarnation, the embodiment of the Word, beyond the usual antitype or fulfillment in Christ, to the rest of Christian history. God's Word would necessarily be realized in the world until heaven and earth should pass away.

Protestants not only found contemporary historical events to be antitypes of the experiences of the chosen people throughout Providential history; they also extended their typological framework to the life of the individual Christian. So, in his Chapter, "The Knowledge of God Shines Forth in the Fashioning of the Universe and the Continuing Government of It," Calvin could assert:

There are innumerable evidences both in heaven and on earth that declare his wonderful wisdom ignorance . . . prevents no one from seeing more than enough of God's workmanship in his creation to lead him to break forth in admiration It is . . . clear that there is no one to whom the Lord does not abundantly show his wisdom. Likewise . . . the human body shows itself to be a composition so ingenious that its Artificer is rightly judged a wonder-worker.

Certain philosophers, accordingly, long ago not ineptly called man a microcosm because he is a rare example of God's power, goodness, and wisdom Indeed, if there is no need to go outside ourselves to comprehend God, what pardon will the indolence of that man deserve who is loath to descend within himself to find God?²⁸

This idea of God-in-the-self thus made the Christian and his life metaphorical incarnations of the world and its history. The Protestant, whose salvation depended solely on God's election and subsequent working in him, constantly searched for signs of patterning in the events of his own life, patterns which would recreate the events of the history of the chosen people, Israel. Thus Donne, in "Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse," sees himself as both the first and last man, and since the second Adam is equated with Christ, Donne presents himself as another metaphor of Christ, as well as of Adam:

We thinke that Paradise and Calvarie,
Christs Crosse, and Adams tree, stood in one place;
 Looke Lord, and finde both Adams met in me;
 As the first Adams sweat surrounds my face,²⁹
 May the last Adams blood my soule embrace.

The Protestant's quest for metaphors of divine meaning in the Book of the Word and in the Book of the World meant that events and Scriptures could be synonymous. But Donne also promises the individual believer that "All Gods Prophecies, are thy Histories: whatsoever he hath promised to others, he hath done in his purpose for thee: And

all Gods Histories are thy Prophesies; all that he hath done for others, he owes thee."³⁰ Likewise, "As every man is a world in himself, so every man hath a Church in himselfe; and as Christ referred the Church for hearing to the Scriptures, so every man hath Scriptures in his own heart, to hearken to."³¹ This last sentence conveys explicitly the incarnational quality of Scripture: Logos is present in the individual as it is in Scriptures and in the "works" of history. Protestant literalism asserts the belief in the one sense of Scripture, the presence of the one divine power in sermon, Scripture, and religious writing, and in world and individual history. In his Devotions then, Donne uses his own body and the progress of his sickness to re-present the fallen world and its history. As his religious writing was an extension of the Word incarnate, so his life was an embodiment of Providential history.

The Devotions, recording Donne's search for divine meaning in himself and his experience, also typify the assumptions and practices of Reformation meditation. Meditations XVI - XVIII are "Devotions" upon the "occasion" which "emerged" when Donne heard the tolling of nearby Church bells. The epigraph to Meditation XVI summarizes his response: "From the Bells of the Church adjoyning, I am daily remembred of my buriall in the funeralls of others."³² This is the essence of incarnational metaphor. The self is not merely itself; there is a unity of self and others, of subject and object: "every man is a world in himself." Donne has "reformed" a traditional metaphor; the Mystical Body of the medieval Church was an ideal Communion in which, as will be

seen in analysis of pre-Reformation poetry, the worshipper sought to be subsumed. For the Protestant, to repeat Frye, "the metaphor is turned inside out. Instead of an individual finding his fulfillment within a social body, the total body is complete within each individual. The individual acquires the internal authority of the unity of the Logos."³³ As "the social body . . . is complete within" Donne, so his experience, his individual history, contains "the unity of the Logos." The word "emergent" suggests there is a power active within the occasion, a truth which emerges to, and becomes embodied in, the experience of the believer. These meditations are not mimetic, implying distance between the original and its imitation. Rather, the occasion reveals or allows to emerge a sacramental identity of object with the meditative subject. The self is found in occasions as in other people and it finds "others" in itself.

That Donne's Devotions typify the "occasional meditations" which saw Providence or divine patterning emerging from the occasion or person which embodied them is seen in the similarity of Donne's work to the first of the basic types of English Protestant meditation outlined by Joseph Hall in his Arte of Divine Meditation of 1606:

Divine Meditation is nothing else but a bending of the minde upon some spirituall object, through divers formes of discourse, untill our thoughts come to an issue; and this must needs be either Extemporall, and occasioned by outward occurrences offered to the mind, or Deliberate, and wrought out of our owne heart. . . . There is no creature, event, action, speech which may not afford us new matter of Meditation. . . . Wherefore as travellers in a forraine countrey make everie sight a lesson; so ought wee in this³⁴ our pilgrimage.

While in Occasional or Extemporal Meditation the Christian applied meaning from external occasions to his own spiritual state, in Deliberate Meditation he applied a biblical text to himself. Donne practised this latter form of Divine Meditation as well, for example, "Draw the Scripture to thine own heart, and to thine own actions, and thou shalt finde it made for that: all the promises of the Old Testament made, and all accomplished in the New Testament, for the salvation of thy soule hereafter, and for thy consolation in the present application of them."³⁵ Likewise, he instructs his congregation, "Study all the history, and write all the progres of the Holy Ghost in thy selfe. . . . thou wilt find an infinite comfort in this particular tracinge of the Holy Ghost, and his workinge in thy soule."³⁶ That these guides to meditation come from Sermons on Matthew iv. 18-20 and Psalm xxxviii. 9 respectively demonstrates, in the words of Donne's contemporary, James Ussher, that "every Sermon is but a preparation for meditation."³⁷ Another equation of two spiritual activities, in this case writing and self-scrutiny, is expressed in the injunction, "write all the progress of the Holy Ghost in thy selfe." Again, there is one sense to the act of incarnation. The purpose of the sermon and meditation is to find types or metaphors of the individual's spiritual state. The Protestant trusted that meditation would discover "the Holy Ghost, and his workinge in [his] soule."

The Protestant's practice of meditation, in drawing Scripture to his own heart, or writing the progress of the Holy Ghost in himself,

is the model upon which the creative writing of sermon and poetry was based. The degree to which the methods of Protestant meditation differ from those of Catholic meditation aids understanding of how Protestant writing in general, and the Protestant use of metaphor in particular, differ from Augustinian aesthetics. Meditation is the practice which proves the common impulse of all religions: the goal is invariably direct experience of the divine presence. Joseph Hall's "petition" in The Arte of Divine Meditation could be made by any Christian meditator: "O, thou that hast prepared a place for my soul, prepare my soul for that place; prepare it with holiness; prepare it with desire; and even while it sojourneth on earth let it dwell in heaven with thee, beholding ever the beauty of thy face, the glory of thy saints, and of itself."³⁸ But his "Art" emphasizes discovery of God in an occasion, in one's own heart, in a passage of Scripture.

The Catholic could object to Hall's emphasis on the soul's being in heaven while on earth. But the greater distinction between the two traditions is in their methods. Ignatius, defining his "way of meditating, of rising to God our Lord through all creatures,"³⁹ emphasizes "rising" above the subject of meditation to God; his Exercises are "Exercises to conquer oneself and regulate one's life and to avoid coming to a determination through any inordinate affection."⁴⁰ Thomas à Kempis, the fifteenth-century meditator of the Order of St. Augustine, shows more clearly the contemptus mundi necessary for such spiritual elevation in his book on meditative practices. Its first

chapter is entitled: "Of the Imitation of Christ and the Contempt of all the Vanities of the World."⁴¹ The meditator must daily mortify himself and imitate the way of the holy Cross by remembering, imagining scenes of Christ's life in order to "elevate himself above himself"⁴² into God's presence: "And unless a man be disengaged from all things created, he cannot freely attend to things divine. . . . It is also a great impediment, that we rest so much upon signs and sensible things, and have but little of perfect mortification."⁴³ Conversely, the Protestant meditator looks for God in just such "signs and sensible things" and in his own life; the Catholic strives to rise out of himself, above "signs and sensible things" to God. And this difference echoes that between medieval Catholic exegesis and metaphor, in which the movement is from the literal sense to the spiritual, and Protestant exegesis and metaphor, in which the divine presence becomes incarnate.

Even liturgically, the celebration of Christmas and Easter in the two churches parallels this distinction between their respective meditative and exegetical practices. Unlike the Catholic, who imaginatively repeated these biblical events in order to achieve spiritual atonement with Christ, the Protestant looked for the nativity and passion in his own vocation and conversion. William Haller explains: "The Puritan saga did not cherish the memory of Christ in the manger or on the cross, that is, of the lamb of God sacrificed in vicarious atonement for the sins of man. The mystic birth was the birth of the new man in men. The mystic passion was the crucifixion

of the new man by the old, and the true propitiation was the sacrifice of the old to the new."⁴⁴ Lewalski similarly relates the metaphors used in the literature of the two churches to their distinctive practices of meditation:

Protestant meditation [unlike the Catholic] did not stimulate the senses to recreate and imagine biblical scenes in vivid detail; it would not therefore give rise to poetry based upon visual imagery and sensuous immediacy. But Protestant meditation did engage the mind in an effort to penetrate deeply into the motives and motions of the psyche, and also to understand the self as the very embodiment of the subject meditated upon. The Word was still to be made flesh, though now in the self of the meditator (or of the preacher and his audience). This emphasis contributed to the creation of poetry with a new depth and sophistication of psychological insight, and a new focus upon the symbolic significance of⁴⁵ the individual.

Analysis of the Augustinian tradition of aesthetics as it is found in two meditative poems, the Anglo-Saxon "The Dream of the Rood" and the medieval "Pearl," might demonstrate the underlying theological and aesthetic principles of the religious literature of pre-Reformation England and should afford a background against which the Protestant use of "literal metaphor" can be seen, in a sense, to move in an inward direction, as opposed to the upward motion of Catholic symbolism.

In "The Dream of the Rood," the narrator tells his audience of a dream vision in which he was in the presence of the Cross on which Christ was crucified. This Rood describes to the dreamer its sufferings and Christ's Passion, and its transformation into "beacna selest," the best of symbols through which each soul can be saved.⁴⁶ The dreamer, anticipating the much later Ignatian meditator, imagines in vivid detail

the Rood's appearance and experiences. Through this application of himself to his object of meditation, he comes to participate in the scene; not only does he imitate the Rood's feelings and repeat its message that man may be saved by the Rood, but also, at the end of the poem, he repeats its repetition of the Passion story. While "The Dream of the Rood" can only look forward to later Catholic traditions of meditation and imitatio Christi, it shares at least the aesthetic assumptions inherent in a theology inherited from Augustine, and it should help to clarify the theological assumptions underlying the pre-Reformation tradition of symbolism.

The central exercise of the meditator was imitation, as for the early Augustine, "Christ's incarnation was . . . precept and example." In "The Dream of the Rood," the dreamer imitates the Cross which, in turn, imitates Christ. Thus, the dreamer sees a vision of the Rood which appears at times gloriously beautiful, covered with jewels, and at other times merely wooden, blood-covered:

Hwaedre ic þurh þaet gold ongytan meahte
 earmra aergewin þaet hit aerest ongan
 swaetan on þa swiðran healfe. Eall ic waes mid sorgum gedrefed,⁴⁷
 forht ic waes for þaere faegran gesyhðe.

His fear and wonder extend to a sense of his own sinfulness: "Syllic waes se sigebeam ond ic synnum fah/forwunded mid wommum."⁴⁸ These emotional responses echo those of the Rood as it witnessed both the glory and the mere human suffering of Christ in comparison to whom it feels itself merely an instrument of torture, oppressed by sorrow (ll. 39-62). There is an ontological hierarchy here--the man is inferior to the Rood, which is lesser than Christ--and the lower being can, at best, imitate the higher.

The dreamer and the Rood are similar in their homiletic, as well as their emotional, responses to what they have witnessed. The first stanza of the third section begins with the Rood saying "Nu ðu miht gehyran haeled min se leofa"⁴⁹ of the events of the crucifixion and the promise that the Rood "haelan maeg/ aeghwylcne anra þara þe him bið egesa to me."⁵⁰ In the next stanza it commissions the dreamer to repeat this knowledge to other men:

Nu ic þe hate haeled min se leofa
 þaet ðu þas gesyhðe secge mannum,
 onwreoh wordum þaet hit is wuldres beam
 se ðe aelmihtig god on þrowode
 for mancynnes manegum synnum
 and Adomes ealdgewyrhtum.

 ne þearf ðaer þonne aenig unforht wesan
 þe him aer in breostum bered beacna selest;
 ac ðurh ða rode sceal rice gesecan
 of eordwege aeghwylc sawl
 seo þe mid wealdende wunian þenceð.⁵¹

In retrospect, the dreamer likewise commands his audience "Hwaet!"⁵² as he tells what he witnessed and heard, and after describing this vision he repeats the promise of salvation. Visionary recapitulation, then, gives authority to his didactic outreach, for his imitation contains two facets: the ritual of repeating the important events of Christ's experience, and the ethical imperative to model oneself after Him. His "example" becomes his followers' "precept."

Furthermore, the dreamer succeeds in imitating the Rood to the extent that, in the last stanza, he takes on the Rood's visionary power and voice; the dreamer, as the result of his participation with "beacna selest," indirectly addresses Christ and witnesses His passion, harrowing

of hell, and the resurrection of the saints:

Si me dryhten freond
 se ðe her on eorþan aer þrowode
 on þam gealgtreowe for guman synnum.
 He us onlysde ond us lif forgeaf
 heofonlice ham --hiht waes geniwad
 mid bledum ond mid blisse þam þe þaer bryne þolodan.
 Se sunu waes sigorfaest on þam siðfate
 mihtig ond spedig þa he mid manigeo com
 gasta weorode on godes rice
 anwealda aelmihtig englum to blisse
 ond eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofonum aer
 wunedon on wuldre þa heora wealdend cwom⁵³
 aelmihtig god þaer his edel waes.

The fact that he recalls with such immediacy this moment, without presuming to be present himself, indicates the power of the Rood as an intermediary; through his Imitation of the Rood, man comes indirectly to the divine presence.

The means whereby the Rood, the poem's central symbol, is invested with this power to absorb man into the sources of its strength are best approached by analysis of other imitations and repetitions in this poem. The Rood, for example, not only witnessed Christ's suffering; it also came to share the passion. The dreamer has noticed the Rood bleeding from its right side. The Rood stresses this fact and elaborates its imitation of and participation in Christ's suffering:

Þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan naeglum, on me syndon þa
 dolg gesiene
 opene inwidhlemmas --ne dorste ic hira naenigum scedðan.
 Bysmeredon hie unc butu aetgaedere; Eall ic waes mid blode
 bestemed
 begoten of þaes guman sidan siððan he haefde his gast onsended.
 Feala ic on þam beorge gebiden haebbe
 wraðra wyrda; geseah ic weruda god
 þearle þenian.⁵⁴

The Rood then remembers how both it and Christ were entombed and how both rose from the grave to glory. The Rood holds out Christ's power without Christ's person becoming involved again. To repeat Mazzeo, it stands as a surrogate, an Augustinian-Platonic "shadow," a "mimesis in which all things and all linguistic forms are symbols of a reality which transcends them but to which they may help to elevate the soul." The imitation, then, underscores the distance between this world and the next.

Through imitation of the Rood, the dreamer is likewise enabled to prepare himself and his audience for the next world, even as he waits in this world. But he invariably anticipates that next world by seeking to lose himself in his subject, in the symbol itself. He describes himself, after his dream, praying "Maete werede,"⁵⁵ as Christ, attended by his few followers, is entombed where "Reste he daer maete weorode."⁵⁶ This verbal parallel suggests what the final stanza confirms, that the dreamer, towards the end of his visionary experience, comes like the Rood to imitate Christ. Through the symbol, the human ego may thus be subsumed by the divine Self. Christ is obviously not incarnate in the Anglo-Saxon dreamer, as a Protestant would look for Christ in himself. Rather, through a symbol and the repetition of the central events of Christ's crucifixion, resurrection and salvation of mankind, the dreamer attains, in the last stanza, a surrender of self into the symbol which he "imitates."

The Old English Catholic poet could, through the use of symbols, such as the Cross and through repetition of Christ's Passion, bring his meditator, the dreamer--and, by extension, the meditative reader--to a mystical experience of the divine presence. Christ Himself is not present in the poem; this absence distinguishes Catholic symbolism from Protestant incarnational metaphor which is transformed from the word into the Word, Christ. The Rood is the surrogate for Christ whom it would be presumptuous and egocentric of the Catholic poet to cause to suffer again; the dreamer doesn't force Christ to die again for his benefit but instead he humbly encounters Christ through His Likeness, the Rood. This intermediary, itself a creature, takes on the sufferings of its Lord and is transformed by divine power into the object of meditation bearing the significance of Christ, without directly involving Him in the repeated and renewed Passion. The symbolic mode of the Catholic poet offers a substitute for Christ; the Protestant poet, spiritual equivalent of the preacher and prophet, seeks instead to speak with "the voyce of God."

The theological interpretation of the Eucharist is the basis for this difference between mimesis and incarnation in the religious literature of the two main Christian traditions. In the Catholic tradition, only the priest during Mass is authorized to bring God to man. At the moment of sacrifice, the Real Presence is heralded. Carl Jung summarizes man's experience of God in this ritual:

The ritual event that takes place in the Mass has a dual aspect, human and divine. From the human point of view, gifts are offered to God at the altar The ritual act consecrates both the gifts and the givers. . . . But from the divine point of view this anthropomorphic action is only the outer shell or husk in which what is really happening is not a human action at all but a divine event. For an instant the life of Christ, eternally existent outside time, becomes visible and is unfolded in temporal succession, but in condensed form, in the sacred action: Christ incarnates as a man under the aspect of the offered substances, he suffers, is killed, is laid in the sepulchre, breaks the power of the underworld, and rises again in glory. . . . The presence of the Godhead binds all parts⁵⁷ of the sacrificial act into a mystical unity

It is exclusively in this miracle, which Malcolm Ross calls "incarnational eucharistic symbolism,"⁵⁸ that the Catholic experiences the presence of Christ. Aquinas describes the change in the elements of the Eucharist from the material to the spiritual: "The whole substance of bread is converted into the whole substance of Christ's body, the whole substance of wine into the whole substance of blood. This is . . . given the special name of transubstantiation."⁵⁹ The communicant takes Christ's Body into himself and, by so doing, is taken out of himself into the Body of Christ.

Calvin's understanding of the Lord's Supper, on the other hand, locates the mystery of the sacrament in the metaphor:

We . . . enter on the question . . . how we are to understand the words in which the bread is called the body of Christ, and the wine his blood. . . . the bread and the wine are visible signs, which represent to us the body and blood, but that this name and title of body and blood is given to them because they are as it were instruments by which the Lord distributes them to us. This form and manner of speaking is very appropriate. . . . It is a spiritual mystery which can neither be seen by the eye nor comprehended by the human understanding. It is therefore figured to us by visible signs, according as our weakness requires, in such manner, nevertheless, that it is not a bare figure but is combined with the reality and substance. . . . the name of the body of Jesus Christ is transferred to the bread, inasmuch as it is the sacrament⁶⁰ and figure of it.

Calvin thus emphasizes God's use of both human language and material substance. Because, in the sacrament, there is no annihilation of the substance of the bread—"the nature of the sacrament requires, that the material bread remain as a visible sign of the body"—the individual substance is not subsumed or lost, but rather it is joined to another nature, fused, as is the essence of metaphor. Calvin also connects sacrament to language by locating the Real Presence in the words of the preacher as well as in the bread and wine: "the sacraments derive their virtue from the word when it is preached intelligibly."⁶¹ His use of Augustine's definition of the sacrament as a "visible sign of a sacred thing, or a visible form of an invisible grace,"⁶² therefore, makes it a word, a recovery of divine speech; the Word is seen and heard; the thing is joined metaphorically to the utterance when the substance of the Word is found in consecrated things.

The Real Presence, in religious writing and preaching, as well as in sacraments, made the sermon a more central event in the Protestant than in the Catholic church service. Likewise, Catholic aesthetics make art one step removed from direct experience of God, the religious symbols of art imitating the liturgy. The non-mimetic Protestant preacher and poet, however, assumes the function formerly held only by the priest. The Catholic poet is not a priest; his word is not the Word; the poem is not a sacrament. The elect Protestant, on the other hand, claiming the authority of priest, may know God directly and incarnate Logos in his life, his works and his words. What happens in the liturgy of one Church, then, has a limiting effect upon its literary work, whereas the literary work of the liturgy in the other Church reduces the distinction between sacrament and art, between prophet and priest.

The difference between the Eucharist and the Rood as a symbol is the difference between actual Presence and imitatio Christi; the verbal symbol is like Christ and repeats His Passion, but only in memory. While Christ enters the poem in memory, both in the address of the Rood and in the final homily of the dreamer, His power is, nevertheless, immediate, since essential to the re-enactment is the presence of some material thing as the vessel of Christ's power. As the Rood tells how it was once an ordinary tree chopped down and made into an instrument of torture by man and then penetrated by Christ's power, the sexual imagery suggests the hierogamous union of the sacred with the profane:

Geseah ic þa frean mancynnes
 efstan elne mycle þæt he me wolde on gestigan;
 þær ic þa ne dorste ofer dryhtnes word
 bugan odde berstan

 Ongyrede hine þa geong haeled --þæt waes god aelmihtig--
 strang ond stiðmod gestah he on gealgan heanne
 modig on manigra gesyhðe þa he wolde mancyn lysan,⁶³
 Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte

The Rood's power as a vehicle grows from its surrender of itself into the Godhead, even as, during the Eucharist, the communicant is subsumed into the Body of Christ, while never being, in himself, that Body. Through this surrender, the mundane cross is transformed by Christ into His representative:

Hwaet me þa geweorðode wuldres ealdor
 ofer holmwudu heofonrices weard,
 swylce swa he his modor eac Marian sylfe
 aelmihtig god for ealle menn 64
 geweorðode ofer eall wifa cynn.

The end of Catholic symbolism and sacrament is the animation of the inanimate world by divine power, of the cross, for example, by Christ. The "beacna selest" is the shadow of the eternal reality, a sign but not the embodiment of divine truth. The symbolic object stands for a power which is not subject to human control or authority, but which may absorb the self-consciousness of the subject into itself. This tradition of symbolism thus makes art a lesser, but nevertheless viable, way of approaching the Godhead.

Symbols and, by extension, language as a whole, are thus pale shadows of divine reality, useful as signs pointing, for meditators, to this heavenly realm which mere words cannot represent. From this perspective Aquinas writes, "The ray of divine revelation is not extinguished by the sensible imagery wherewith it is veiled . . . it does not allow the minds . . . to rest in the likenesses, but raises them to the knowledge of intelligible truths The very hiding of truth in figures is useful for the exercise of thoughtful minds."⁶⁵ Thus the spiritual sense is above, superior to, the literal. This hierarchical perception, of divine reality above shadowy, worldly experience, and of spiritual meaning above literal expression, derives, for Augustine and his Thomist followers, not only from Platonic philosophy, but also from Aristotelian poetics. Aristotle's aesthetics center entirely upon the concept of

mimesis; for example, his definition of tragedy begins with the assertion, "Artists imitate men in action."⁶⁶ Metaphor, for Aristotle, did not represent the essential quality of language and writing, as Protestants would later argue; instead, as O. B. Hardison Jr. writes, "Plot and character are the most important elements in drama. Diction comes fairly far down on the list, and metaphor is only a part of diction. . . . Aristotle's explanation of metaphor assumes that its function is to reveal similarities."⁶⁷

Notwithstanding the way in which theologians and poets in the Middle Ages confused the distinctive elements of Plato's, Aristotle's and Plotinus's ideas of imitation,⁶⁸ Catholic writers did amalgamate the artistic exercise of copying from models, the philosophical concepts of copy and idea, and the religious distinction between this world and the world of essences. Both metaphor, as an element of language, and meditation sought to imitate the higher order of reality. Mazzeo emphasizes that in Augustinian poetics, only God has the

power to confer on realities their significance as signs. A stone is a sign only if Jacob sleeps on it in the particular circumstances in which God made him sleep on it in order to make the event a sign. A careful reading of St. Augustine would clear up some of the confusion in modern literary studies of medieval allegory which fail to distinguish between man's allusions and references to the divine allegory of realities as signs, and man's power to create such signs. The latter, in strict theology, is impossible. They can only be discovered, in Scripture or in life, and they can⁶⁹ be used, but they cannot be invented.

The poet, in other words, could never presume to be "partly the voyce of God." He could lead the reader to meditation only by reminding him

of the power of God in certain symbols such as the Cross and in ritual imitations of Christ's action so that the reader, applying himself to the symbol, could move through it to an intuitive experience of God.

It is only in his later writings that Augustine, scholar of Plotinian philosophy as well as of Christian doctrine, "expressly retracted his earlier point of view"⁷⁰ and articulated a more incarnational aesthetics and doctrine, based on the concept of the Word as revelation, and of Scripture and preaching as expressions of the Word.⁷¹ Thus, while the aesthetic theories and Christological theology of the later Augustine could be said to anticipate Reformation poetics, the greatest influence on Catholic aesthetics was the Hellenic poetics as adopted and transformed by Church fathers from the early Augustine through to Aquinas.

That the Catholic tradition of symbolism consistently reflects Augustinian aesthetics is substantiated by analysis of the medieval "Pearl." Though written many centuries after "The Dream of the Rood," this poem also embodies the ontological progression from things-as-signs through language to a transcendent reality. In the later poem, a two-year old daughter (although one could argue other interpretations) is transformed by Christ into the Pearl. As the vessel of His power, this radiant maiden, like the Cross, partakes of both worlds and, for the dreamer, symbolizes, or renders visible, the transcendent world. Christ requires the dreamer to return, after the vision, to the mortal world where he perceives the transfiguration of things in this life through his memory of the symbol. Hoping for salvation or admission at death to

the transcendent world, he repeats his revelation to others; thus, again through the symbol, he leads them to witness the divine power irradiating the mundane world. But the dreamer-narrator in "Pearl" strongly resists acceptance of the meaning of his vision. Because of this spiritual obtuseness, he requires extended instruction, from the Pearl maiden, on the interaction of the heavenly world, the intercessory symbol, and the mundane world.

His first spiritual error is his excessive mourning the loss of his worldly gem, his baby daughter. Before his vision he has been in despair, unable to see any value beyond mundane things:

Bifore þat spot my honde I spenned
 For care ful colde þat to me caȝt;
 A deuely dele in my hert denned,
 þaȝ resoun sette myseluen saȝt.
 I playned my perle þat þer watȝ spenned
 Wyth fyrce skylleȝ þat faste faȝt;
 þaȝ kynde of Kryst me comfort kenned,⁷²
 My wreched wylle in wo ay wraȝte.

He falls into a dream of a wondrously beautiful world in which he is addressed by a Pearl maiden whom he recognizes as his lost one transformed into the perfection of female beauty, grace and wisdom. She admonishes his bereavement: "Me þynk þe put in a mad propose,/ And busyeȝ þe aboute a raysoun bref" (ll. 267-68). She criticizes as well his presumptions, for example, in desiring to enter her world:

þou sayt þou schal won in þis bayly;
 Me þynk þe burde fyrst aske leue,
 And ȝet of graunt þou myȝteȝ fayle.
 þou wylneȝ ouer þys water to weue;
 Er moste þou ceuer to oper counsayle:
 þy corse in clot mot calder keue.
 For hit watȝ forgarte at Paradys greue;
 Oure ȝorefader hit con mysseȝeme.
 þurȝ drwry deth boȝ vch man dreue,
 Er ouer þys dam hym Dryȝtyn deme. (315-24)

Finally, the dread and humility appropriate to a man seeing a vessel of divine power dispel his worldly pride and despair, and he is ready to be blessed with spiritual knowledge.

The Pearl barely begins the story of her death and salvation when the dreamer interrupts:

Me þynk þou spekez now ful wronge.
 Þyself in heuen ouer hyz þou heue,
 To make þe quen þat wat3 so 3onge.
 What more honour mozte he acheue
 þat hade endured in worlde stronge,
 And lyued in penaunce hys lyuez longe
 Wyth bodyly bale hum blysse to byye? (472-78)

This spiritual error, the application of human logic to matters of faith, necessitates the Pearl's homily, based on the parable of the vineyard, on the meriting of salvation. Like the labourers who worked only a few hours but were given the same full pay as was awarded those who had worked well all day, the two-year old girl, despite her lack of good works and her ignorance of creeds and prayers, was innocent, thus deserving of salvation. Moreover, she was baptised, and here the Catholic emphasis on the transformational power of sacrament is seen. No man, the Pearl teaches, performs enough good works to deserve salvation. All require the power in eucharist and baptism, ritual re-enactments of Christ's death which enable man's rebirth from the sin of Adam (ll. 641-60). Salvation is possible, after Christ, for the baptised, if they are either innocent children or adults who have performed the sacraments, including that of penance (ll. 668-72). Thus, through symbolic rituals, mundane life is transfigured or redeemed, and mortal man shares in the eternal world.

But Christ was a teacher as well as a divine redeemer and his parables, like his institution of the eucharist, serve as the means to man's salvation. Introducing the parable of the vineyard, the Pearl relates it to the ritual of the eucharist:

As Mathew meleþ in your messe
In sothfol gospel of God almyȝt,
In sample he can ful grayþely gesse,
And lykneþ hit to heuen lyȝte. (497-500)

Both homily and ritual imitate, or propose a likeness to, the heavenly realm. The ritual, nevertheless, retains a more central role; the Pearl refers to it to authorize or justify the parable. The Mass "has a dual aspect, human and divine" while the homiletic outgrowth from it is a purely human function. The Mass "consecrates" the communicants "into a mystical unity" whereas the parable, repeated by a visionary being, or by a priest, addresses the believer's conscious understanding and recommends that he makes the ethical decision to model himself after Christ's example.

Another discussion of the ways of imitating Christ's example is occasioned by the dreamer's argument that his loved one could not have taken the crown of heaven away from Mary (ll. 421-32). Again, the Pearl leads him to see the holy mysteries beyond his human logic. She insists that Mary is empress, and "haldes the empyre over us ful hyghe" (l. 454). Still, everything sanctified and everyone saved partake equally of glory (ll. 445-48). The process of sanctification is, as in "The Dream of the Rood," that of hierogamy, the union of the Godhead and the mortal in which the former irradiates the latter; the Pearl tells how the Lamb

Me ches to hys make, alþaȝ vnmete
 Sumtyme semed þat assemblé.
 When I wente fro yor worlde wete,
 He calde me to hys bonereté:
 "Cum hyder to me, my lemman swete,
 For mote ne spot is non in þe."
 He gef me myȝt and als bewté;
 In hys bold he wesch my wede on dese,
 And coronde clene in vergnté,
 And pyȝt me in perlez maskelleȝ. (759-68)

Like the Rood, the Pearl's mortal self has been subsumed.

Once the dreamer comes to understand the divine
 transformation of the Pearl into a consecrated virgin,
 his human logic still refuses to comprehend how Christ can have more
 than one bride. Explaining how Christ can subsume or save everyone,
 the Pearl substantiates her argument by reference to the Book of Rev-
 elation, the scriptural vision of the world transformed:

þe Lambez vyueȝ in blysse we bene,
 A hondred and forty fowre þowsande flot,
 As in þe Apocalyppeȝ hit is sene;
 Sant John hem syȝ al in a knot.
 On þe hyl of Syon, þat semly clot,
 þe apostel hem segh in gostly drem
 Arayed to þe weddyng in þat hyl-coppe,
 þe nwe cyte o Jerusalem. (785-92).

Repetition of the story of Christ's life and passion proves her point,
 that He has the power to save, or to make as his brides, all mortals (ll.
 853-64). Both the Cross and the Pearl claim to be bridges between the divine
 realm and mortal beings, to be vehicles of Christ's transforming power for
 all men.

The Pearl then intercedes with Christ to gain for the dreamer

a vision, beyond the sight of her, to one of the Godhead (ll. 965-72). The dreamer relates, with awe, the details of the saints and the Lamb in procession through the Holy City of Jerusalem, claiming over and over again that his vision repeats that of John on Patmos.⁷³ He does not claim to be "partly the voyce of God" but an imitator of an imitator. For the Apocalypse of John the Divine, while it is a code message about current events, is also understood to be mimetic in the Platonic sense. His words imitate the things he sees intuitively, but the words do not themselves embody the heavenly world because his vision awaits confirmation in an imitatio Christi. The dreamer-narrator of "Pearl," nevertheless, has an imitation-vision which, like the Pearl, does contain Christ's transforming power. No longer is he a dull-witted man whose understanding is clouded by selfishness and obstinate logic. Filled with delight and wonder, his perception is transformed; seeing his "lyttel quene" (l. 1147) among the procession of bejewelled maidens, the dreamer finally can accept her as one of Christ's many brides, important, not only as his gem, but also as a vessel of divine power. This vision within his dream, then, gives him understanding of, or helps him see, the wisdom in the Pearl's homily.

Mortal pride destroys his vision, though, when the dreamer forgets her instruction that he lacks the power to enter the heavenly world. Attempting to leave his world and cross the river into hers, he is denied, by Christ, both his inner vision of the procession through the new Jerusalem and his primary contact with the Pearl. His attempt to leave his world shows a contempt for the worldly as excessive as his

earlier perverse clinging to the mortal girl and his insistence on human logic. Waking in his garden, "Me payed ful ille to be outfleme/ So sodenly of þat fayre regioun" (ll. 1177-78). It is difficult for him to see the value of continuing his worldly life "in þys doel-doungoun" (l. 1187). But he learns that, although men always want to possess the divine, they cannot and he resolves to live with the memory of the vision and to conform himself to God's will. Although the symbol has disappeared, words come to him which, like it, guide him:

To pay þe Prince oþer sete saȝte
 Hit is ful eþe to þe god Krystyin;
 For I haf founden hym, boþe day and naȝte,
 A God, a Lorde, a frende ful fyin.
 Ouer þis hyul þis lote I laȝte,
 For pyty of my perle enclyin,
 And syþen to God I hit bytaȝte
 In Krysteȝ dere blessyng and myn,
 þat in þe forme of bred and wyn
 þe preste vus scheweȝ vch a daye.
 He gef vus to be his homly hyne
 Ande precious perleȝ vnto his pay.

Amen Amen (1201-12)

His prayer, which concludes the poem, is that he and those who have heard his vision might be transformed into vessels of divine power, to shine as "precious perleȝ vnto his pay." As the dreamer in "The Dream of the Rood" assumes the voice and function of the Cross and in effect becomes the Rood, as the pun in the title suggests, this dreamer prays to become a precious pearl, to apply himself to the subject of his meditation. And, in telling of his dream, he, like the Pearl, becomes a vehicle of Christ's saving power in that he recalls the central stories which underline Christian rituals and doctrines. Finally, the poem

imitates, for the reader, a vision of the holy city and divine presence in stanzas whose structure and rhyme schemes reflect both the poet's certainty of the vision he has received and the symmetry, intricacy and wonder of that holy sight. That the poem is mimetic rather than incarnational is confirmed by the final gulf between the world of vision and the world of mundane reality. The dreamer's function in this world is to serve as symbol of a transcendent world which shines "through" his experience, but is not directly present in it.

Both these Anglo-Saxon and medieval Catholic poems establish some correspondence between a mimetic mode and a homiletic function in religious art. In the two aspects of imitation--copying the divine world through symbols and exhorting believers to imitate Christ's behavior--these poems did not presume any holy status or divine function, as Protestant literature would later do, perhaps because the Catholic literary model, the Bible, was itself considered valuable only in these two terms of imitation. Polman's summary of Augustine's understanding of the relationship of the Bible and the meditative process--"in the attainment of a blessed life of contemplation, the Scriptures are now more than a starting point"--suggests a theological tradition in which the Word is far from central to the religious lives of the faithful. Augustine himself writes that "A man . . . does not need the Scriptures, except for the instruction of others."⁷⁴ For meditation and for ethical instruction, the Bible served as a model of imitation for Catholic mimetic homilies. A central function of two such works, "The Dream of

the Rood" and "Pearl," was thus the interpretation of the tropological level of scriptural passages since moral behavior--quid agas--was one of the means to salvation. The Protestant, on the other hand, valued the "Word" as the literal Word of God, and saw good works not as the means but rather merely as a sign of salvation; Luther's understanding of tropology was of opus Dei, the work of God in the individual.⁷⁵ The Catholic had to "practise" his religion, "imitating" Christ in good works and in rituals as found in the Bible. Through meditation and ethical imitation, the Catholic could hope to become a symbol of Christ's power, to be subsumed as a communicant. The Protestant, on the other hand, studied the Bible and searched through his meditative art for comparable signs of Christ (God's work) in his soul and in his daily life.

There is nonetheless a difference in kind between the visionary lyric poem within the Catholic literary tradition and the didactic drama of that Church. The former imitates the invisible world in order to instruct others; the latter instructs without approaching to transcendent realities. The Castle of Perseverance (c. 1425) and Everyman (c. 1500) belong to the same century, the same country, and the same church as "Pearl" but they differ radically from this poem in purpose and style. Instead of an individual dreamer attempting to imitate his mystical experience in poetry, the generic protagonist of the morality play presents a practical lesson to the audience by miming the conflict, in every Christian's life, between Good and Evil. That both visionary poetry and morality play teach the necessity of good works and Church

rituals is the extent of their similarity. The plays are much less concerned with aesthetic beauty or religious wonder; they are didactic while "Pearl" is fully homiletic in combining message with vision. The visionary symbol invites some form of imitation of the transcendent world; the didactic metaphor, on the other hand, demands examination and correction of behavior in this world.

The allegory of personified good and evil in conflict, as used by the fourth-century Prudentius in his Psychomachia, and adapted in popular, open-air sermons by fourteenth-century Evangelical preachers,⁷⁶ found its most powerful vehicle in dramas which combined and acted out the simple sermon and the allegorical story. The authors of The Castle of Perseverance and Everyman each adopted one of the most popular medieval didactic figures, man as a castle and life as a pilgrimage, respectively. In their treatment of these images, which were handled in a radically new way by Bunyan in the House of the Interpreter and the progress of the pilgrim Christian, these dramatists typify the methods of and assumptions behind didactic literature, the second major stream of Catholic religious writing.

The message of The Castle of Perseverance is conveyed through the interaction of allegorical characters. From his birth, Mankind is torn between two angels. The Bad Angel leads him to the pleasures offered at three scaffolds, those of the World, the Flesh and Belial, the Devil. Unable to turn Mankind from his state of sin, the Good Angel leaves him to Confession, a character who leads him through

penance to absolution. Confession then encourages him to enter the Castle where he must persevere in his Christian duties while guarded by the Seven Virtues against attacks from the evil scaffolds. But eventually the most powerful of the Seven Sins, Covetousness, tempts him out of the Castle whereupon his body is destroyed by Death and his soul, helpless before the scaffold of God, is accepted into heaven only in response to the pleading of Mercy and Peace. The theological implications of this allegory include the necessity of man's receiving Church sacraments and choosing to persevere against the temptations of this world so that God will be persuaded, by the powers of good which can only just overcome those of evil, to welcome him, at death, into heaven. The play concludes with the Father explaining the purpose of the play:

And þei þat wel do in þis werld, here welthe schal awake;
 In heuene þei schal be heynd in bounte and blys;
 And þei þat evyl do, þei schul to helle lake
 In byttyr balys to be brent: my jugement it is.
 My vertus in heuene þanne schal þei qwake.
 Þer is no wyth in þis werld þat may skape þis.
 All men example here-at may take
 To mayntein þe goode and mendyn here mys.
 Þus endyth oure gamys.
 To saue 3ourfro synnyng
 Evyr at þe behynnyng
 Thynke on 3oure last endyng! 77
 Te Deum laudamus!

The playwright thus centers his work upon an explicit presentation of the means and necessity of salvation.

The drama eschews profane use, in "oure gamys," of eucharistic incarnational symbolism; at the same time, it does not seek Platonic

copies of the Real world by the use of symbols. If it imitates anything in the Augustinian sense, it imitates human teaching. God is a bishop, or a schoolmaster, explaining the "example" to be "taken" by man. This presentation of God as a speaking character is in marked contrast to the 'aweful' approach, in "Pearl," through the vision within a dream, to the sight of the Lamb. Rather than serving as an imitatio Christi in the two senses, the meditative and the ethical which it authorizes, the mimesis at work in this play is purely didactic. Northrop Frye's discussion of Aristotelian mimesis is relevant here: "A dianoia is a secondary imitation of thought, a mimesis logou, concerned with typical thought."⁷⁸ Didacticism is thus a copy of Ideas, here in the form of a game, an entertainment.

The purely didactic quality of this play is evident in its metaphors, and also in its stage plan.⁷⁹ This diagram and the long set stanzas in which the characters argue suggest that the dramatis personae represent theological "positions" ranging, in a network of interlocking tensions, around the essentially helpless centre, Mankind. The representation of his persevering soul as a Castle of Perseverance indicates, as well, a static use of metaphor quite unlike the complex, emotionally powerful symbols of the Cross and the Pearl who speak for themselves and exert their own wills. The castle image derives from the Catholic sermon tradition, specifically, an eleventh-century sermon of St. Anselm in which a phrase from the Bible, the description of Jesus entering the town of Mary and Martha interpreted as "Intravit Jesus in

castellum" in the Vulgate (Luke x. 38), was turned into a didactic emblem.⁸⁰ Such an emblem could readily be associated with the more obviously metaphorical figures from the New Testament, such as man's body being a temple of God and the Christian's putting on the whole armour of God against the forces of the Devil.⁸¹ Medieval sermons and later morality plays combined such easily recognized figures and extended them into allegorical conflict. As a popular member of a didactic tradition, then, the castle was an image which the medieval church-goer could recognize intellectually and "copy" in his own ethical life. The symbols of the cross and the pearl, on the other hand, appeal primarily to the reader's emotional and spiritual longings and only secondarily to his conscious, ethical sense; they are imitations not of ideas or didactic models, but of shadows of divine reality.

Like The Castle of Perseverance, Everyman is a didactic drama of a representative man facing death and judgment, a "mimesis logou" of a typical Church dogma. The Messenger speaks the Prologue:

I pray you all gyue your audyence,
 And here this mater with reuerence,
 By fygure a morall playe.
The Somonyng of Eueryman called it is,
 That of our lyues and endynge shewes
 How transytory we be all daye.
 This mater is wonders precyous;
 But the entent of it is more gracyous,
 And swete to bere awaye.
 The story sayth: Man, in the begynnyng
 Loke well, and take good heed to the endynge, 82
 Be you neuer so gay!

The figure of Death tells the figure of Everyman to prepare to face God's reckoning of his works. First Everyman attempts to persuade his

worldly connections to accompany him but all desert him, even Knowledge, presumably because of its secular focus, and he has only Good Deeds with which to meet Death. But because his good works are inadequate to effect salvation, Church rituals provide the necessary intercession. Confession, like its counterpart in The Castle of Perseverance, personifies the saving sacrament which promises:

I wyll you comferte as well as I can.
 And a precyous iewell I wyll gyue the,
 Called penaunce, voyder of aduersyte;
 Therwith shall your body chastysed be,
 With abstynence & perseueraunce in Goddes seruyture. (556-60)

Everyman accepts these religious duties, receives the last sacraments from the priest, and is welcomed, at death, into heaven.

The allegorical events of the play demonstrate correct and incorrect approaches to death and by the end the audience has "seen" the idea which the Doctor summarizes:

This morall men may haue in mynde.
 Ye herers, take it of worth, olde and yonge,
 And forsake Pryde, for he deceyueth you in the ende;
 And remembre Beaute, V. Wyttes, Strength, & Dyscrecyon,
 They all at the last do Eueryman forsake,
 Saue his Good Dedes there dothe he take. (902-07)

These characters mentioned by the Doctor represent Everyman's physical and intellectual attributes, Knowledge and Good Deeds his most worthy accomplishments, Goods his need for material possessions, and Kindred and Cousin his dependence on human help. On the same allegorical plane are Confession, who personifies the Church sacraments, and God and the Angel who are abstractions of the theological hierarchy. Even Everyman, like Mankind in The Castle of Perseverance, is an abstraction of every

person, in contrast to the dreamers in the poems who retain their individual feelings and personalities. Because the "characters" in the plays exist on a single, intellectually-perceived plane, the working out of the well-known pattern of their interaction easily teaches the audience what is already known, the importance of works and sacraments. Teaching, in this sense as well, is repetition.

Since allegory and symbolism are both kinds of metaphor, the key to their distinctive properties is the recognition of what levels the vehicle and the tenor of their images represent. The symbol, it has been suggested, is a mundane figure bearing in itself a "shadow" of divine power and reality. The allegorical figures in The Castle of Perseverance are abstractions of divine and demonic powers, such as Father, Belial, the Good and Bad Angels; of the means of salvation, such as Confession; of natural events, such as Death; of the forces for good and evil within man, such as the Seven Moral Virtues and the Seven Deadly Sins; and of man's less significant weaknesses, for example, Backbiter. These abstractions, which are with a few exceptions such as the Castle personifications, mimic, by their "game" or interaction, the theological dogma concerning the examples man must imitate to win salvation. The existence on one figurative level, and that an abstract one, of such a multitude of unlike forces, qualities and actions conveys an ethical message, quite clearly, but also in a sense desacralizes, makes a "game" of, the divine power by putting it on a plane of interaction with such a character as the comic Backbiter. The symbol, quite unlike

this large group of allegorical figures, evokes a solemn longing for visionary experience because the author establishes the distinction between the divine and the human planes and posits the possibility of their conjunction, in the symbol.

A great number of literary critics in this century have posited a variety of definitions of symbolism and allegory. The most useful, in the context of a discussion of Catholic religious writing, are those critics who adopt the philosophical, aesthetic and theological premises of Plato, Aristotle and Augustine, respectively. One such critic is C. S. Lewis whose distinction, in The Allegory of Love, between allegory and symbolism, while it derives from another medieval literary form, courtly love poetry, has provided a reference point for the definitions of these terms by all critics whose subject is the religious poetry of Catholic writers. Extending the distinction between symbolism and allegory made by J. W. von Goethe and S. T. Coleridge⁸³ to his study of courtly love poetry, Lewis writes:

On the one hand you can start with an immaterial fact, such as the passions which you actually experience, and can then invent visibilia to express them. . . . But there is another way . . . which is almost the opposite of allegory, and which I would call sacramentalism or symbolism. If our passions, being immaterial, can be copied by material inventions, then it is possible that our material world in its turn is the copy of an invisible world. . . . The attempt to read that something else through its sensible imitations, to see the archetype in the copy, is what I mean by symbolism or sacramentalism. . . . The difference between the two can hardly be exaggerated. The allegorist leaves the given--his own passions--to talk of that which is confessedly less real, which is a fiction. The symbolist leaves the given to find that which is more real. To put the difference in another way,⁸⁴ for the symbolist it is we who are the allegory.

The creation of allegorical figures as a conscious representation of passions would apply, in the morality plays, to only a few figures such as Discretion. But the process of inventing visibilia occurs more obviously in the creation of fictions to represent immaterial realities, such as God and the devil, natural events, and typically human virtues and vices, or worldly connections and accomplishments.

All the characters in Everyman and The Castle of Perseverance are inventions which are "less real" than the "facts" being represented not only because the former are copies of ideas, but also because they reduce the latter to their abstract plane of action. The explanation that the "symbolist leaves the given to find that which is more real" applies to the process found in homiletic poetry in which the material thing, for example the Pearl, seeks, through repetition of Christ's Passion to be subsumed into a vehicle of His power to aid man, for example the dreamer, to emulate this imitation and thus to approach the powerful, invisible world. The Pearl, on the authority of its status as Bride of Christ, may then teach man ethical behavior, again based on imitation of Christ's actions, which becomes his saving good works. "The Dream of the ~~Bood~~" and "Pearl" are "sacramental" in that they imitate--although the poet does not have the priest's authority to actually evoke the Real Presence--the movement in the Eucharist toward the Godhead. They seek a higher reality in copies of the invisible world. The Castle of Perseverance and Everyman, on the other hand, imitate ideas, abstract theological dogmas. The imitation, in both

meditative and ethical senses, of the homiletic poet seeking to experience divine power is thus distinguished from the invention, out of the dramatist's will and intellect, of allegorical figures.

The difference in ontological status between the symbol, in its vehicle and tenor, and the allegorical figure reveals a depreciation in the worth of figures themselves. Goods tells Everyman, "My condycyon is mannes soule to kylle" (l. 442). Beauty and Strength, Kindred and Cousin all desert Everyman at the first mention of trial and death. The message here is the worthlessness of mundane things, a medieval concept summed up in the term contemptus mundi. Good Works reinforces Everyman's acceptance of this idea in explaining "All erthly thynges is but vanyte" (l. 870). Likewise, in The Castle of Perseverance, the three scaffolds of the World, the Flesh and the Devil are equally contemptible. But in a sense, allegory betrays an inherent contemptus mundi in its acceptance of the less-than-real quality of its figures; it assigns equivalences without believing that things of this world are really equivalent to what they represent in the unseen world. Allegory is a confession of the unreality of this world, and an expression of the desire to dwell in other realms. Ironically, however, its less-real figures which are to stand for more-real powers actually make the numinous world less real; unlike symbolism whose figures cause otherworldly vision to shine through this world, allegory pushes its abstract figures across an equation into the other world, reducing the numinous to the level of theological reality. Symbolism

gives intimations of eternity in the present; the cross does become the Cross, while retaining its mundanity, and the dreamer does indirectly intuit the "archetype in the copy" and so continues in his symbolic poetry this process of transfiguration in the minds of his readers. Allegory, on the other hand, teaches how to achieve eternity later, after death. The approximation of the eternal and the temporal, as opposed to their separation, typifies, respectively, monistic and dualistic ways of apprehending reality. This is not to argue that there were two opposing doctrines within the medieval Catholic Church, although dualistic heresies such as Manichaeism had once challenged orthodox monism, but rather to demonstrate that within the Church were two forms of metaphor which were not only used for two distinctive purposes, the homiletic and the didactic, but also represented two theological perspectives concerning the relation of temporal and eternal realities.

If Lewis, in his distinction between allegory and symbolism, articulates a Platonic perspective appropriate to an understanding of Catholic literature, a perhaps more influential voice in the modern struggle to define the varieties of metaphorical forms is Northrop Frye. Although his definitions of symbol as "Any unit of a work of literature which can be isolated for critical attention"⁸⁵ and the writer of allegory as one who is "saying 'by this I also (allos) mean that,'"⁸⁶ are placed within a wider theoretical and historical framework than the focus of this study, they are nonetheless disposed in his earlier criticism towards Aristotelian theories of mimesis. In

his "Theories of Symbols" in Anatomy of Criticism, Frye claims: "in literary criticism theology and metaphysics must be treated as assertive, because they are outside literature."⁸⁷ He sees the purpose of all poetry, even, presumably, such meditative poems as "The Dream of the Rood" and "Pearl," in aesthetic terms, referring to "the primary literary aim of producing a structure of words for its own sake."⁸⁸ The Platonic distinction between the world of dynamic Ideas and the shadow world of matter, including human invention, underlies this "theory of symbols." Thus, "the ideas of literature are not real propositions, but verbal formulas which imitate real propositions."⁸⁹ The poem's meaning conforms to "hypothetical postulates,"⁹⁰ theoretical conventions. The literal meaning is not (and here, as in many other passages of Anatomy, Frye demonstrates his Hellenic conceptual framework) the embodiment of the Spirit, but instead a copy or echo of other human words, an imitation of a convention regarding form, an embodiment of nothing but itself: "the literal basis of meaning in poetry can only be its letters, its inner structure of interlocking motifs."⁹¹ The words of literature are hypothetical verbal structures, never Logos. "Poetry can only be made out of other poems; novels out of other novels. Literature shapes itself, and is not shaped externally."⁹²

But in The Great Code: The Bible and Literature, Frye moves away from an Aristotelian mimetic foundation towards a more complete expression of a world of total metaphor. He now distinguishes three

historical phases of verbal expression: the hieroglyphic, the hieratic and the demotic.⁹³ His description of Old Testament and early Greek hieroglyphic literature emphasizes its "conception of language that is poetic":

subject and object are linked by a common power or energy. Many "primitive" societies have words expressing this common energy of human personality and natural environment . . . the best known is the Menalesian word mana. . . . Words in such a context are words of power or dynamic forces. . . .

All words in this phase of language are concrete: there are no true verbal abstractions. Onians' monumental study of Homer's vocabulary . . . shows how intensely physical are such conceptions as soul, mind, time.⁹⁴

A movement which Frye terms hieratic begins from the time of Plato to alter the location of the sources of power in language:

words become primarily the outward expression of inner thoughts or ideas. Subject and object are becoming more consistently separated, and "reflection," with its overtones of looking into a mirror, moves into the verbal foreground. The intellectual operations of the mind become distinguishable from the emotional operations; hence abstraction becomes possible

The basis of expression here is moving from the metaphorical . . . ("this is that"), to a relationship that is rather metonymic ("this is put for that"). Specifically, words are "put for" thoughts, and are the outward expressions of an inner reality. . . . Thoughts indicate the existence of a transcendent order "above" Thus metonymic language⁹⁵ is . . . a verbal imitation of a reality beyond itself.

All the characteristics Frye attributes to the hieratic age echo the qualities found in the mimetic poetry of the pre-Reformation Church and, indeed, in much of Frye's earlier neo-Aristotelian critical theory. The third phase, the descriptive or demotic, which "treats language as primarily descriptive of an objective natural order"⁹⁶ and thus values realism is not at issue here. What it indicates is the final deval-

uation of language to a neutral role, where at best it faithfully refers to the object.

A depreciation of figurative language is already implicit, nonetheless, in the shift from metaphor to metonymy. Frye's contrast of the roles of poets in the hieroglyphic and hieratic phases of writing depends upon the relative worth, in each phase, of language as a source of power:

In [Homer's] poetry the distinction between figured and literal language hardly exists With the second phase, metaphor becomes one of the recognized figures of speech in Dante . . . a metaphorical narrative runs parallel with a conceptual one but defers to it. That is, in the metonymic period Dante as a mere poet . . . would not be given the authority in religious matters that would be accorded theologians and other sources of the conceptual side of⁹⁷ his allegory.

The metaphorical phase of language, on the other hand, "is contemporary with a stage of society in which the main source of culturally inherited knowledge is the poet."⁹⁸ Chapter Two of this study addresses the question of a Reformation in language, where the Word regains the "primitive" power it had lost in the Augustinian-Platonic aesthetics of the medieval Church. From this perspective, The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One seems to have many of the characteristics Frye attributes to pre-Platonic writing. His contention that the hieroglyphic and the hieratic literary phases represent historical periods may not be concerned with anachronistic Reformations of poetics; nonetheless his distinction between the two phases affords a valuable approach to the two central traditions of metaphor in Western literature.

In the few hundred years before and after the English Renaissance, these two traditions determined the forms of religious poetry. In Frye's terms, we might say that the metonymic Catholic poets were atavistically displaced by the metaphorical Protestant "voices of God." Along with the Protestant redefinition of sacrament and a renewed emphasis on the Word came a change from mimetic to incarnational aesthetics, and a resultant change in the didactic and homiletic functions of art. While the didactic sermon of the morality play remained relatively unchanged by the didactic allegories of the Puritans, the other Catholic tradition of mimesis was replaced by the emerging emphasis upon the Word of God as the true Protestant sacrament. Literary critics, whether defining symbolism and allegory through literary history,⁹⁹ or articulating an overview of medieval and Renaissance allegory,¹⁰⁰ rarely make any distinction between the Catholic metaphor and the Protestant. Only a few move beyond the assumption that Frye makes, at least in Anatomy of Criticism, of the pervasively mimetic quality of metaphor to approach the idea of incarnational metaphor.¹⁰¹ None, with the exception of Lewalski and Christopher, sees incarnational or radical, primitive metaphor as essentially Protestant.

But the Protestants characteristically went behind the Platonic understanding of metaphor as a kind of mimesis to the older sense of metaphor as mana. Luther's attack on the patristic exegetical practice of finding spiritual levels of meaning for the literal level of Scripture as an arbitrary act, a product of human invention,

is an explicit repudiation of metonymy ("this is put for that"). For Luther, the Catholic claim that Aaron is a figure of the Pope is a human usurpation of the power of the figure itself:

no one but the Holy Spirit himself, who instituted the figure and created its fulfilment, can interpret the figure, so that word and work, figure and fulfilment, and the interpretation of both are God's own and not man's. Consequently, our faith is founded on divine, not human, works and words. What else leads the Jews astray but the fact that they interpreted the figures according to their reason, without Scripture? What else led many heretics astray but their interpretation of figures without Scripture? Even if the pope were something spiritual, it is not valid to make Aaron his figure, unless there were a text which clearly states, "Look here! Aaron¹⁰² has been a figure for the pope."

Interpretation with Scripture, in contrast, is interpretation by means of the Holy Spirit, since Scripture is the Word, as it were the literary incarnation, of God who works through the Holy Spirit to give true perception of Logos. From the Reformers' perspective, the hieratic interpretation of divine meaning in the words of Scripture was too scholarly and rational, too "human," as, by extension, the Catholic's perception of divine presence in this world was false, idolatrous. Hieroglyphic interpretation, on the other hand, "is founded on divine, not human, works and words" which the elect can recognize in Scripture, history and individuals. The mana of the Word is thus the power which unifies the subject with the object of his meditation; it is the dynamic force of incarnation which unifies the Creator with his elect creation.

The consistent emphasis in Luther, Calvin and their followers has naturally to do with opera Dei, whether of Logos, of the Holy Spirit,

or of Christ's redemptive actions. In his "Preface to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans," Luther asserts repeatedly that "God's grace is sufficient to enable us to be accounted entirely and completely righteous."¹⁰³ Protestant metaphor did not locate the world in the divine Idea, but found God to be active in the world. Man did not do good works to approach God; rather, God of His grace worked in and through man. Thus, while Catholic homiletic poetry reflects man's efforts to attain salvation through imitation, the moving force in Protestant religious literature is the immanent "works and words" of God. Luther continues, "Faith . . . is something that God effects in us. It changes us and we are reborn . . . and it is accompanied by the Holy Spirit. O, when it comes to faith, what a living, creative, active, powerful thing it is."¹⁰⁴

This chapter began with the example of John Donne's revaluation of such "works of God" as a basis for studying the emergence of a distinctive Protestant poetics. It now should be admitted that Donne stands only halfway between the hieratic poetics of the middle ages and the hieroglyphic aesthetics of the radical Puritans. Donne's lifetime (1572-1631) spans the middle of the Protestant Reformation, prior to the ascendancy in religion and politics of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the Commonwealth of 1649-1660. His church life reflects this moderate new position: born to a devout Roman Catholic mother, given his early education by Jesuits, he took orders in the Church of England in 1615 and, upon his appointment as Dean of St. Paul's

in 1621, became recognized as a moderate Anglican divine.

Donne's poetics, if representing the first attempt in English to redefine the literal character of metaphor, do not abolish utterly the aesthetics of metonymy. In their style, his own creative works belong much more deeply to older literary traditions. The technique most characteristic of Donne's writings is the form of metaphor which became known as the conceit. In his "Expostulation" in the Devotions, Donne describes God's style, in Scripture, the model he adopts in his own writing:

A God in whose words there is such a height of figures, such voyages, such peregrinations to fetch remote and precious metaphors, such extentions, such spreadings, such Curtaines of Allegories, such third Heavens of Hyperboles, so harmonious eloquutions, so retired and and so reserved expressions, so commanding perswasions, so perswading commandments, such sinewes even in thy milke, and such things in thy words, as all prophane Authors, seeme of the seed of the Serpent, that creepes, thou art the Dove, that flies. O, what words but thine, can expresse the inexpressible texture, and composition of thy word; in which, to one man, that argument that binds his faith to beleieve that to bee the Word of God, is the reverent simplicity of the Word, and to another,¹⁰⁵ the majesty of the Word.

The "peregrinations to fetch remote and precious metaphors" typifies the learned and complex style of writers connected with the Established Church, the court and the universities. Certainly the Puritans, with their mistrust of human invention and empty eloquence, found the Bible simple and straightforward in style and placed their faith in the authority of the Spirit to interpret the figures. Donne, in distinguishing his attraction to the majesty and complexity of the Word,

points instead to the variety of literary styles to be found not only in the Bible but also among contemporary Protestant writers.

Much critical disagreement has grown out of various attempts to determine to what extent Donne's work demonstrates Roman Catholic or, conversely, Protestant characteristics. Louis Martz, in The Poetry of Meditation, outlines the "poetical structure [of 'Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward'] modelled on the stages of a complete [Ignatian] exercise"¹⁰⁶ and finds the influence of such popular Counter-Reformation books as St. François de Sales's Introduction to the Devout Life and the Jesuit Robert Parsons' Christian Directory on the meditative tradition of seventeenth-century English literature in general and on the meditative aspects of Donne's works in particular.¹⁰⁷

There is certainly in much of Donne's writing a tendency toward pre-Reformation theology. His treatment of death in the sixth "Holy Sonnet" offers an example of medieval contemptus mundi:

And gluttonous death will instantly unjoint
My body and soul, and I shall sleep a space,
But my ever-waking part shall see that face
Whose fear already shakes my every joint:
Then, as my soul to heaven, her first seat, takes flight,
And earth-born body in the earth shall dwell,
So, fall my sins, that all may have their right,
To where they're bred, and would press me, to hell.
Impute me righteous, thus purged of evil,
For thus I leave the world, the flesh, the devil.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, the prayer to Mary for intercession in "The Litanie" resembles Catholic hagiology:

For that faire blessed Mother-maid,
 Whose flesh redeem'd us; That she-Cherubin,
 Which unlock'd Paradise, and made
 One claime for innocence, and disseiz'd sinne,
 Whose wombe was a strange heav'n for there
 God cloath'd himselfe, and grew,
 Our zealous thankes wee poure. And her deeds were
 Our helpes, so are her prayers; nor can she sue¹⁰⁹
 In vaine, who hath such titles unto you.

Lewalski, whose theories of Protestant aesthetics are based on the example of Donne, writes that "Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward" was based on the Jesuit model of meditation.¹¹⁰ Yet elsewhere she refers to this poem along with the Holy Sonnets as "the poems most profoundly affected by the Protestant poetics we have been tracing."¹¹¹

Such contradictions are not surprising; if Donne's "majestic" style is often suggestive of Roman Catholic traditions, certainly some of the ideas he expresses contradict the dominant Calvinism of his beliefs. In the Devotions, for example, he overlooks the essential tenet of Calvinism, the distinction between the elect, those predestined by God for salvation, and the reprobate, those eternally damned, to argue a belief in the unity of mankind: "No man is an Iland, intire of it self; every man is a peece of the Continent, a part of the maine; if a Clod bee washed away by the Sea, Europe is the lesse, as well as if a Promontorie were, as well as if a Mannor of thy friends or of thine owne were; any mans death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde; And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee."¹¹² The effort

of characterizing Donne's religious poetry and prose as Roman Catholic or Protestant is complex and ultimately futile; he represents elements of both traditions.

The danger of taking sides in this debate is no more clearly demonstrated than in Barbara Lewalski's Donne's "Anniversaries" and the Poetry of Praise in which she bases her theory of a Protestant symbolic mode on the "Protestant" characteristics of these two poems. Lewalski argues that an aspect of Protestant metaphor contained in claims such as "every man is a world in himself"¹¹³ is the incarnational focus Protestants brought to the Renaissance macrocosm-microcosm concept. In this light, the "First Anniversary" is subtitled "Wherein, by occasion of the untimely death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury, the frailty and the decay of this whole world is represented" and titled "An Anatomie of the World."¹¹⁴ As well, Elizabeth Drury's life and death embody the story of the created, the fallen, and the redeemed world: "this world must it selfe refer,/ As Suburbs, or the Microcosme of her" (I, 235-36). Lewalski explains this relationship of girl and world in terms of Luther's incarnational typology: "She recapitulates . . . that image of God in the order of Nature which we had in the created perfection of our first innocence; she bears that image robed with Christ's perfections in the order of grace; and both these conditions prefigure what the image of God we bear will be in the condition of glory."¹¹⁵ Elizabeth incarnates the Church as well: "religion/ Made her a Church."¹¹⁶ As "our best, and worthiest booke" (II, 320), she also embodies the Word.

Indeed, Ben Jonson called "The Anniversaries" "full of Blasphemies," complaining that Elizabeth Drury was given inordinate praise for a mere girl: "if it had been written of ye Virgin Marie it had been something."¹¹⁷ Donne's reply, that "he described the Idea of Woman and not as she was,"¹¹⁸ points to the essence of Protestant incarnational theology: Donne was not worshipping Elizabeth, but rather praising the sacred part of her. While the term "the Idea of Woman" and descriptions of Elizabeth in the poems as "best, and first originall/ Of all faire copies" (I, 227-28) use Platonic diction unusual in Protestant writing, nevertheless, as Lewalski explains: "the direction in which this symbolism works is in important respects anti-Platonic, if a Platonic symbol be understood as a particular which . . . leads the mind toward the eternal Idea and then is itself transcended. For Donne, by contrast, the universals are apprehended as they are embodied, epitomized, incarnated in particular individuals."¹¹⁹

Medieval readers of "Pearl" might nonetheless have found a congenial symbol in Donne's poem of an innocent life transfigured by death. As a symbol of regenerate souls, Elizabeth Drury was "here/ Betrothed to God, and now is married there" (II, 461-62). And the "Second Anniversary" does present a yearning for another life, as suggested in its subtitle, "Wherein, by occasion of the religious death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury, the incommodities of the soule in this life, and her exaltation in the next, are contemplated."¹²⁰ Modelled on the Catholic literary precedent of the "anniversaries" of the saints, these

poems are deeply in contemptus mundi in their reflection of the scholastic belief that the world since the Fall is rushing toward decay, as opposed to the new faith that the world was improving, that "reformation" was possible. Thus, again in the "Anniversaries," Donne uses the traditions of both churches. The purpose of this study of Donne is not to argue for or against his Protestantism but rather to use his articulation of Protestant aesthetics and only incidentally to present him as a precursor of the imminent Puritan Revolution.

The ecclesiastical and political upheaval of the seventeenth century echoed the theological and aesthetic changes. The shift in the locus of meaning from the Church to the Christian reflects most obviously the growing individualism, or changed relation of the self to divine authority, which undermined political and ecclesiastical structures in seventeenth-century England. Baptists, Anabaptists, Quakers and a host of more revolutionary sects, contending that, as Milton put it, "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large,"¹²¹ furthered the sixteenth-century overthrow of universal ecclesiastical authority to create communions "Independent" of the "Established" Church of England. And from their individual pulpits and small presses, preachers, attempting to model England on the theocracies of Calvin's Geneva and John Knox's Scotland, overthrew the monarchy and temporarily sustained the only republican democracy in English history. In political and ecclesiastical spheres the forces of self-determination led eventually to sectarian violence which was ended only by the restoration of the monarchy and the Church of England.

Despite this political and ecclesiastical restoration, a great change had occurred not only in the way individuals saw themselves in relation to authority but also in their movement from humanistic to radical philosophical concepts. Richard Hooker, in his Of the lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity (1593), had defended the Church of England on the grounds that with right reason and understanding of the order appropriate to nature and human law, man might not only read Scripture correctly but also perceive and accept political and ecclesiastical structures.¹²² He found in God's creation of nature and in the creation of human law itself pre-scriptural precedents for a reasonable interpretation of Scripture. Puritans, on the other hand, understood Nature typologically, as the Book of the Creatures, so that the Westminster Assembly would use the concept of fundamental law, a law discoverable in nature as interpreted by Scripture, to annul the authority of tradition, church and monarchy.¹²³ Another influential source of radical philosophy which undermined institutional authority is represented in Milton's argument of the secondary law of nature which supplanted the primary law of unfallen nature, making human reason and will the decisive factors in observance of tradition.¹²⁴ Where Hooker found in Nature involuntary hierarchical laws present from the Creation, the Westminster Assembly found in Nature new laws, after the Fall, replacing the original authoritarian models with ideas of popular consent and social contract.¹²⁵ Man's view of himself in relation to the world around himself had changed as a consequence of his new sense that the

elect individual could share in godhood¹²⁶ because God spoke directly to him through the Word in its various forms, including that of the Book of the Creatures.

The Reformation, then, involved far more than a "protest" against and "reformation" of long-accepted ecclesiastical structures and theological doctrines. The revolution in the Church was part of a change which affected every sphere of seventeenth-century life, from the political to the philosophical. The redefinition of the use and nature of metaphor was the central aesthetic change. The Protestants' conjunction of the literal and the metaphorical, based as it was on the theology of Luther and Calvin, revolutionized the medieval traditions of symbolism and allegory. The concept of God's incarnation in Creation, Providence, Scripture, Christ and the individual gave new authority to the spoken word of prophets and preachers as well as to the written word, whether that of Scripture or of contemporary religious writings. Within this movement, the Independent churches were, if not as radical as some sects, prepared to "purify" the "Established" Church's authority by the Word of God. By the time of the Baptist preacher and writer John Bunyan, Puritan congregations were willing to hear and read Logos incarnate in the words of prophets called to be "partly the voyce of God." Bunyan's congregation could accept the Spirit in the letter of his words.

Notes to Chapter One

¹ John Donne, Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, in The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne, ed. Charles M. Coffin (New York: Random House, 1952), p. 446.

² John Donne, The Sermons of John Donne, ed. G. F. Potter and Evelyn Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-1962), VI, 62.

³ A. D. R. Polman, The Word of God According to St. Augustine (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1961), p. 13.

⁴ St. Thomas Aquinas, Theological Texts, ed. and trans. Thomas Gilby (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 17.

⁵ Aquinas, p. 20.

⁶ Martin Luther, The Bondage of the Will, in Luther's Works, ed. Philip S. Watson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), XXXIII, 89-91.

⁷ Joseph Anthony Mazzeo, Renaissance and Seventeenth-Century Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 3.

⁸ Mazzeo, p. 24.

⁹ Mazzeo, p. 9.

¹⁰ William G. Madsen, From Shadowy Types to Truth: Studies in Milton's Symbolism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 22.

¹¹ Polman, p. 91.

¹² Aquinas, p. 14.

¹³ Donne, Devotions, p. 447.

¹⁴ John Donne, "Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse," in Coffin, pp. 271-72, ll. 28-30.

¹⁵ William Perkins, The Arte of Prophecyng, in Workes, trans. Thomas Tuke, 3 vols. (London, 1612-1613), II, 646, in Barbara Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 219.

- ¹⁶ Donne, Sermons, II, 170-71.
- ¹⁷ Martin Luther, "Sermons on the Gospel of St. John, Chapters 1-4," in Luther's Works, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957), XXII, 473.
- ¹⁸ Luther, p. 477.
- ¹⁹ Georgia Harkness, John Calvin: The Man and His Ethics (New York: Abingdon Press, 1958), p. 69.
- ²⁰ Donne, Devotions, p. 447.
- ²¹ John i. 14, The Holy Bible, King James Version (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, n.d.).
- ²² John i. 1-12.
- ²³ Donne, Devotions, p. 447.
- ²⁴ Barbara Lewalski, Donne's Anniversaries" and the Poetry of Praise: The Creation of a Symbolic Mode (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 161.
- ²⁵ Madsen, pp. 4-5.
- ²⁶ Madsen, p. 29.
- ²⁷ Barbara Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 118.
- ²⁸ John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. John F. McNeill, trans. Eerd L. Battles (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), I, 53-54.
- ²⁹ Donne, "Hymne," ll. 21-25.
- ³⁰ Donne, Sermons, VII, 356.
- ³¹ Donne, Sermons, VII, 356.
- ³² Donne, Devotions, p. 438.
- ³³ Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (Toronto: Academic Press Canada, 1982), p. 100.
- ³⁴ Joseph Hall, The Arte of Divine Meditation, in The Works, ed. Philip Wynter (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1969), VI, 48-49.
- ³⁵ Donne, Sermons, II, 308.
- ³⁶ Donne, Sermons, II, 159.
- ³⁷ James Ussher, Method for Meditation (London, 1651), quoted in Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, p. 155.

³⁸Hall, p. 75.

³⁹St. Ignatius, quoted in Alexandre Brou, Ignatian Methods of Prayer, trans. William J. Young (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publ. Co., 1949), p. 38.

⁴⁰St. Ignatius, quoted in Brou, p. 57.

⁴¹Thomas à Kempis, The Imitation of Christ (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1960), p. 1.

⁴²Thomas à Kempis, p. 51.

⁴³Thomas à Kempis, pp. 130-131.

⁴⁴William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (1938; rpt. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), p. 151. Georgia B. Christopher, in Milton and the Science of the Saints (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), qualifies Haller's point: "To be sure, the Reformation does emphasize the action of grace upon individual consciousness, but the innovation of the Reformation cannot adequately be described as a referential shift inward. It would be more accurate to describe it as a shift of the sacramental medium from things to words Luther's exegesis makes a radical shift from physical to verbal, not simply from physical to mental, reference. . . . For example . . . sacrifice becomes 'praise'" (pp. 7-8).

⁴⁵Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, p. 150.

⁴⁶"The Dream of the Rood," in The Web of Words, trans. Bernard F. Huppé (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970), p. 70. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in line references in the body of the paper.

⁴⁷Yet through the golden gleam I glimpsed the ancient
Malice of foes when the cross first
began to bleed from the right side. I was utterly overwhelmed
with sorrow,
I was afraid because of the fair sight. "The Dream of the Rood,"
ll. 18-21.

⁴⁸The victory tree was lovely, but I was stained with villainies
wounded by sins. "The Dream of the Rood,"
ll. 13-14.

49 Now you have learned my beloved "The Dream of the Rood,"
1. 78.

50 I may heal/ each man who lives in awe of me. "The Dream of the Rood,"
11. 85-86.

51 Now I command you my beloved
to make known this vision, reveal to others
with contrivance of words that it is a tree of glory
on which almighty God miserably suffered
for the sake of mankind's manifold sins
and for the deeds of old then done by Adam.
.
only he will feel free of all fear
who bears in his soul the best of signs;
for through the rood he must reach the kingdom
from the paths of the world each wayfaring soul
who with the Master hopes to remain. "The Dream of the Rood,"
11. 95-121.

52 Give heed! "The Dream of the Rood,"
1. 1.

53 May the Lord be my friend
who suffered once for the sins of men
here upon earth on the hangman's tree.
He released us and gave us life
a heavenly home --hope was renewed
with bounties and bliss for those who suffered the burning.
The Son in his venture was crowned with victory
mighty and conquering when he came with the multitude
the company of souls into God's kingdom
the almighty Sovereign to the solace of the angels
and of all the saints who for some time in heaven
had rested in glory when the almighty Ruler
their lord returned to his native land. "The Dream of the Rood,"
11. 144-56.

54 They pierced me with dark nails, the wounds are visible on me
the gaping blows of hate --I dared harm none of them.
Both of us two they besmirched; I was all besmeared with the blood
which poured from the side of the Man after he had surrendered his soul.
There on the mount I endured many
hateful misfortunes; I saw the God of hosts
sharply suffer. "The Dream of the Rood,"
11. 46-52.

55 With a little company. "The Dream of the Rood,"
1. 124.

56 There he rested with a little company. "The Dream of the Rood,"
1. 69.

⁵⁷ Carl Jung, "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," in Psychology and Religion, in Collected Works, trans. R. F. C. Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), XI, 248.

⁵⁸ Malcolm Ross, quoted in Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, p. 5.

⁵⁹ Aquinas, p. 370.

⁶⁰ John Calvin, "Short Treatise on The Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ," in Tracts and Treatises on the Doctrine and Worship of the Church, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1958), II, 170-72.

⁶¹ Calvin, "Short Treatise," pp. 186-91.

⁶² John Calvin, quoted in Ronald S. Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1957), p. 133.

⁶³ I saw mankind's Protector
most manfully hasten to ascend me;
through the will of the Lord I was stayed in my wish
to crack and bow

The young hero prepared himself —he who was God almighty—
great and gallant he ascended the gallows' abject height
magnanimous in the sight of many when mankind he wished to free.
I trembled when the Son clasped me "The Dream of the Rood,"
ll. 33-42.

⁶⁴ Hear how above any holm-tree the Guardian of heaven
the Lord of glory lifted me in worth,
just as almighty God for the good of men
did also make his mother Mary himself
to be worshipped above all womankind "The Dream of the Rood,"
ll. 90-94.

⁶⁵ Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, in Basic Writings, ed. Anton C. Pegis (New York, 1945), I, 15-16.

⁶⁶ Aristotle, Aristotle's Poetics: A Translation and Commentary for Students of Literature, trans. Leon Golden, ed. O. B. Hardison Jr. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 4.

⁶⁷ Hardison, Aristotle's Poetics, p. 251.

⁶⁸ Hardison, Aristotle's Poetics, p. 285.

⁶⁹ Mazzeo, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Polman, p. 30.

⁷¹ Polman, p. 13.

⁷² "Pearl," ed. E. V. Gordon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), ll. 49-56.

Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in line references in the body of the paper.

⁷³"Pearl," ll. 984, 996, 997, 1008, 1020, 1021, 1032, 1033, 1053.

⁷⁴St. Augustine, De Doctrina christiana I. 39. 43., trans. D. W. Robertson (Indianapolis, 1958), p. 32. Likewise, Thomas à Kempis refers only occasionally to the Bible in his Imitation of Christ and when he does, he emphasizes the powerlessness of all the passages not spoken directly by Jesus (p. 76); even less useful to the meditator are theological discussions (p. 148).

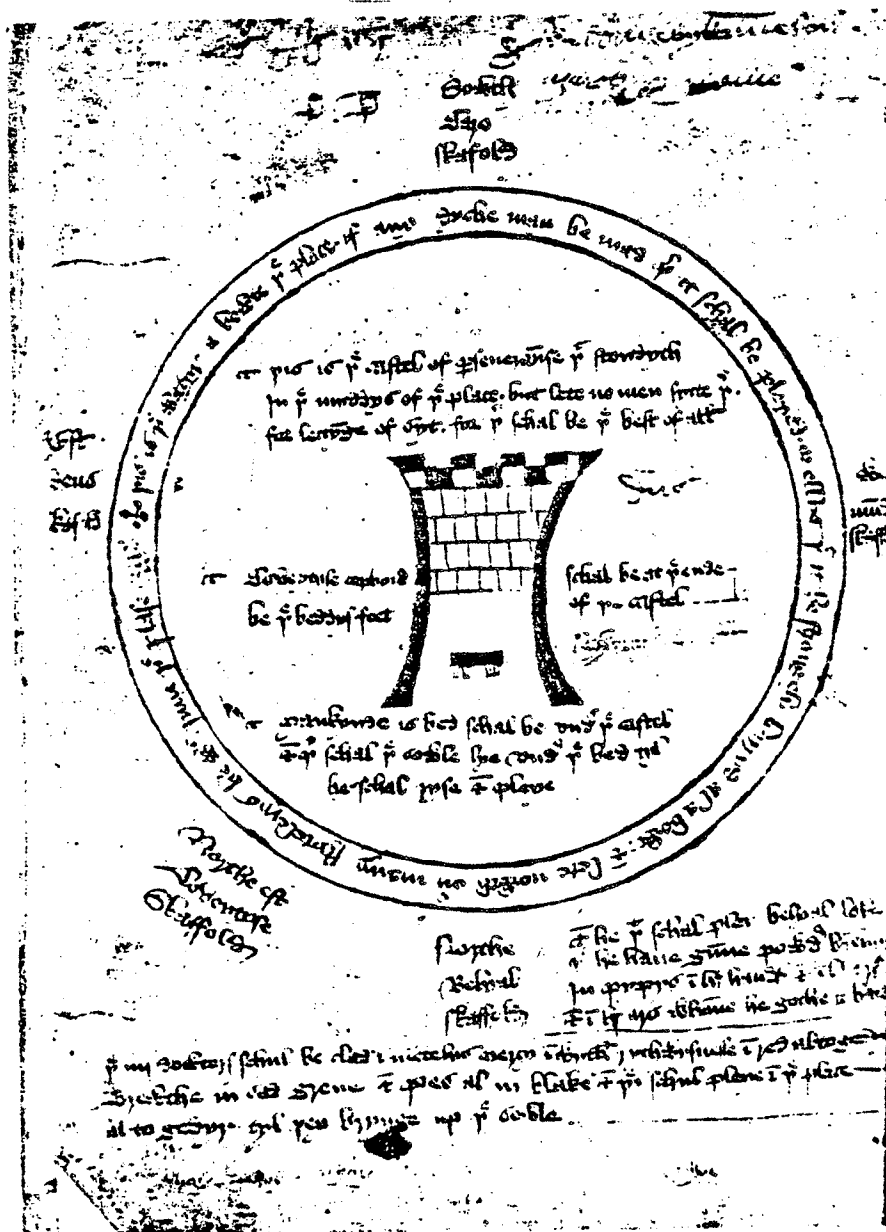
⁷⁵Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, p. 132.

⁷⁶G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd ed., rev. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961), pp. 531-47.

⁷⁷The Castle of Perseverance, in The Macro Plays, ed. Mark Eccles (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), ll. 3637-49. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in line references in the body of the paper.

⁷⁸Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 83.

79 The Castle of Perseverance, facing page to title page.



The plan of the theatre for *The Castle of Perseverance*:
Folger MS. V. a. 354, f. 191v

80 Owst, p. 77.

81 I Corinthians iii. 16 and Ephesians vi. 11-17.

82 Everyman, ed. Arthur C. Cawley (Manchester: University of Man-

chester Press, 1961), ll. 1-12. Subsequent references to this text will be made in line references in the body of the paper.

⁸³Angus Fletcher, Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964), pp. 13-18.

⁸⁴C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 44-45.

⁸⁵Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 367.

⁸⁶Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 90.

⁸⁷Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 75.

⁸⁸Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 74.

⁸⁹Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 85.

⁹⁰Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 76.

⁹¹Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 77.

⁹²Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 97.

⁹³Frye, The Great Code, p. 5.

⁹⁴Frye, The Great Code, pp. 6-7.

⁹⁵Frye, The Great Code, pp. 7-8.

⁹⁶Frye, The Great Code, p. 13.

⁹⁷Frye, The Great Code, pp. 23-25.

⁹⁸Frye, The Great Code, p. 22.

⁹⁹Edward Honig's Dark Conceit: The Making of Allegory (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966) approaches allegory as a genre which has assumed various forms and used different symbols through literary history. Similarly, Gay Clifford, in The Transformations of Allegory (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), defines allegory as a narrative form, with expository and didactic purposes, which has undergone many transformations through history; in all times, though, allegory has been an extended metaphor using symbols, or figurative images. Thus, for her, "symbols are primarily static and allegory kinetic" (p. 12).

¹⁰⁰R. W. Frank, Jr.'s "The Art of Reading Medieval Personification-Allegory," ELH, 20 (1953), 237-50, is the basis of much critical discussion of medieval literature. Frank finds two main kinds of medieval allegory: "symbol-allegory" and "personification-allegory." The former contains the concrete, literal level, for example, flowers, cross, jewels, and evokes a second, figurative sense. The latter, a more simple form, uses abstractions as if they were everyday people, places, and things, and their names, for example, Vice, are readily and consciously interpreted by the reader. Rosemund Tuve, in Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), includes a wide range of works within the framework of allegory as she traces the legacy of medieval moral exempla such as those in Gesta Romanorum in Elizabethan literature, with extended study of Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene, analysing as allegorical both simple moral exempla and timeless and universal images. Paul Piehler, in The Visionary Landscape: A Study in Medieval Allegory (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971), can consider a large number of works, from Psychomachia to "Pearl," as allegories, that is, works which combine instinctive images and conscious analysis. If Piehler restates Lewis' definitions of symbolism and allegory, Pamela Gradon, in Form and Style in Early English Literature (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1971) rejects their distortion of the complexity of late medieval allegories.

¹⁰¹Angus Fletcher, in Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode, defines allegory as a linguistic procedure found in all genres and all historical periods. In allegorical images he finds the possibility of "Kratophany, the revelation of hidden power" (p. 88), and "parataxis," the syntax of events happening ritually (pp. 162-65). Arguing that "allegory is closely identified with religious ritual and symbolism" (p. 20), Fletcher spends little time on "clear" allegories, such as morality plays, concentrating his study on allegories which are more "ambiguous," and "suggestive" (pp. 71-74). On the other hand, David Tracy, in "Metaphor and Religion: The Test Case of Christian Texts,"

Critical Inquiry, (Autumn, 1978), 89-104, maintains essentially Aristotelian premises which he derives from Paul Ricoeur's assumption that interpretation is of greater importance than the literal meaning of a text. Ricoeur, in "Metaphor and the Main Problem of Hermeneutics," in The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur: An Anthology of His Work, ed. Charles E. Reagan and David Stewart (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978), pp. 134-48, argues that "The power of metaphor proceeds from its connection, within a . . . work, first with the other procedures of 'diction' (lexis), secondly with the 'fable,' which is the essence of the work, its immanent 'sense,' thirdly with the intentionality of the work as a whole, that is, its intention to represent human actions as higher than they actually are: and this is mimesis. In that sense the power of metaphor proceeds from that of the poem as a whole" (p. 147). The meaning of a metaphor must therefore "emerge" from the "contextual changes" of its "polysemic words"; "we may continue to oppose the metaphorical sense to the literal sense" (p. 138).

¹⁰² Martin Luther, "On the Papacy in Rome, Against the Most Celebrated Romanist in Leipzig, 1520," in Luther's Works, ed. Eric W. Gritsch (Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), XXXIX, 79.

¹⁰³ Martin Luther, "Preface to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans," in Reformation Writings of Martin Luther, ed. Bertram Lee Woolf (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956), II, 287.

¹⁰⁴ Luther, "Preface to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans," II, 228.

¹⁰⁵ Donne, Devotions, p. 446.

¹⁰⁶ Louis L. Martz, The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ Martz, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰⁸ John Donne, "Holy Sonnet, VI," in Coffin, p. 249, ll. 5-14.

¹⁰⁹ John Donne, "The Litanie," in Coffin, p. 237, ll. 37-45.

¹¹⁰ Lewalski, Donne's "Anniversaries", p. 103.

¹¹¹Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, p. 264.

¹¹²Donne, Devotions, p. 441.

¹¹³Donne, Sermons, VII, 403.

¹¹⁴John Donne, "An Anatomy of the World," in Coffin, p. 185. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in line references in the body of the paper.

¹¹⁵Lewalski, Donne's "Anniversaries," p. 163.

¹¹⁶John Donne, "Of the Progresse of the Soule," in Coffin, ll. 374-75. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in line references in the body of the paper.

¹¹⁷Charles M. Coffin, "Introduction," to The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne, p. xxxii.

¹¹⁸Coffin, "Introduction," p. xxxii.

¹¹⁹Lewalski, Donne's "Anniversaries," pp. 161-62.

¹²⁰Donne, in Coffin, p. 198.

¹²¹John Milton, "On the new forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament," in The Poetical Works of John Milton, ed. Helen Darbishire (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), II, 157.

¹²²John S. Marshall, Hooker and the Anglican Tradition: An Historical and Theological Study of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1963), pp. 77-108.

¹²³Haller, pp. 364-77.

¹²⁴Ernest Sirluck, "The Divorce Tracts and Areopagitica," in The Complete Prose Works of John Milton, ed. Ernest Sirluck (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), II, 137-83.

¹²⁵Haller, p. 368.

¹²⁶An extreme form of the God-in-man concept was held by the heretical Familists. Christopher Hill, in Milton and the English Revolution (New York: The Viking Press, 1977), writes: "Familists rejected the theology of the Atonement, the sacrifice of the cross, and some abandoned the idea of the existence of Christ. For them the word 'Christ' was a metaphor for the divine spark which exists in every man" (p. 73). Familists went beyond literal metaphor to doctrines which Bunyan and

other Independents would challenge in their tracts: "The devil, too, was internalized. This could combine with allegorical interpretations of the Bible to make the whole Christian myth describe conflicts which take place only within the believer. Familists were said to believe that Christ and Antichrist were not real persons, heaven and hell not real places: all were states of mind" (p. 75).

Chapter Two

"I am the Way": The Aesthetics of Continuing Incarnation in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One

John Bunyan's autobiography, Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners (1666),¹ does much more than recount the Work of God "abounding" in the author's life. The act of writing is also the Work of God speaking through Bunyan, making him a "voyce of God."² This literary Work, recreating the Word, points toward a continuing incarnation, through language of the "literal" and "metaphorical" God³ of the Reformed churches. The process whereby the words of John Bunyan come to express the Word of God is made one with his salvation history, his becoming one, in the sacramental sense, with Christ, the Word made flesh. The vehicle of this sacramental union of Word and word, of Christ and man, is metaphor, the verbal means of incarnation which so closely integrates the literary and religious experiences of the Puritan.

Bunyan's potential transformation into a "voyce of God" must then begin with awareness of his spiritual ignorance, his inability, that is, to understand divine language:

the good providence of God did cast me to Bedford, to work on my calling; and in one of the streets of that town, I came where there was three or four poor women sitting at a door in the Sun, and talking about the things of God . . . I heard, but I understood not; -for they were far above out of my reach, for their talk was about a new birth, the work of God on their hearts, also how they were convinced of their miserable state by nature . . . they spake as if joy did make them speak; they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture language . . . that they were to me as if they had found a new world . . . their talk and discourse went with me. (#37-40).

Although he "understood not" their talk of God, it has providential power: "their talk and discourse went with me," initiating the progress of pilgrimage. Bunyan meditates on their words as Protestants were directed to by Joseph Hall and John Donne, that is, to look for the Word not only in the Bible but also in the natural events of daily life. After "a continual meditating on" such occasions (#41), Bunyan is given a vision from which the meaning of this particular occasion emerges:

the state and happiness of these poor people at Bedford was thus, in a dream or vision, represented to me. I saw, as if they were set on the sunny side of some high mountain, there refreshing themselves with the pleasant beams of the sun, while I was shivering and shrinking in the cold, afflicted with frost, snow, and dark clouds. Methought, also, betwixt me and them, I saw a wall that did compass about this mountain; now, through this wall my soul did greatly desire to pass I saw, as it were, a narrow gap, like a little doorway in the wall . . . but the passage being very strait and narrow, I made many efforts to get in, but all in vain . . . at last, with great striving, methought I at first did get in my head, and after that, by a sidling striving, my shoulders, and my whole body; than was I exceeding glad, and went and sat down in the midst of them, and so was comforted with the light and heat of their sun (#53-54).

God's Word has spoken in metaphor, "Strait is the gait, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (Matt. vii. 14); the dreamer now envisions a literal gate, the portal of rebirth.

If Bunyan's dream landscape signals the tendency in Reformed aesthetics to make the Word "come true," to eliminate the mimetic distance between subject and object, he still tends to speak the Augustinian language of signification where, to paraphrase St. Thomas

Aquinas, the "signs" become literally the "facts signified by the words."⁴ So he "interprets" his experience: "Now, this mountain and wall, etc., was thus made out to me--the mountain signified the church of the living God; the sun that shone thereon, the comfortable shining of his merciful face on them that were therein; the wall, I thought, was the Word, that did make separation between the Christians and the world; and the gap which was in this wall, I thought, was Jesus Christ, who is the way to God the Father (John xiv. 6, Matt. vii. 14)" (#55). Although the vision "represented to me" is soon appropriated by "thought," although the physical immediacy of the metaphor gives way to rational explanation, Bunyan comes to understand the literal truth, that Christ is "the way to God," through metaphors in which Christ is, literally, the way, "the gap in this wall." The Johannine perception of the Creative Word made flesh in Christ becomes the Puritan aesthetic of the Word made present in human language, and of words transformed into the Real Presence.

The metaphor of Christ as the "strait and narrow" "way to God" is thus imago Dei in two senses: as a picture of Christ and as a natural image transfigured when it is informed by divine will, a word made Word. Moreover, Bunyan's recognition of the gate as Christ now presented to him in his spiritual growth transforms his self-awareness into a consciousness of God actually within him. Thus Paul describes the change of true believers into the object of their meditations: "we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed

into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord" (II Cor. iii. 18). Puritan understanding of this passage derived from Calvin: God created man in His own image, but after the Fall this imago Dei was defaced, or corrupted, and is restorable only by the Word.⁵ But it should be noted that the process of becoming the "same image" by beholding the glory of the Lord is progressive, a change from glory into glory. Thus the Christian begins, almost in a Platonic sense, as the image of Christ, but the image is gradually transformed into the "reality" as he lives the Christian life and sees more clearly the Word in his life. In Frye's modern terms, Bunyan as an individual "acquires the internal authority of the unity of the Logos" when his imitation becomes sacramental union, when, as an image, he is both metonym and metaphor; through sacramental language, then, he "achieves identity with and identity as" Christ.⁶

The doctrine of imago Dei necessarily focusses on "image," on metaphor in literature as well as in painting; God's presence in an "image," whether picture, word or person, effectively exalts artistic creation as the sacramental action. The Christian writer, "the voyce of God," expresses in images the Word of God, even as he is himself restored to imago Dei by the Spirit's working within him. The Protestant emphasis upon individuality is thus a reversal of the traditional Catholic doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ: "Instead of an individual finding his fulfillment within a social body, however sacrosanct, the metaphor is reversed from a metaphor of integration into a wholly decentralized one, in which the total body is complete within each individual."⁷

Concern with the written life of a Christian is thus more than a Protestant version of hagiology;⁸ it is an inevitable development of a changed social function of metaphor, and an altered conception of the role of the individual "reader." For personal spiritual vision, the recognition of the Spirit's work in the individual, is invariably connected, as with Calvin's spectacles of Scripture,⁹ with metaphors of writing, such as the epistle written in man's heart. The central metaphor which grounds English Calvinists' theology in aesthetics, that of the "image of God," is but one of the metaphors of sight used to indicate the latent presence of the Word in man and his words. Bunyan's use of the terms "perspective," "seeing," "vision," and "shadow" in assertions such as "the holy word of God is the perspective-glass by which we can . . . behold with open face the glory of the Lord"¹⁰ extends Paul's and Calvin's metaphorical use of "spectacles" and "open face." We recall the radical redefinition in Reformation aesthetics of Platonic mimesis and metonymy in the literary forms of the medieval Church which had introduced a dualistic premise into all questions of imagery. Unlike the meditator of this tradition, who sought to rise above human words which dimly "reflect" and stand for the divine world "glimpsed" in true "vision," the Calvinist hoped to "recognize" God in himself through metaphorical language which restored the creation to its original "image" of God.

This Protestant concept of restored vision makes God "visible" in the Book of the Word as much as in the Book of the Creatures. For Luther,

the "internal clarity" of the true believer's understanding of Holy Writ is as essential and miraculous as the "external clarity" of the written Word.¹¹ With his understanding of metaphor--that A is B--the Puritan tinker, John Bunyan, can "see" Christ visibly in both the dream and a verbal image of a gate. His struggle through Christ-the-gate only makes him another image, in propria persona, of the Word of God which is present in the world.

With this visionary perspective, Bunyan sees his life in aesthetic terms; despite his doubts, fears, and temptations, he is a "walking Bible"¹² and "an Epistle of Christ,"¹³ as the followers of Thomas Taylor and Thomas Goodwin termed these Puritan saints. While Bunyan never ceases to be a man of the seventeenth century, he makes of his life a kind of metaphor, not unlike that of his alter ego, Christian. The plot structure of his personal salvation, as well as of most Puritan autobiographies, derives from scriptural authority, specifically Paul's concept of the stages by which God saves his creature, man: "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified" (Rom. viii. 29-30). Haller, noting how "the Puritan mind hung endlessly upon the facile but inscrutable phrases of the eighth chapter of Romans," gives as a representative exegesis of the chapter, the following passage from John Downname's Christian Warfare:

Whosoever therefore are predestinate to salvation, they also are effectually called, that is, separate from the world, and ingrafted into the bodie of Christ; and this they attaine unto by diligent and attentive hearing of the word. Whosoever are effectually called, are also justified; and therefore have attained a true and lively faith. Whosoever are justified are also sanctified, that is, die unto their sinnes, and rise againe to newnes of life; and consequently whosoever are still meer worldlings and no true members of Christs bodie . . . they are not truly called. 14

Downname and "true members of Christs bodie" are assured, moreover, that "therefore as by our sanctification, justification, and vocation, we may certainly conclude that we are elected and shall be saved; so if we be without these, we may as certainly inferre that we are rejected."¹⁵

Bunyan preoccupies himself with discovering such signs of God's Work in his life. In his early, sinful years, he is saved from drowning twice and then from death in battle, each time through God's mercy which determines, despite his weaknesses, his eventual salvation (#9-14). Even when he tries to flee and deny God, "I could not escape his hand: 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God' (Heb. x. 31)" (#173). He finds himself to be a character in God's plot in much the same way that Christian exists in his plot.

Incarnational theology in Puritan writing serves to make the life of Christ the antitype of every progress to salvation, the only "way" or plot of all true story and history. Accordingly, by the end of his life-story, Bunyan has demonstrated God's Work in him by identifying his spiritual condition, righteousness, with that of Christ: "suddenly this sentence fell upon my Soul, Thy righteousness is in Heaven; and methought withall, I saw with the eyes of my Soul Jesus Christ at Gods

right hand, there, I say, as my Righteousness it was not my good frame of Heart that made my Righteousness better, nor yet my bad frame that made my Righteousness worse: for my Righteousness was Jesus Christ himself" (#229). Christ is the Providential way, or the progress through the Pauline stages toward righteousness, or the work of salvation:

Christ was all; all my Wisdom, all my Righteousness, all my Sanctification, and all my Redemption. . . . The Lord did also lead me into the mystery of Union with this Son of God, that I was joyned to him, that I was flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone By this also was my faith in him, as my Righteousness, the more confirmed to me; for if he and I were one, then his Righteousness was mine, his Merits mine, his Victory also mine. Now could I see myself in Heaven and Earth at once; in heaven by my Christ, by my Head, by my Righteousness and Life, though on Earth by my Body or Person (#232-33).

Inasmuch as Christ is the Way, character in Puritan aesthetics is both plot and metaphor; the Way is both the process of discovery and the image, the vehicle of incarnation and recognition.

But Bunyan also discovers his sacramental identity with Christ: "he and I were one." The elect "character" evidently recognizes that he himself is god-in-man, an incarnation of the Word. The Puritan story, in its most literal sense a discovery of true identity as imago Dei, begins with Old Adam and ends in the revelation of the changed man, the New Adam. Bunyan tells his story as a spiritually mature man remembering his ignorant beginnings. He describes the spiritual danger of his early sins: "I was kept from considering that sin would damn me . . . unless I was found in Christ . . . man, while blind, doth wander, but wearieith himself with vanity: for he knoweth not the way to the City of God, Eccles. x. 15" (#19). Here too, Christ is the way, the elect are "in"

Christ, and Bunyan speaks the words of Scripture in his own words. His discovery of his true identity consists in his ability to "see" the Word of God in his experience.

If the claim "he and I were one" summarizes characterization in Puritan aesthetics, Bunyan's understanding that he is "in Heaven and Earth at once" incorporates the essence of Puritan monism. Unlike the Ignatian meditator who seeks to lose himself in the transcendent world, the Puritan looks for--and, in Bunyan's case, finds--signs of divine presence in himself and in his life. Bunyan, "in Heaven and Earth at once," is likewise "in Christ"; character is thus setting as well as plot and metaphor. The Word as Holy Writ, accordingly, is presented in Grace Abounding as the setting of Bunyan's life; for example: "I was then never out of the Bible, either by reading or meditation that I might know the truth, and way to Heaven" (#46). Such spatial metaphors anticipate his pilgrim's literal entry onto the pages of the Good Book.

Scripture is still more than the setting of Grace Abounding. As the "voyce" of God, Scripture can address Bunyan as a spiritual being, commanding, encouraging him along the way to salvation, as all divine manifestations do:

that sentence fell with weight upon my spirit, "Look at the generations of old and see; did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded?"

At which I was greatly lightened and encouraged in my soul; for thus, at that very instant, it was expounded to me, Begin at the beginning of Genesis, and read to the end of the Revelations, and see if you can find that there was ever any that trusted in the Lord, and was confounded. So, coming home, I presently went to my Bible to see if I could find that saying, not doubting but to find it presently, for it was so fresh, and with such strength and comfort on my spirit, that I was as if it talked with me (#62-63).

The Word is thus one of the chief dramatis personae in the life of the Christian, and it is his duty to answer these talking verses which "seize and abide upon [his] heart" (#64). Many times the words of Scripture come to guide Bunyan:

when comforting time was come, I heard one preach a sermon upon those words in the Song (vi. 1), "Behold, thou art fair, my love" these words came again into my thoughts; and I well remember, as they came in, I said thus in my heart, What shall I get by thinking on these . . . words? This thought had no sooner passed through my heart, but the words began thus to kindle in my spirit . . . and still as they ran thus in my mind, they waxed stronger and warmer, and began to make me look up that sentence fell in upon me, He "wist not that it was true which was done by the angel" (Acts xii. 9).

Then I began to give place to the word, which, with power, did over and over make this joyful sound within my soul, Thou art my love (#89-92).

What gives the phrase, "Thou art my love," its particular potency is the sense of a loving presence in the words: "the word . . . with power, did . . . make this joyful sound within my soul."

Repeatedly, Bunyan experiences this power within him, for example: "as I was thus in a muse, that Scripture also came with great power upon my Spirit" (#259). This power manifests itself in the vigor of Scripture's entrances into his thoughts: "these words broke in upon me" (#143); "Then did that Scripture seize upon my soul" (#182); "that Scripture fastned on my heart" (#201); and "that came bolting in upon me" (#262). Scripture is shown to be spiritually active by the physical metaphors themselves which, for Bunyan, are literal re-presentations of the spiritual. So in recording Scripture's active power upon the author, Grace Abounding becomes itself an intensely vigorous book in the sense that the written

Word is perpetually active in it. Bunyan hopes that his book will function, for the reader who reads God's Work upon him, as the Bible does for him. He would not claim, however, to be adding to the Scriptures; rather, he speaks the same Word anew in his discovery of his scriptural identity.

The act of discovering who he is does not occur, however, only in the moment of reading God's Word. The Word itself is given to him, through meditation, in a vision:

there was not anything that I then cried unto God to make known and reveal unto me but he was pleased to do it for me I saw with great evidence, from the relation of the four evangelists, the wonderful work of God, in giving Jesus Christ to save us Methought I was as if I had seen him born . . . as if I had seen him walk through this world, from the cradle to his cross as I was musing on this, his progress, that dropped on my spirit, He was ordained for the slaughter (I Pet. i. 19,20).

When I have considered also the truth of his resurrection, and have remembered that word, "Touch me not, Mary," etc., I have seen as if he leaped at the grave's mouth I have also, in the spirit, seen him a man on the right hand of God the Father for me (#120-21).

But man's understanding is not entirely hidebound in its dependence on Scripture: "God did . . . lead me into his words . . . and did open them unto me . . . and cause them to dwell with me . . . both of his own being, and the being of his Son, and Spirit, and Word, and gospel" (#126). The Word of God is thus free to make itself known to man in a number of guises. But invariably the Spirit sets men down, as it were, in the midst of the Book. Bunyan thus alludes to the work of God in the preaching of one Mr. Gifford:

He pressed us to take special heed that we took not up any truth upon trust--as from this, or that, or any other man or men--but to cry mightily to God that he would convince us of the reality thereof, and set us down therein, by his own Spirit, in the holy Word . . . I saw clearly there was an exceeding difference betwixt the notions of the flesh and blood, and the revelations of God in heaven; also, a great difference between that faith that is feigned, and according to man's wisdom, and of that which comes by a man's being born thereto of God (#117-18).

"Being born thereto of God" is a matter of living in the revelation of God.

If the Bible and Bunyan can speak with one voice, it is because the world (and Bunyan's history in it) tells the same old story of perdition and salvation. Seeing himself as the type of all the great Old and New Testament sinners, Bunyan feels condemned by those passages which promise Wrath and Judgement. The Puritan's quest for identity is not a foregone conclusion; the unfolding story of his life alone will tell whether he is Old or New Adam. When terrified of committing the sin against the Holy Ghost, Bunyan says, "That Scripture did also tear and rend my soul The wicked are like the troubled Sea which cannot rest There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God, Isa. lvii, 20-21" (#104). Especially, he identifies with Esau in that, being called, he once denied Christ. This feeling of being torn between guilt and hope--the latter represented by passages such as "My grace is sufficient for thee"--is objectified, expressed in metaphor, by reference to Scripture:

this about the sufficiency of grace, and that of Esau's parting with his Birth-right, would be like a pair of scales within my mind, sometimes one end would be uppermost, and sometimes again the other, according to which would be my peace or trouble. . . .

Thus was I confounded, not knowing . . . whether the Scriptures could agree in the salvation of my Soul. . . . Lord, thought I, if both these Scriptures would meet in my heart at once, I wonder which of them would get the better of me. . . . I had a longing mind that they might come both together upon me . . . so they did indeed; they boulded both upon me at a time, and did work and struggle strangely [sic] in me for a while; at last, that about Esaus birthright began to wax weak, and withdraw, and vanish; and this about the sufficiency of Grace prevailed (#205-13).

This scene, which marks the triumph of faith over doubt, is the turning point of the story, and of Bunyan's salvation progress. The presence of the voice of Christ promising "My grace is sufficient for thee" confirms the movement through the scriptural Word to the manifest Word (which is also the scriptural Word), the transfiguration, that is, of Bunyan's repetition of the Word into the Real Presence in him and his story. He has progressed into sacramental identity with Christ and, in the denouement of the story, the only temptation in the rest of his life is to doubt the Word, to deny the efficacy of sacrament.

As he did after the vision of the mountain sun, Bunyan, in the passage quoted above, expresses his human understanding by responding with theological interpretation of his scriptural experience: "truly I am apt to think it was of God, for the Word of Law and Wrath must give place to the Word of Life and Grace; because . . . the Word of Life and Salvation, doth far exceed in glory, 2 Cor. iii. 8-11" (#214). Theological interpretation itself, however, is little more than a paraphrase of a gospel passage. But the debate within his own soul,

between his warring natures, is nevertheless objectified, "imaged," in the written history of God's chosen people.

So too his experience of a force keeping him from approaching God is objectified in Scripture as the Tempter, or the Devil. The antagonist in the biblical drama, Satan, is likewise the villain in Grace Abounding. Bunyan writes, "then would the Tempter so provoke me to desire to sin that sin, that I was as if I could not . . . be quiet until I had committed that . . . and in so strong a measure was this temptation upon me, that often I have been ready . . . to hold my mouth from opening" (#103). The Tempter, as seen in this passage, is the personal experience of temptation incarnate as a powerful physical being. Again, "I have thought I should see the devil, nay, thought I have felt him, behind me, pull my clothes he would cast in such wicked thoughts as . . . I must pray to him" (#107). As one of the elect, Bunyan undergoes the same temptations as Christ. Frequently, Bunyan represents temptation in metaphors of physical struggle: "This temptation [to deny Christ] did put me to such scares lest I should at sometimes, I say, consent thereto, and be overcome therewith, that by the very force of my mind in labouring to gainsay and resist this wickedness my very Body also would be put into action or motion, by way of pushing or thrusting with my hands or elbows" (#137). Here again, the abstract noun "temptation" becomes the dramatic Tempter. But if the Word of God is concrete, it is so in a curious way. The Word, which reveals the presence of God-in-man, reveals as well a devil within the

self. As Great-heart assures his followers in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two, "here is nothing to hurt us, unless we procure it to ourselves common people . . . are of the opinion that [the Valley of Humiliation] is haunted with some foul fiend, or evil spirit; when alas it is for the fruit of their own doing, that such things do befall them there."¹⁶ God and the Devil are both real, but they meet only on the battleground of the individual human soul which must await the Work of God in him to declare his true identity.

Though Providence may determine this story's plot, the role of the central character is to see and understand his own progress and to confirm, at some point, God's Work against the demonic power within himself. The action, then, is three-cornered. Man, in the forum of a scriptural setting, hears and sees these two contending forces, even as he goes about his everyday life. Bunyan tells how, one day when he was young, "I was in the midst of a game . . . a voice did suddenly dart from heaven into my soul, which said, Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven, or have thy sins and go to hell? I looked up to heaven, and was, as if I had, with the eyes of my understanding, seen the Lord Jesus looking down upon me" (#22). Much later, fearful of his spiritual state:

suddenly there was as if there had rushed in at the Window, the noise of Wind upon me . . . and as if I had heard a Voice speaking, Didst ever refuse to be justified by the Blood of Christ? and withal my whole life of profession past, was in a moment opened to me, wherein I was made to see, that designedly I had not; so my heart answered groaningly No. Then fell with power that Word of God upon me, See that ye refuse not him that speaketh, Heb. xii, 25. This made a strange

seisure upon my spirit; it brought light with it, and commanded a silence in my heart of all those tumultuous thoughts that before did use, like masterless hell-hounds, to roar and bellow . . . within me (#174).

Bunyan finds this visitation so mysterious that he is unsure how to describe it: "concerning this dispensation, I know not what yet to say unto it . . . I do now . . . leave it to be thought on by men of sound Judgment. . . seeing I am here unfolding of my secret things, I thought it might not be altogether inexpedient to let this also shew itself" (#174). As an autobiographer, Bunyan does not analyse the major events of his life; some are so awesome he can only bear witness to them, let them show themselves through his words. As a writer, he does not seek to shape his material; he lets the Word speak through him. As an actor, likewise, he does not control his destiny; the Word works in him.

Because the power of God is greater than that of the Devil and because God works through and addresses Himself to human understanding, the major events in the plot and the story's major metaphors are, not unexpectedly, visions of Christ. Man is required to act upon his vision, to accept his vocation as an inevitable process which will overcome his conscious doubts and unconscious fears, represented metaphorically as the world, the flesh and the devil. Repeatedly, a new stage in Bunyan's progress is initiated by such a revelation; for example, "these words did with great power suddainly break in upon me, My grace is sufficient for thee. . . my Understanding was so enlightned, that I was as though I had seen the Lord Jesus look down

from Heaven through the Tiles upon me, and direct those words unto me; this sent me mourning home, it broke my heart, and filled me full of joy" (#206-07). God's revelations, necessitating further discovery of one's true identity, thus constitute the central elements of the story's metaphorical imagery, as well as its character development, or plot.

One of the most important metaphors in Grace Abounding is that of death. In The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, Christian dies in order to enter the Celestial City; his death, which opens the way to salvation for his family, re-presents a stage in the progress of a pilgrim finding himself in Christ. Bunyan, protagonist of Grace Abounding, does not physically die at the end of the story; rather, as a spiritually mature man, one who has completed the stages of salvation up to the point of becoming a consecrated preacher, he looks back on his earlier life in order to tell the reader of the Work of God upon him. And if spiritual rebirth, experienced during his vision of his passage through the gate to the mountain sun, is an essential stage near the beginning of his progress to salvation, a kind of death is an equally necessary experience near its end. Bunyan tells how, during a period of despair of God's grace--a hopelessness which he describes as spiritual illness--he feels

deadness, dulness, and coldness in holy Duties now was I sick in my inward man, my Soul was clog'd with guilt now I sunk and fell in my Spirit, and was giving up all for lost Again, as I was at another time very ill and weak, all that time also the Tempter did beset me strongly (for I find he is much for assaulting the Soul, when it begins to approach towards the Grave, then is his Opportunity) at this time, through my fear of

miscarrying for ever, (should I now die) I was as one dead before Death came . . . there was no way but to Hell I must; but behold, just as I was in the midst of those fears, these words of the Angels carrying Lazarus into Abrahams bosom darted in upon me This did sweetly revive my Spirit I became both well in body and mind at once (#256-60).

The repetition of the word "now" emphasizes the immediacy and power of this spiritual experience of illness, death, hell, and return to life and health. Bunyan uses the metaphor of death to re-present spiritual hopelessness elsewhere in his history, for example, "breaking out in the bitterness of my Soul, I said to my self, with a grievous sigh, How can God comfort such a wretch as I? I had no sooner said it but this returned upon me, as an echo doth answer a voice, This sin is not unto death. At which I was as if I had been raised out of a grave" (#188). His deepest fear or illness, that of being reprobate, is both death and hell to him.

But death can also lead to heaven. Bunyan records how he is rescued from the first hell-like death to bliss: "that Scripture also came with great power upon my Spirit, Not by works of righteousness that we have done, but according to his mercy he hath saved us, &c. II Tim. i. 9, Tit. iii. 5. Now was I got on high; I saw myself within the arms of Grace and Mercy; and though I was before afraid to think of a dying hour, yet now I cried, Let me die; now death was lovely" (#259).

In the section entitled "A brief Account of the Authors Imprisonment," Bunyan introduces another version of the metaphor of death: "I was made to see, that if ever I would suffer rightly, I must first pass a sentence of death upon everything that can properly be called a thing

of this life, even to reckon my Self, my Wife, my Children, my health, my enjoyments, and all, as dead to me, and my self as dead to them" (#325). An explanation of the metaphorical meaning of death sheds new light on what would seem to be a fanatical contemptus mundi. In "The Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love," Bunyan notes that the "virtue of the faith . . . is to make one die daily." This daily death is a metaphor for the daily entrance into the spiritual condition of total knowledge and blessing, and, as Bunyan continues, the "proof" of the faith which is never found "among carnal men" is "a life in heaven while we are on earth."¹⁷ The possibility of "a life in heaven while we are on earth" is a necessary doctrine in a theology focussed so thoroughly on the presence of God in man's heart. Thus, in "Light for them that sit in darkness; or A Discourse of Jesus Christ," Bunyan argues, "We are not only quickend by the Holy Ghost, but possessed therewith; it is given to dwell in our hearts."¹⁸ Thus the truly spiritual person, during moments of vision in which he is "dead" to temporal concerns, is "in heaven," in the divine presence, and he is joined to and, indeed, has become, one with Christ. Death, then, has two metaphorical associations: the depth of sickness and despair as the hell of alienation from God, and the height of spiritual vision as the heaven of the Real Presence.

It is because he has entered the world of death, into both heaven and hell, and faced the strongest devils and been rescued by God, that Bunyan can claim authority as a spiritual leader, one who

has fulfilled Calvin's imperative that the Christian must "[descend] within himself to find God."¹⁹ His dissatisfaction with others' spiritual autobiographies is that his contemporaries "had writ only that which others felt, or else had, through the strength of their wits and parts, studied to answer such objections as they perceived others were perplexed with, without going down themselves into the deep" (#129). Bunyan's knowledge is genuine because it is not "studied"; though it re-presents the Word of Holy Writ, it is the Word made flesh, as it were, in each new believer. But the Word is humanized by the experience of those who go before. In the section entitled "A brief Account of the Author's Call to the Work of the Ministry," Bunyan describes God's Work through him as a "Gift" (#266). He is a "voyce of God" in his "publick preaching the Word" (#268), in his calling "to preach the blessed Gospel that God had shewed me in the holy Word of truth: which when the Countrey understood, they came to hear the Word by hundreds" (#271). He claims, moreover, that "I had not preached long before some began to be touched by the Word and count me Gods Instrument that shewed to them the Way of Salvation" (#272-73). His preaching is especially powerful when he deals with sin, because of his own profound experience of sin, spiritual death: "Indeed I have been as one sent to them from the dead; I went my self in chains to preach to them in chains, and carried that fire in my own conscience that I perswaded them to beware of" (#277).

The preaching that Bunyan describes in Grace Abounding, like the autobiography as a whole, witnesses to God's saving work against

the Devil in him:

I have gone full of guilt and terrour even to the Pulpit-Door, and there it hath been taken off, and I have been at liberty in my mind until I have done my work Yet God carried me on, but surely with a strong hand: for neither guilt nor hell could take me off my Work.

Thus I went for the space of two years After which, the Lord came in upon my own Soul with some staid peace and comfort thorow Christ . . . I altered in my preaching (for still I preached what I saw and felt;) now therefore I did much labour to hold forth Jesus Christ in all his Offices, Relations, and Benefits unto the World

After this, God led me into something of the mystery of union with Christ: wherefore that I discovered and shewed to them also. (#277-79).

He concludes his description of his ministry by saying that, whatever his subject, "I have been in my preaching . . . as if an Angel of God had stood by at my back to encourage me: O it hath been with such power and heavenly evidence upon my own Soul, while I have been labouring to unfold it, to demonstrate it" (#282). Bunyan's preaching is not simply didactic; God speaks through Bunyan who thus, as a minister, preaches the Word and opens and reveals holy mysteries. And God's Word, spoken by Bunyan, is God's Work upon Bunyan.

Bunyan's "Life" fully suggests that in book and in person he is a "voyce of God"; in Luther's terms, "speaking and writing become identical."²⁰ It is through the autobiography, wherein Bunyan demonstrates the doctrine that grace can save the greatest of sinners --for his great sin is his momentary denial of Christ and his subsequent despair--that Bunyan substantiates his vocation as a minister. The reader of Grace Abounding can "read [God's] work upon me" even as Bunyan saw God's "work" in Luther's writing: "God . . . did cast into

my hand, one day, a book of Martin Luther, his comment on the Galatians I found my condition in his experience, so largely and profoundly handled, as if his Book had been written out of my heart" (#129). During one of his many periods of despair, Bunyan "did light on that dreadful story of that miserable mortal, Francis Spira; A book that was to my troubled spirit as salt, when rubbed into a fresh wound; every sentence in that book . . . was as knives and daggers in my Soul" (#163). God's Word, howsoever it comes to a man, must be an active force, whether it should proceed from Scripture or from metaphor or history. Since Bunyan would live the message and story of Scripture and point to the Word in the reader as it is in him, revelation and incarnation, not doctrine or human learning, constitute the goal and the process of Bunyan's preaching of the Word.

In this light, Grace Abounding can be seen to be didactic but not allegorical. In his Preface, Bunyan encourages his readers to endure, as he had, the trials of the initial stages of salvation: "remember it was thus with your father, but out of them all the Lord delivered me." But he does not ask his audience to emulate his life, to imitate his experience. Rather, he sees his life and theirs as providential repetitions of the literary Work of God: "Moses . . . writ of the journeyings of the children of Israel . . . and commanded also, that they did remember their forty years' travel in the wilderness. 'Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee' Wherefore this I have endeavoured to do; and not only so, but to

publish it also; that, if God will, others may be put in remembrance of what he hath done for their souls, by reading his work upon me." Thus the reader is to remember God's Word come to life in Scripture, and then in Grace Abounding, and, finally, in his own life's patterns. True Christians are to be "put in remembrance of what he hath done for their souls, by reading his work upon me."

In the same vein, God's Work in John Bunyan gives him the voice of David speaking to the reader, Israel: "My dear children, call to mind the former days, 'and the years of ancient times: remember also your songs in the night; and commune with your own heart' (Ps. lxxvii. 5-12). . . . Remember, I say, the word that first laid hold upon you; remember your terrors of conscience, and fear of death and hell; remember also your tears and prayers Remember also the Word--the Word, I say, upon which the Lord hath caused you to hope." Grace Abounding is another manifestation of that Word which might lead the reader to discover the Word in his own soul.

Although Grace Abounding can be analysed in literary terms--patterns of metaphorical imagery, characterization, plot--it must be remembered that, unlike Donne's Devotions, with its "peregrinations to fetch remote and precious metaphors" and its "harmonious eloquutions,"²¹ the purpose of this spiritual autobiography is less deliberately aesthetic. In his Preface, Bunyan justifies his work's apparent artlessness: "I could . . . have stepped into a style much higher than this in which I have here discoursed, and could have adorned all things

more than here I have seemed to do, but I dare not. God did not play in convincing of me, the devil did not play in tempting of me . . . I may not play in my relating of them, but be plain and simple, and lay down the thing as it was." His role as writer is to witness the Grace abounding to him, to record and to become one with God's Word.

Joan Webber, attempting to define the distinguishing aesthetic qualities of Donne's spiritual autobiography from Bunyan's, points out the playfulness of the former as opposed to the serious urgency of the latter. Other differences she finds are between Donne's sophisticated cadences and ambiguous distortions of objective reality and Bunyan's colloquial and straight-forward report; between Donne's macrocosmic and microcosmic "I" upon whose meditations the reader eavesdrops and Bunyan's direct address from the preaching "I" to the congregation; between Donne who "puts the whole world into language" and Bunyan who "finds language acting a part in the world; words strike him with objective force. . . . His world is more magical and arbitrary than Donne's, partly because it is a peasant world."²²

Webber's main points of distinction, however, must be challenged. She argues that the difference between the Anglican and the Puritan literary styles, as represented by these autobiographies, is "the difference between symbol and exemplum. Donne is all men; Bunyan is an example of what a man can be."²³ Donne, as his own symbol, becomes metaphysical, non-representational, fragmented, whereas Bunyan's use

of simile "is a simple way of controlling the imagination . . . of substituting allegory and personal narrative for symbolism. If you say that one thing is like another, you can keep the two distinct and unconfused in your mind more easily than if you fuse them in metaphor."²⁴ There is some validity in this analysis of Donne's symbols but, like all of Bunyan's critics thus far, Webber does not see the metaphorical quality which transforms his experiences into the living Word. Webber sees that "Bunyan's experience is presented as if it were only accidentally literary, because he happened to record it,"²⁵ whereas the book's whole focus is literary, in that it quite deliberately undertakes to re-present the flesh made Word. Again, Webber compares the Anglican to the Puritan aesthetics as representatives of "a sacramental and a non-sacramental view of reality,"²⁶ whereas the practice of incarnational metaphor argues the intensely sacramental vision in Bunyan's writings. Webber perceives that the "Puritan hopes to be able to move in time, in some sort of meaningful progression" whereas Donne, the typical Anglican, "has no belief in progress"²⁷ but sees the timeless cycle of events and, accordingly, establishes his "I" in an undetermined time and space.²⁸ On the contrary, it is the very fact of Bunyan's existence in historical time, which Webber uses to establish his non-sacramental view, which makes the entrance of revelation into this world so highly sacramental.

Grace Abounding, then, is literary to the extent that it strives to record literally God's Work upon Bunyan's progress, to let God's

Word speak through the visions and voices met with in his life, and through the scriptural passages embodied in his words. The central aesthetic difference between Grace Abounding (1666) and Bunyan's later prison work, The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One (1678), is that between history and fiction. While Scripture speaks to the historical Bunyan, its characters and even its sayings in the fictional work become not "talking verses" but fictional characters who interact dramatically with the central character, Christian. Where the title of the earlier work summarizes its content--God's Work upon man--The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One is almost entirely the story of the pilgrim Christian. The dreamer, with his human reactions to the story, is not mentioned until the subtitle because the focus of the story is Christian. The autobiography, then, tells what God does in history; the dream vision, on the other hand, tells what God does in metaphor, what the Word does in language as its own reality.

This distinction between "historical" and "literal" metaphor, between partial and full metaphorical development in Grace Abounding and The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, respectively, can be quickly surveyed in individual images. In the passage quoted above describing the Wind-like Voice speaking within his heart, Bunyan repeatedly uses similes when employing nouns ("like masterless hell-hounds") and modifying clauses ("as if there had rushed in"). At one point, Bunyan describes his smarting conscience and fear of sinning: "I found myself as on a miry bog, that shook if I did but stir" (#82). Conscious

of his "Original and inward pollution," "I thought none but the Devil himself could equalize me for inward wickedness and pollution of minde. I fell, therefore at the sight of mine own vileness, deeply into dispair" (#84). Christian, on the other hand, falls into the Slough of Despond and the Castle of Despair; the similes of Grace Abounding become the metaphorical nouns of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One. Similes tend to convey the distance between a thinking subject and his spiritual experience; thus, while in his autobiography Bunyan records his reactions to God's power, in Bunyan's fiction Christian journeys through real places having as much to do with the pages of Scripture as with the landscape of seventeenth-century England.

If Grace Abounding uses simile (A is like B), a figure of speech more appropriate to mimesis than incarnation, the Providential plot remains incarnational, as do Bunyan's claims to be "Gods Instrument," to be one with Christ. The "life," in this sense, justifies the "art" of God's Work. But fidelity to "life" does not guarantee the quality or even the kind of art which is produced. If Bunyan's autobiography belongs at all in the category of a "Reformed" aesthetics, it is because his "history" depends upon truly literal metaphors: "Then fell with power that Word of God upon me This made a strange seisure upon my spirit; it brought light with it, and commanded a silence in my heart." In such passages, as in Grace Abounding as a whole, Bunyan tends to use verbs to embody divine power, for example, "seized," "bolted in," "came in."

Grace Abounding, the progress of the historical Bunyan from the state of a sinner to that of a consecrated preacher, incorporates the Word of God in its metaphorical verbs, images, characters, events, setting and allusions. Bunyan's "life" is made, through metaphor, the written Word as the Word is made flesh in his life. The life of the fictional Christian who journeys through a consistently biblical landscape is the word made Word in a different way. The seventeenth-century preacher discovers the Work of God in his life, both as his experience and as his biography, whereas the pilgrim steps directly into the literary Work of God; for example, Christian finds himself in the twenty-third Psalm in a literal Valley of the Shadow of Death. Christian's progress is more literally, more consistently, through Scripture as the only "reality," though it is a reality which encompasses Bunyan's contemporary world.

On his title page, Bunyan establishes the metaphorical setting of his fiction: "The Pilgrim's Progress FROM THIS WORLD, TO That which is to come: Delivered under the Similitude of a DREAM Wherein is Discovered, The manner of his setting out, His Dangerous Journey: And safe Arrival at the Desired Countrey." Christian's "progress from this world to that which is to come" is a journey through time, from this life to the after life. But it is also a journey through space, describing "his setting out, his dangerous journey; and safe arrival at the desired countrey." The juxtaposition of these two summaries of his progress introduces the literally metaphorical quality of the

book as a whole: a journey through time is embodied in a journey through space. Moreover, the equation, through juxtaposition, of time and space indicates that this story is not set in a familiar, historical world, but rather in a setting akin to the eternal world in which time and space are become one.

But it would be misleading to assume that Bunyan's fiction is set in an exclusively spiritual, ahistorical dimension; the setting involves both "this world" and the pilgrimage through it. Bunyan, with his Reformation understanding of the flesh and spirit, could not write about an historical man who dies and then enters the eternal world; nor would he compose a story set exclusively in the world of souls, angels, and devils. A preacher of Calvinist theology, Bunyan shows, rather, the Word of God in a chosen man and the Providential growth in that man's spirituality during his lifetime. By the time such a Christian dies, he has learned the true nature of the world of the flesh, of demonic temptation and spiritual mysteries; he is fully alive in the spirit, and dead to the flesh. We know that Christian's passage through the River of Death, in this book, is death in the physical sense, only because he stays in the Celestial City, the spiritual world. The setting of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One is of "this world" and "the way" through it; its subject is the temporal world and the workings of the Spirit in it.

By the use of repetition in the title page, Bunyan thus emphasizes the book's central stylistic device, its metaphor. The

story is "delivered under the similitude of a dream" and the epigraph is "I have used similitudes, Hos. xii. 10." It is no error or mere presumption on Bunyan's part that this epigraph, when read in the context of its source, refers not to man's use of metaphor, as one might suppose, but rather to God's: "I have also spoken by the prophets, and I have multiplied visions, and used similitudes, by the ministry of the prophets." Bunyan, apparently defining his style on his title page, becomes "partly the voyce of God" in that the speaker, the "I" who uses similitudes, is God. As man can be transformed into imago Dei by the Spirit, so too Bunyan's verbal images, his "similitudes," can become those of God. The divine authorship of the book's similitudes is indicated as well by the reference to deliverance, an exclusively divine act. In this context as well, Bunyan defines the purely metaphorical character of Christian; he is "the pilgrim," not "a pilgrim," one of many, but the definite embodiment of the pilgrim as type. A similitude or type created by the Puritan's God is, as in all His manifestations, incarnational; similitude does not mean simile, therefore, but rather the expression of God's voice in the thing which is signified.

To use Frye's terms, The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One and, to some extent, Grace Abounding, must be seen as hieroglyphic literature. Christian and the Chief of Sinners exist in a world where "subject and object are linked by a common power or energy";²⁹ as meditator and as preacher/writer, Bunyan is restored to imago Dei, as is Christian.

Bunyan's language, as well, contains the divine Word which renders his word Logos, the "mana" or power which enables "this" to be, rather than to stand for, "that." As in Homer's poetry, "the distinction between figured and literal language hardly exists";³⁰ "words in such a context are words of power or dynamic forces" because "all words in this phase of language are concrete: there are no true verbal abstractions."³¹ Like the poets of pre-Platonic societies, Bunyan, speaking the Word of God to his congregation, is "the main source of culturally inherited knowledge."³² Unlike his English language predecessors and contemporaries, Bunyan does not create art to be either "dulce" or "utile." Instead of entertaining or teaching, he witnesses and embodies divine power. The central aesthetic quality of Grace Abounding and The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, then, is the presence and activity of Logos in the stories' plots, characters, settings and, most clearly, in their metaphors.

Bunyan, needless to say, does not define his work in these terms because, like his contemporaries, he does not distinguish between the various kinds of figurative devices. In his Apology to The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, he uses these aesthetic terms interchangeably to justify his "allegory":

. . . was not God's laws,
His Gospel-laws in olden time held forth
By types, shadows and metaphors?

It would seem that he is setting out to imitate Scripture in his use of figurative language :

I find that Holy Writ in many places
 Hath semblance with this method, where the cases
 Doth call for one thing to set forth another:
 Use it I may then, and yet nothing smother
 Truth's golden beams, nay, by this method may
 Make it cast forth its rays as light as day.

If such a mimetic process of composition suggests that the work to follow belongs in the tradition of metonymy, so too do the dualistic premises in the author's distinction between his "metaphors" and their meanings: "one thing" can "set forth another." Again, "My dark and cloudy words they do but hold/ The truth, as cabinets enclose the gold."³³

He does show some sense, nevertheless, of his story's inspiration:

. . . let truth be free
 To make her sallies upon thee, and me,
 Which way it pleases God. For who knows how,
 Better than he that taught us first to plough,
 To guide our mind and pens for his design?
 And he makes base things usher in divine.

The transfiguration of his "base" word into "divine" Word then begins with the "possession" of its writer whose biographical work was transformed by a power beyond his control into what he calls an "allegory":

. . . I writing of the way
 And race of saints in this our Gospel-day,
 Fell suddenly into an allegory
 About their journey, and the way to glory,
 In more than twenty things, which I set down;
 This done, I twenty more had in my crown,
 And they again began to multiply,
 Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.

 . . . having now my method by the end,
 Still as I pulled it came, and so I penned
 It down

He is the medium and so his "method," his use of metaphor, enables him to express holy things:

I find not that I am denied the use
Of this my method . . .
.
Denied did I say? Nay, I have leave
.
. . . thus to declare
Things unto thee that excellentest are.

Bunyan concludes his Apology, as a preacher ends his sermon, with a promise and a challenge:

. . . would'st thou see
A man i' the clouds, and hear him speak to thee?
Would'st thou be in a dream, and yet not sleep?
Or would'st thou in a moment laugh and weep?
Wouldest thou lose thyself, and catch no harm
And find thyself again without a charm?
Would'st read thyself, and read thou know'st not what
And yet know whether thou art blest or not,
By reading the same lines?

Bunyan, as the "voyce of God," here speaks Christ's words, "He who shall lose his life shall find it" (Mark viii. 34). But the challenge of "los[ing] thyself" is also the promise of "read[ing] thyself," that is to say, of finding the "story" of Christ written within, immanent in the reader in a collective dream, as suggested by the Apology's concluding promise: "Would'st thou be in a dream and yet not sleep?"

The book begins with the first-person narrator, in "the wilder-ness of this world," leaving it, through sleep, to dream, and his dream is Christian's story. The dreamer is still a type of autobiographer, not unlike the sinner-turned-preacher of Grace Abounding who narrates

his own experience.³⁴ But because the fictional experience is a "dream," it becomes in the telling a communal dream. The story is the "dream" of the reader; his experience is now as direct as the "preacher's" own experience.

The dreamer is nonetheless a type of biblical prophet, like Moses or John, to whom God reveals sacred things. And his response makes him a participant in his own "revelation." When Christian is in House Beautiful talking with Charity, the dreamer records: "Now I saw in my dream that thus they sat talking all their talk at the table was about the Lord of the Hill . . . by what they said I perceived that he had been a great warrior, and had fought with and slain him that had the power of death, but not without great danger to himself, which made me love him the more" (p. 85). The reader, likewise, is able to "be in a dream," to "read [him]self," by entering the narrator's vision in this same act of reading. In this sense, the reader is just as capable as is the narrator of reading his own story in, of finding his identity confused with, that of Christian: "For, as they said, and I believe (said Christian), he did it with the loss of much blood" (p. 86). The confusion of "I's" is but the first step in the eventual transformation of character, narrator, and reader into a new identity with the beloved warrior who has conquered death, with the Word who will become complete in each individual.

But in another respect, the dreamer must remain as the reader's representative in the story. The dreamer, as a living mortal, cannot

cross the River of Death into the Celestial City. At the end of Christian's progress into the final state of the spirit, he can witness Christian's actions only with "I saw," as the vision recedes from the limits of his mortal perspective. Across the great distance between the dreamer and the Celestial City, he records that "I saw in my dream, that these two men [Christian and his fellow pilgrim, Hopeful] went in at the Gate; and lo, as they entered they were transfigured Then I heard in my dream, that all the bells in the City rang with joy" (p. 203). The dreamer can only witness; Christian has gone beyond experiences he can know, and knowing, describe: "Oh, by what tongue or pen can their glorious joy be expressed!" (p. 203). As Christian enters further into the spiritual world, the dreamer can only gaze after him until finally Christian is out of sight and hearing and the dream is over: "I looked in after them they shut up the Gates: which when I had seen, I wished myself among them. . . . I awoke, and behold it was a dream" (pp. 204-05). As the dreamer, being mortal, has to turn back from the River of Death and resume life after being "dead to this world" during his vision, so the reader finds his identification with Christian still incomplete. Christian leaves "the wilderness of this world" whereas the reader closes the book to find himself with a like longing--which provides the impetus for the next "writing" of the Word of God in his own life.

The book which Christian is discovered to be reading at the beginning sends him on a journey. The book about Christian's journey

takes the reader to the gates of Heaven only to drop him back in this world at the beginning of another journey. The reader is now left to become his own "Christian." The narrative framework of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, then, serves not only as the vehicle of a Providential action; it also tells the reader that the reading of this book is tantamount to reading, like Christian, the Word of God, and setting out on his own "progress."

The dream of the pilgrim's progress begins with the vision of an unnamed, somewhat pathetic man: "I dreamed, and behold I saw a man clothed with rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back. I looked, and saw him open the book, and read therein; and as he read, he wept and trembled: and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry; saying, 'What shall I do?'" (p. 39). The words spoken by the man--his name is not given for several pages--are those of Paul's Phillipian jailer because he is, in this chapter of his life, the man in Scripture discovering his need of redemption. He is not "Christian" at the beginning of the story; evidently he must earn his name through the process of discovering the Spirit in himself. His pilgrimage is to discover who he is through his identification with various biblical figures. Christian summarizes the change in his identity to the inhabitants of the House Beautiful after he has passed through Calvary into his New Testament identity: "My name is, now, Christian; but my name at the first was Graceless" (p. 79).

The pilgrim attains grace by progressing through the identities of some of the major scriptural characters, between the Old and New Adams.³⁵ Near the beginning of this progress, he is identified with Moses, the law-giver. He attends to the guidance of Mr. Worldly-Wiseman who believes that ease from the burden of sin is made possible in "yonder village (the village is named Morality) [where] dwells a gentleman, whose name is Legality, a very judicious man . . . that has skill to help men off with such burdens as thine are, from their shoulders . . . and besides, he hath skill to cure those that are somewhat crazed in their wits with their burdens" (p. 50).³⁶ As Moses believes the Ten Commandments would make possible man's moral security in this world, so Christian hopes to find, in Morality, "safety, friendship, and content" (p. 50).

But Moses never reaches Canaan and, like their leader, the Old Testament Israelites never win salvation; they continually backslide from their best efforts to obey their prophets' ethical guidance. For Christian, likewise, the Old Testament experience is a delay to salvation which is made possible only by Christ. In fact, Christian leaves the way in turning to the promise of salvation through works and he requires the perspective of a New Testament voice to lead him back from the errors of Mr. Worldly-Wiseman. Evangelist, Christian's guide who frequently teaches him by speaking the words of St. Paul, tells him, "This Legality therefore is not able to set thee free from thy burden. . . . ye cannot be justified by the works of the law;

for by the deeds of the law no man living can be rid of his burden" (pp. 54-55). Christian is recalled to the New Testament way by the words of a major New Testament character.

Evangelist, like the "talking verses" in Grace Abounding, is both voice and vision, a character speaking the words of the New Testament. His approach to Christian demonstrates again, as in Grace Abounding, "words with power": "Evangelist drew nearer, and nearer, and coming up to him, he looked upon him with a severe and dreadful countenance, and thus began to reason with Christian. . . . 'How is it then that thou art so quickly turned aside, for thou art now out of the way?'" (pp. 51-52). Christian recounts Worldly-Wiseman's directions:

Then (said Evangelist) stand still a little, that I may show thee the words of God. So he stood trembling. Then (said Evangelist), See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from Heaven. He said moreover, Now the just shall live by faith; but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. He also did thus apply them, Thou art the man that art running into this misery, thou hast began to reject the counsel of the most high, and to draw back thy foot from the way of peace, even almost to the hazarding of thy perdition (p. 53).

Evangelist shows Christian "the words of God," but he himself sounds like the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (x. 26-39), warning the chosen one not to reject his heritage.

Since Christian's progress is one of recognizing biblical history in himself, Evangelist insists that he look back upon Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, Morality and Mount Sinai to understand, to "read,"

his narrow escape. For Christian, called as he is to the way of Christ, must not be identified with Moses. The Mount threatens to fall on him: "the Hill, it seemed so high . . . that side of it that was next the way side, did hang so much over, that Christian was afraid to venture further, lest the Hill should fall on his head There came also flashes of fire out of the Hill, that made Christian afraid that he should be burned: here therefore he sweat, and did quake for fear" (p. 51) even as Moses, according to "Paul the Apostle," says he quaked at the sight of the terrible mount (Heb. xii. 18-21). Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, whose purpose is to mislead Christian, calls Mount Sinai only "that hill." Christian, although he feels threatened by "that Hill," does not know its identity until Evangelist, using the Pauline metaphors of Sara and Hagar, reveals the forces leading Christian towards spiritual death: "He to whom thou wast sent for ease, being by name Legality, is the son of the bond-woman which now is, and is in bondage with her children, and is in a mystery this Mount Sinai Now if she with her children are in bondage, how canst thou expect by them to be made free?" (p. 54).³⁷ To prove his words to be those of Scripture, Evangelist "called aloud to the Heavens for confirmation of what he had said; and with that there came words and fire out of the mountain under which poor Christian stood, that made the hair of his flesh stand. The words were thus pronounced, As many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them" (p. 55). As Jehovah confirmed His

authorship of the commandments on Moses' tablet by the thunder, lightning, and smoke which caused the Israelites to tremble (Exodus xix), here "came words and fire" which threaten Christian when he stops in this Old Testament place.

In spatial terms, Christian must leave Mount Sinai and enter the gate on the way into the New Testament. Likewise, his identity must change from that of Graceless (associated with Moses, bound to the Law) to that of "Christian." Evangelist tells him "The Lord says, Strive to enter in at the strait gate, the Gate to which I sent thee; for strait is the gate that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. From this little Wicket Gate, and from the way thereto hath this wicked man turned thee, to the bringing of thee almost to destruction" (p. 54). The metaphor, used by Christ (Matt. vii. 13 and Luke xiii. 24), is here a physical fact as it was in the dream of the autobiographer in Grace Abounding. In the "historical" work, the struggle of the "chief of sinners" through the gap in the wall brought about his new birth. Here too, Christian enters through a metaphorical gate; through the Word made thing, he is born into his New Testament inheritance of Grace.

If Christian is reborn through this Gate which is Christ, he is far from sacramental identification with Christ, far from the Book of Revelation where his story can end. Before he can realize such identity with Christ, he must pass through and experience temporary identities with many "passages" of Scripture, both Old and

New Testament. His ignorance of Mount Sinai and of the identity of Mr. Worldly-Wiseman has almost destroyed him by cutting short his journey to revelation. To meet his need for understanding, therefore, the way leads him to the House of the Interpreter where he learns to "read himself" in Scripture, to interpret the identities of its people and places in his way. The Interpreter shows him the divine presence in a series of images, teaches him, in other words, to interpret or "see" the meaning of incarnational metaphors. Each image the Interpreter shows him is a room, a place he must enter in order to identify it as an objectification of his own spiritual state. This process of entering into a spatial metaphor is itself a metaphor for the learning process of the identity quest as a whole; Christian enters into the world of Scripture and into Christ, finding his spiritual identity in both incarnations of the Word. So, in the House of the Interpreter, Christian learns to "read himself" by discovering the Word to be in himself.

The seven rooms which the Interpreter shows Christian, unlike the allegorical figures shown to Christiana and her family in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two, contain landmarks of salvation which prove to be "written" already in the pilgrim's heart, if he would only know how to read them. The Interpreter commands his man to escort him and Christian to the first room with the light of a candle which is, as the marginalia states, "Illumination." There "Christian saw a picture of a very grave person hang up against the wall, and this was

the fashion of it: it had eyes lift up to Heaven, the best of books in its hand, the law of truth was written upon its lips, the world was behind its back; it stood as if it pleaded with men, and a crown of gold did hang over its head" (p. 60). This image is not an allegorical figure, "a picture of Evangelist . . . like a description of the frontispiece of some work of moral exhortation," as Roger Sharrock supposes, while admitting that he has not yet found a specific emblem which "fits the paragraph."³⁸ This room embodies in metaphor its meaning, as the Interpreter explains: "The man whose picture this is is one of a thousand; he can beget children, travail in birth with children, and nurse them himself when they are born" (p. 60). The fostering and informing power of this man indicates that he is a literal image of "what is yet behind," as Paul describes the Logos which the Corinthians could hope to see embodied in things of this world. The Interpreter continues, "whereas thou seest him with his eyes lift up to Heaven . . . it is to show thee that his work is to know, and unfold dark things" (p. 60). The purpose of this image, as of its content, is God's work of revelation, of "opening" the mysteries.

The second image even more obviously reveals the immanence of Grace. The Interpreter took Christian "and led him into a very large parlour that was full of dust, because never swept; the which, after he had reviewed a little while, the Interpreter called for a man to sweep: now when he began to sweep, the dust began so abundantly to fly about, that Christian had almost therewith been choked. Then said

the Interpreter to a damsel that stood by, 'Bring hither water, and sprinkle the room,' which when she had done, was swept and cleansed with pleasure" (p. 61). The metaphor is physically immediate; the Interpreter does not say that this room is like something, but rather, "This parlour is the heart of a man . . . that dust is his original sin and inward corruptions He that began to sweep at first is the Law, but she that brought water, and did sprinkle it, is the Gospel" (p. 61). The setting of this image, as of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One as a whole, is in the physical, actual world.

Christian has entered into the space of an unclean heart as he enters into the way as a whole. The "heart" is nonetheless a manifestation of the Word spoken by Paul in Ephesians iii. 17: "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith." The "heart" itself as a place exists first in Scripture, which is now the place of Christian's progress. In this sense, we see him, once again, confronting a spatial metaphor for a scriptural text, even finding himself "within" his own unclean heart, though he does not yet know it.

The fourth image in the Interpreter's House is a "place where was a fire burning against a wall, and one standing by it always, casting much water upon it to quench it: yet did the fire burn higher and hotter" (p. 64). The Interpreter reveals its metaphorical meaning: "This fire is the work of grace that is wrought in the heart; he that casts water upon it, to extinguish and put it out, is the Devil: but in that thou seest the fire, notwithstanding, burn higher and

hotter, thou shalt also see the reason of that. So he had him about to the backside of the wall, where he saw a man with a vessel of oil in his hand, of the which he did also continually cast, but secretly, into the fire" (p. 64). The Interpreter takes Christian behind the image, further into the room--the movement itself a metaphor for initiation into deeper mysteries--so he can better "see the reason" of its dynamics. The "Christ" present in this image, the man with the oil, is seen immediately to be the source of the believer's sacred heat: "Christ . . . with the oil of his grace maintains the work already begun in the heart" (p. 64). Man's heart, in this image as in the progress as a whole, is the place of the triumph of divine power over demonic.

Christian asks the Interpreter if he may enter the world of the next image, "a stately palace, beautiful to behold . . . upon the top thereof certain persons walked who were clothed all in gold. . . . the Interpreter took him, and led him up toward the door of the palace; and behold, at the door stood a great company of men as desirous to go in, but durst not" (p. 64). The only one who succeeds is a "man of a very stout countenance" (p. 65) who fights his way through the armed men who inflict on those "that would enter what hurt and mischief they could" (p. 65). The people in gold welcome this brave man, "Come in, come in; / Eternal Glory thou shalt win" (p. 65). "Then Christian smiled, and said, 'I think verily I know the meaning of this'" (p. 65). He needs no interpretation of this

fiction, because he has recognized his own story. For the first time, he spies himself in the Word of God as St. Paul's image of the warrior dressed in "the whole armour of God" (Eph. vi. 13-17).

But Christian has had to acquire this power of interpretation. The Interpreter shows him the first two images; each time Christian asks, "What means this?" and the Interpreter has to explain it. Christian, in other words, is not yet well read in God's metaphors. When he is shown the third image, of the two children Passion and Patience, Christian asks a more pointed question, "What is the reason of the discontent of Passion?" And when he sees Passion rejoicing in and then squandering his treasure, he requests more interpretation, "Expound this matter more fully to me." The Interpreter explains that the children are personifications: "these two lads are figures, Passion, of the men of this world, and Patience, of the men of that which is to come; for as here thou seest, Passion will have all now, this year; that is to say, in this world" (p. 62). Now Christian can "see" in the metaphorical dimension where time and place are become one. With new confidence he makes his first act of interpretation: "Now I see that Patience has the best wisdom, and that upon many accounts." To Christian's two points, the more knowledgeable Interpreter adds another and Christian responds with another assertion of his growing vision, "Then I perceive, 'tis not best to covet things that are now, but to wait for things to come," and the Interpreter praises this perception as scriptural truth: "You say the

truth, For the things that are seen, are temporal; but the things that are not seen, are eternal" (p. 63). And the course of Christian's progress is to "see" the "eternal" world in the here and now, to "see" metaphorical truth even in allegorical figures.

Christian, confident that he knows the meaning of the brave man's entrance into the stately palace, does not even articulate this meaning for verification by the Interpreter, much less ask him for meaning in the first place. Christian feels, moreover, that he knows enough to continue on his progress. "'Now,' said Christian, 'let me go hence.' 'Nay, stay,' said the Interpreter, 'till I have showed thee a little more, and after that, thou shalt go on thy way.' So he took him by the hand again, and led him into a very dark room, where there sat a man in an iron cage" (p. 65). The reader, informed by the marginalia, "Despair like an iron cage," sees that Christian's spiritual knowledge is still very limited. Reduced to asking again, "What means this?" Christian is instructed to learn for himself by talking with the man. Christian begins with questions such as "What art thou?" and "But how camest thou in this condition?" (p. 65). Learning that the man has turned from God to the Devil, Christian asks the Interpreter "'But is there no hopes for such a man as this?' 'Ask him,' said the Interpreter" (p. 66). Christian finds out for himself the eternity of this man's despair of repentance. "Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Let this man's misery be remembered by thee, and be an everlasting caution to thee. . . . Tarry till I shall

show thee one thing more, and then thou shalt go on thy way" (p. 67). Christian's overconfidence has been tempered by knowledge of the real dangers in the newly seen "unseen" world.

In the final chamber "there was one a rising out of bed; and as he put on his raiment he shook and trembled" (p. 67). He explains the source of his fear to Christian. This man's spiritual knowledge comes from a dream, an occasion, in Bunyan's terms, of divine revelation. The man tells Christian: "This night as I was in my sleep, I dreamed, and behold the heavens grew exceeding black So I looked up in my dream, and saw the clouds rack at an unusual rate, upon which I heard a great sound of a trumpet, and saw also a man sit upon a cloud I heard then a voice, saying, 'Arise ye dead, and come to judgement,' and with that the rocks rent, the graves opened I heard it also proclaimed to them that attended on the man that sat on the cloud, 'Gather together the tares, the chaff, and stubble, and cast them into the burning lake' It was also said to the same persons 'Gather my wheat into my garner' I was left behind. . . . my sins also came into mind Upon this I awaked" (pp. 67-68). This man's experience of Godhead is one of voice and vision. What is of importance, as Christian indicates by asking, "But what was it that made you so afraid of this sight?" (p. 68), is not the dream but the dreamer's identification with and interpretation of the events of the dream. The man's response shows his identification with Christ's metaphor of the Judgment Day harvest (Matt. xiii. 29-30):

"I thought that the Day of Judgement was come, and that I was not ready for it as I thought, the Judge had always his eye upon me, showing indignation in his countenance" (pp. 68-69).

The Interpreter, knowing that Christian understands the spiritual significance of this dream as well as that of the other metaphorical rooms, asks, "Hast thou considered all these things?" (p. 69).

Christian's answer is not one of theological abstraction but rather a description of his spiritual-emotional responses: "they put me in hope and fear" (p. 69). The Interpreter, satisfied with the growth of Christian's interpretative powers, sends him on his way: "keep all things so in thy mind, that they may be as a goad in thy sides, to prick thee forward in the way thou must go" (p. 69). These rooms, in sequence, constitute for Christian a progress, seen through visual imagery, from the Old Testament into the New. Christian witnesses and learns to recognize his spiritual guide; the futility of the Law which is made obsolete by the efficacy for salvation of the Gospel; the wisdom of patience and the self-destruction of temporal passion; the efforts of the Devil to extinguish grace but the persistent success of Christ in maintaining it; the persistence and vigour necessary for attaining the goal of heaven; the possibility of damnation; and the Day of Judgement. All progressions, then, can be seen as one, the growth through stages of spiritual knowledge which is, at least in part, the understanding or interpretation of the mystery of images.

Christian's experience of the House of the Interpreter, like

the reader's experience of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, is in one sense homiletic. As Bunyan promises the reader in the Apology that his book "will direct thee to the Holy Land,/ If thou wilt its directions understand," so the Interpreter promises Christian: "keep all things so in thy mind, that they may . . . prick thee forward in the way thou must go." And yet the Interpreter, like Bunyan, is no mere teacher in the didactic sense. His images are hieroglyphs; he is himself the magus who commands the invisible world to be seen. Bunyan shows here how an author, creating metaphors which are imagi Dei, becomes a "voyce of God," an "Interpreter," and how the reader, the pilgrim, must learn to "interpret" and thereby literally follow "directions" to the Holy Land.

When he leaves the House of the Interpreter, Christian, attempting to use his new interpretative gift in his life, reverts to worldly modes of understanding and behavior. The next place on his way is the Cross on a hill where his burden falls from his shoulders. The marginal gloss, "When God releases us of our guilt and burden, we are as those that leap for joy" (p. 70), indicates that redemption transforms the chosen into an ahistorical type of Christ, since not only David (II Sam. vi. 16) and the prophets (Luke vi. 22-23) but also the Messiah "cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills" (S of S. ii. 8). Christian does not as yet express any sense of identification with Christ and indeed the events of the Cross show him to be a type in the Augustinian sense of the word, a person similar

to another but with crucial differences: Christ dies on the Cross and thereby saves man; Christian continues, for now, to be saved.

If Christ is not yet truly present, has not yet come to be completely in Christian, the pilgrim is still on Christ's way where he can encounter the Rēal Presence. Calvary is one of the places along the way where the divine presence is most clearly immanent: "behold three Shining Ones came to him, and saluted him, with 'Peace be to thee.' So the first said to him, 'Thy sins be forgiven.' The second stripped him of his rags, and clothed him with change of raiment. The third also set a mark on his forehead, and gave him a roll with a seal upon it, which he bid him look on as he ran, and that he should give it in at the Celestial Gate: so they went their way" (p. 70). At this Calvary, Christian meets "the Shining Ones" who appeared to the disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration and who await every believer who enters literally into the Word. Although Christian behaves more like the medieval Catholic dreamers before the Rood and the Pearl, his author has brought metaphors into his life, not placed him before transcendental symbols,³⁹ and the difference between Christian and these Shining Ones both defines his present status as a type, in the Augustinian sense, and prophesies the eventual transfiguration in his life.

The Valleys of Humiliation and of the Shadow of Death are very much the same place, the same experience. In both, it may be said, Christian's struggle begins the process of entering fully into Christ's

Passion at Golgotha. With David, Christian feels Christ's despair--"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Ps. xxii. 1)--and the comfort of the divine power--"though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil" (Ps. xxiii. 4). Likewise, in the Valley of Humiliation, Apollyon appeals to Christian's despair and pride, the spiritual states which alienate him from God, arguing that many true believers "have been put to shameful deaths!" and that "Thou hast already been unfaithful in thy service to him" (p. 92). The pilgrim's triumph in argument over this devil is his remembrance of Christ's power to overcome such sins: "these infirmities possessed me in thy country . . . and I have obtained pardon of my Prince" (pp. 92-93). Through remembrance, a kind of repetition, Christian escapes the rule of the law, which is Apollyon's country, and again shows his need of Christ's saving power and his desire to reach Christ's country. He does not yet realize that Apollyon's country, and Christ's, are within him.⁴⁰

Although Christian is still a follower of Christ, in his physical battle with Apollyon he becomes, albiet briefly, himself a "voyce of God." He triumphs by making two sword thrusts at the same moment he speaks two scriptural passages which claim the triumph of the godly: "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy! when I fall I shall arise," and "Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us" (p. 94). In the Valley of the Shadow of Death, he likewise "betake[s]" himself to another weapon called All-Prayer: so he cried in my hearing, 'O Lord I beseech thee deliver my Soul'" (p. 97).

The word of David (Ps. cxvi. 4) has the power to recall Christian to the way by causing him to remember the presence of the Spirit in the world. His sword, in both Valleys--because they are the same place--is literally the Word, as Paul explains in Ephesians vi. 17: "the sword of the Spirit . . . is the word of God." The dreamer emphasizes his emerging identity as Christ the Warrior: as Christian puts his Satan behind him, his smile "'twas the dreadfulest sight that ever I saw" (p. 94). When the war between the divine and the demonic forces in Christian is thus concluded after the Valley of Humiliation, he is identified with the new Adam, healing his wounds with leaves from the Tree of Life (pp. 94-95), and enjoying the feeling of triumph denied to Adam and Eve after they entered the world of sin. After the Valley of the Shadow of Death, he is restored to a more easily followed, daylight way, where he recognizes what he has passed: "Now morning being come he looked back . . . to see by the light of day what hazards he had gone through in the dark. . . . also now he saw the hobgoblins, and satyrs, and dragons of the pit . . . they were discovered to him according to that which is written, He discovereth deep things out of darkness, and bringeth out to light the shadow of death" (pp. 98-99). What is revealed, then, is the horizon of another biblical text, once he has emerged out of the dark experience of a prior text.

After this brief sojourn in the redeemed Eden--where the Tree of Life and the Cross become the same place even as Adam becomes

Christ--Christian re-enters his way through the world of the flesh, the ahistorical world of Messianic prophecy where he moves toward his New Testament identity with Christ. But before he progresses out of typological similarity, he lives through still more cycles. He repeats Christ's despair at Golgotha once again when, near the end of his pilgrimage, he wanders into a pit during a stormy night. His companion, Hopeful, knows that this hell is "on purpose there this shall be for our good" (p. 150), but this time divine power does not intervene to save them. When they hear Scripture literally speaking to guide them, "saying, Let thine heart be towards the highway, even the way that thou wentest, turn again" (p. 151), the place is too dark and stormy for them to find the way. They fall into sleep and wake in a deeper pit, the dungeon of Doubting Castle. Their imprisonment by the Giant Despair from Wednesday morning to Saturday night re-enacts the capture, trial, and torture of Christ, and slowly Christian recognizes himself and his surroundings and effects their resurrection from the grave of despair by using the divine power he has had and forgotten. He finds his identity by remembering who he is, and what he has, by recalling a word, a name. Taking out the key "called promise" (p. 156),⁴¹ he opens the door of the dungeon and the gate of the castle and they return over the stile of By-path Meadow to the way. Immediately, they provide for their followers knowledge of the "forbidden ground" they had walked upon: "to prevent those that should come after from falling into the hands of Giant Despair . . .

they consented to erect there a pillar, and to engrave upon the side thereof: Over this stile is the way to Doubting-Castle, which is kept by Giant Despair, who despiseth the King of the Celestial Country, and seeks to destroy his holy pilgrims. Many therefore . . . escaped the danger" (p. 157). Christian is thus the one who goes before other pilgrims, such as Christiana and her family; an incipient Christ, he redeems others by going through the worst trials and by leaving behind him knowledge of their spiritual foes. What began as imitation of Christ at the Cross on the hill and in the two Valleys has become Christian's ritual re-enactment of Christ's Passion and Resurrection; in Doubting Castle, Christian has proven that man, through the Gospel's promise--in fact, through the immanence of the Word in his bosom--can be raised from spiritual death.

By contrast, Vincent Newey, in "Bunyan and the Confines of the Mind," reads this story of Christian at Doubting Castle as "a psychodrama in which emphasis is placed on the individual's ability to live by his own devices."⁴² Religious and theological experiences, for such a critic, are external resources made available to man. Newey does not consider divine power working within Christian; indeed, "Christ . . . has little felt presence . . . the rule 'I am the way' is nowhere given . . . because Bunyan is by no means so preoccupied with it."⁴³ And yet the metaphor is so central to Puritan belief that surely Bunyan did not need to specify it; his readers, seeing the gate and the Cross as the first point of the "strait and narrow" way, would recognize the way as

the process of identification with, and as, Christ. Referring to "the Puritan's distrust of this-worldly ('carnal') perception" and the "emblematic readings of experience that take place at Interpreter's House," Newey finds in Bunyan a "singular fascination with . . . things of this world"⁴⁴ more typical of secular modernity. He argues that there is "a certain anti-religious tendency in the work . . . prophecies of that modernity, of a world without the Divine and without inviolable corporate frameworks of Faith, where each man must self-consciously struggle for stability and a sense of purpose."⁴⁵ Newey's Platonic understanding of Puritan theology and aesthetics thus helps to obscure the means by which the world is revalued in Puritan thinking as the substance of the Word, and the Word is revalued as the continuing embodiment of God in every believer.

The aesthetic and theological centrality of the metaphor, "I am the way," which Newey considers almost irrelevant, is argued by James Turner who defines "Bunyan's Sense of Place" from a number of radical perspectives.⁴⁶ The most useful is his perception of "Two incompatible 'jurisdictions' [which] exist side by side, like matter and anti-matter, antipathetic but identical in structure. The Way is an idealized private estate in which the ragged and down-trodden pilgrim has 'a privileged place' In carnal space the poor pilgrims are hemmed in, their spatial envelopes restricted."⁴⁷ Moreover, Bunyan "never makes use of the concept landscape"; this is a "positive rejection of the carnal rationality which lies behind mapping and surveying,"⁴⁸ a rejection of worldly measurements and concepts of

space. Thus, in Bunyan's setting, "Where is subsumed into what. Puzzling inconsistencies are removed if we thus despatialize the idea of location and movement. . . . Vanity Fair and the City of Destruction are the same place, and progress between them is purely mental; indeed it begins with the realization 'that believing and coming [are] all one.'" ⁴⁹ Finally, although he does not develop this idea, Turner concludes, "Places are the physical manifestations of texts. . . . The battle between Christian and Apollyon was fought with biblical texts." ⁵⁰ What Turner derives from his observations is that "The only real space traversed by pilgrims is the verbal; the only pilgrim's progress which really exists is The Pilgrim's Progress, a progress-into-text"; "'Place' likewise meant the 'stations' or stages of an argument." ⁵¹

The corollary argument of this chapter is rather that the "progress-into-text" is into the Bible, not simply into biblical debates, and that the metaphor of place is better understood in terms not of socio-economic place or of stages in argument or belief but of literal place in the Bible, as suggested by the phrase used by a reader: "I have lost (found) my place." But if, with Turner, "we . . . despatialize the idea of location and movement" and see the Cross on the hill, the Valleys of Humiliation and of the Shadow of Death and Doubting Castle as "the same place," "the progress between them is" indeed clearly spiritual, if not "mental." Christian, in approaching and entering these places (this place), is not progressing but circling around Golgotha; his "progress-into-text," into the

dread place, can be conclusive, can end his cyclic repetition, only when he fully assumes his identity with the Word, when the "total body" is complete within him.

The pilgrim who is his own pilgrimage, the man who anticipates the City of God, is presented in a manner analogous to Donne who likewise correlates man and the place of his spiritual experience:

We thinke that Paradise and Calvarie,
Christs Crosse, and Adams tree, stood in one place;
 looke Lord, and finde both Adams met in me;
 As the first Adams sweat surrounds my face,
 May the last Adams blood my soule embrace. 52

All the places in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, whether literal images of scriptural places or of scriptural metaphors, exist first in Scripture; these places of distant space and time are made present in Christian's experience. And in Bunyan's voicing of the Word, these places "stand in one place," that is, in Christian, as the characters of these places "meet in" him.

Nevertheless the scriptural plot of Bunyan's fiction begins as typological movement in an Augustinian sense. From the fallen world of the City of Destruction, along the journey past places of trial and danger as well as places of guidance and refreshment, to the heaven of the Celestial City, the narrative traces the story of the Bible from the world East of Eden through the wilderness and places of covenant, to Calvary, to the churches of Paul's ministry, to the New Jerusalem of Revelation. The essential fact, however, is that this kind of typology and imitation is a "progress" from partial likeness

to complete identity; thus "progress" implies a series of stages to be passed. The initial landscape in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One of the City of Destruction is evidently an internal state of the protagonist even as it is the externalized history of "Babylon" whose destruction is foretold in Revelation 18. This Babylon is itself a metaphor of evil in two senses: it is a person, "the great prostitute" --"the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth" (Rev. xvii. 18)--and it is a metaphor of the historical Babylon whose corruption and destruction are described by Jeremiah. Christian's immediate recognition of his place in the book he reads at the beginning suggests that the story of Babylonian captivity is at once historical and prophetic, typological and metaphorical. So it is that Bunyan's hero "finds" himself in the Book of Revelation: "our city will be burned with fire from Heaven . . . except . . . some way of escape can be found, whereby we may be delivered" (p. 39).

Christian's discovery of himself in Revelation, the first step in his leaving the City of Destruction and the repetitions of typology, seems madness to the purely temporal understanding of his family and friends; but it is a recognition which makes him conform to type. Beyond this knowledge, however, he is ignorant, in the wilderness, requiring divine guidance. Leaving the City, "he could not tell which way to go" (p. 40) and Evangelist appears to direct him by the use of literal metaphors; he must go to the Gate where he will

be told what he shall do. So, for Christian as a character, there is only one process of self-discovery, one possible story, the discovery that this speaking presence is the Word itself, not words which refer to something beyond themselves, but the Real Presence in which "we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts 17.28). If he must go "from this world to that which is to come," he must proceed from being of the flesh--finding himself repeatedly in typological Babylons--to being of the spirit in the flesh. His role is not to escape this life through death and to await the eternal bliss after Judgment Day, as Augustinian typology would require--but to "die daily," as the Chief of Sinners discovered.⁵³ The old linear progress is thus transformed into the daily round of life, taking place in the very time and place of his life.⁵⁴

There are in Christian's progress, then, as in Grace Abounding, three kinds of death, all of which are met, as one might expect, in terms of place: death into hells of despair; death into prophetic heavens; and the daily death to the flesh which makes possible a "life in heaven while we are on earth." Indeed, the setting of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One consists of these three spatial elements. There are the types of hell--including the Slough of Despond, Mount Sinai, the Hill Difficulty, the Valleys of Humiliation and of the Shadow of Death, Vanity Fair and Doubting Castle--which tempt Christian to leave the way--Christ's presence in the world--to "die" to the hope of salvation, to remain permanently in the despair and pride of

the world of the unchanged flesh. There are also the types of heaven--including the House of the Interpreter, the House Beautiful, the Delectable Mountains--which prefigure the bliss of the Celestial City and encourage Christian to continue on his way. But Christian does not stay long in either kind of place; he moves from one to the other, repeating his typological experience of them. But he always returns from these "deaths" to the way, the third element of place in the book. On it, he is both caught in repetition and freed to progress toward a goal. The end of the way, the Celestial City, fulfils and contains all three spatial elements: it contains hell, the gate of which is on the side of the hill; its more dominant aspect is the heavenly city; and, as the place of Christ (the way of the spirit which is death to the flesh), it has as its entrance the River of Death.

Bunyan's use of the second kind of death (the second element of setting), the places of refreshment and instruction, shows how setting serves as part of his overall structural pattern of repetition and fulfilment. Even as the places of spiritual death, the Babylons and the Golgothas repeat the characteristics traditionally associated with hell (they tend to be low, dark, fiery, threatening), the series of heavens, along with the Celestial City in which they, as types, are fulfilled, are high, joyful, daylight places.⁵⁵ The names of the women of the House Beautiful--Discretion, Prudence, Piety and Charity--suggest their allegorical nature.⁵⁶ Indeed, in their discourse with Christian, they follow the Interpreter's model as, in Chapter III,

the women of the allegorical The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two will be seen to follow Christian's example. The women of this House encourage him, as do most of the spiritual guides he meets along the way, to review his progress, to see God's work in it, his own mistakes, and his spiritual growth. Whereas these women, like the Interpreter, give Christiana and her family a list of didactic aphorisms, they ask Christian a long series of questions which lead him to find spiritual understanding in his own experience. After he sleeps in the chamber Peace, the women show him the "records of greatest antiquity" (p. 86), the histories of chosen people through time, "together with prophecies and predictions of things that have their certain accomplishment, both to the dread and amazement of enemies, and the comfort and solace of pilgrims" (p. 87). Christian can now find the living Word in spiritual biographies and prophecies. The next day they show him physical images of scriptural metaphors, for example, "helmet, breast-plate, All-Prayer" (p. 97), and artifacts, such as Moses' rod, of Old Testament events. Again they need offer no commentary. Finally, the women harness Christian in the armour of Christ and he leaves their House of rest and learning to enter again the struggle of the way through this world. Although Christian is repeating his experience of the House of the Interpreter, in the House Beautiful he shows more understanding of metaphor and more active involvement in his own progress--here, for example, he dons the armour of Christ where before he had witnessed the soldier's actions. He has come closer to being beyond instruction, to being himself a revealer, a warrior.

Christian finds another such place, which is both metonymy and metaphor of the Celestial City, in the Delectable Mountains. After strengthening Christian and Hopeful with food, drink and rest (the needs of the flesh are not excluded in these places of the spirit), the shepherds (divine helpers in scriptural metaphor) demonstrate their allegorical nature in repeating the Interpreter's act of instruction, showing Christian images of scriptural characters and interpreting their meaning. But this instruction is repetitious in content as well as in form: the people seen destroyed by falling from the "Hill called Error" are "for an example to others to take heed . . . how they come too near the brink of this Mountain," which represents the error of "Hymeneus and Philetus, as concerning the faith of the resurrection of the body" (p. 159). The tone of this didactic passage is dispassionately theoretical, lacking the dramatic power of the Interpreter's Rooms. Likewise didactic is the illustration of Mount Caution where men who succumbed to the Giant Despair wander blinded among tombs; the shepherds here do not show the reader what Christian does, but instead warn what could happen, in a hypothetical alternative to the main thread of the narrative.

Nevertheless, in this place, as in the story as a whole, the progress is from typological repetition to incarnation; the didactic instruction becomes metaphorical as the shepherds "had them to another place, in a bottom, where was a door in the side of an hill within it was very dark and smoky; they also thought that they heard

there a lumbering noise as of fire, and a cry of some tormented, and that they smelt the scent of brimstone" (p. 160). This is the same door-way to hell as the one seen in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, a hell which is metaphorical, internal, what Christian thinks he hears, sees, and smells. When he asks, "What means this?" the shepherds do not interpret this vision as an example but rather tell the pilgrims what the place is: "this is a by-way to Hell" (p. 160). This visionary entrance to Hell is seen to be at hand, as are the Gates of Heaven seen in the next vision. The shepherds take them "to the top of an high Hill called Clear, and gave them their glass to look" (p. 161). They do "have skill to look through this glass": although "they could not look steadily through the glass; yet they thought they saw something like the Gate, and also some of the glory of the place" (p. 161). Knowledge, in the homiletic sense of revelation, is vision: "Thus by the shepherds, secrets are revealed, / Which from all other men are kept concealed . . . Things deep, things hid, and that mysterious be" (p. 161). As Christian has now progressed to more certain knowledge of heaven and hell, the setting of his story has moved closer to the Celestial City.

As Christian "sees" more clearly in these places of vision, he approaches the final type of heaven before the Celestial City, the country of Beulah. The Word here is realized in a typological landscape; the sweet air, singing birds, foliage, and animal life need not be interpreted, because the beautiful landscape is so clearly

that of the Song of Solomon. Here the pilgrims are strengthened by contact with the Shining Ones, by food and drink, by voices from the City speaking the Word of Scripture, and by the sight of the City. This repetition of the experience of heaven is so fully that of the Celestial City that it is made heavenly. The only difference is that Christian's stay here is temporary, in historical time, as the second kind of death of the Chief of Sinners is a vision from which he returns to his everyday life. In his time here with Hopeful, Christian is in the world of revelation, the dream-world: "they talked more in their sleep at this time . . . the gardener said . . . 'It is the nature of the fruit of the grapes of these vineyards . . . to cause the lips of them that are asleep to speak'" (p. 197); the place (the vision) has the power to make mortal man a "voyce of God." They continually hear loud voices from the City speaking scriptural promises of salvation. But, despite what they see, hear, and temporarily become, because they are still mortal, "they could not, as yet, with open face behold [the City] but through an instrument made for that purpose" (p. 197).

Final scriptural vision is made possible only by passage through the River of Death. The Shining Ones tell the pilgrims "you must obtain [entrance to the City] by your own faith" (p. 197), the trial of which is a place where they can sink into Hell by losing their way. Christian sinks into the darkness of fear, identifying with the dying Moses: "the sorrows of death have compassed me about, I shall not

see the land that flows with milk and honey" (p. 198). He is, temporarily, back in the first kind of death, and able to see and hear Christ again only by remembering His saving strength: "Oh I see him again! And he tells me, When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee" (p. 199). Repetition of the Word (Isa. xliii. 2) for the last time makes possible his progress. Although Christian is still being saved, still repeating a scriptural experience, he is the one who steps through the River and finally dies, thereby ending the first two kinds of death--he has overcome the first and, being in heavenly bliss, has fully entered the second. Now he completes the third, the way of daily death to the flesh which began at the Gate of rebirth into the spirit-in-the-flesh.

After Christian's Death we are left to view his Ascension of the Hill of the Celestial City: "now were these two men, as 'twere, in Heaven, before they came at it; being swallowed up with the sight of angels, and with hearing of their melodious notes. Here also they had the City itself in view, and they thought they heard all the bells therein to ring, to welcome them thereto" (p. 202). The Celestial City fulfils all the types of good places where Christian and Hopeful were "in Heaven, before they came at it" in that it exists after the end of the character's "history"; the angels promise: "you shall see the Tree of Life, and eat of the never-fading fruits thereof; and when you come there you shall have white robes given you, and your walk and talk shall be every day with the King" (p. 200). The pilgrims' identities

merge finally and totally with the Son of God's as they become themselves "clothed with glory and majesty" (p. 201), sharing with the King in the judgment of sinners and the Second Coming. Whereas before they had contained in themselves the mixed identities of scriptural figures, they now are become one with the Resurrected Word; they are now in one place rather than moving among three places. In keeping with Paul's promise, they behold "with open face . . . the glory of the Lord" when they "are changed into the same image"; the pilgrims become one with Christ, the metaphorical character of Incarnation, by entering into the spatial image of Incarnation, the City. The two "men," who are no longer called by the names Christian and Hopeful, have become the Word, singing the song of praise of all beings in the end time in the place of the Word where the Gate is covered with the written Word and the King's instruction that it be opened is the spoken Word. Character and setting are equally and fully metaphorical.⁵⁷ Christian's progress is complete inasmuch as Christ now lives totally in him; and the "total body is complete within" him.

An end to a plot presupposes direction in it. And Christian's way, which seems at first glance to have consisted of the repetition of experiences concluded by death, has, as argued above, been linear all along in that the constant factor between the places of despair and bliss is the "strait and narrow" way. The Celestial City is both the end of the way and the same place as the way. Indeed, the end has all along been present in the way, a term which itself suggests movement directed to an end. On it are divine and demonic characters and

places, and revelation of both holy mysteries and "deep things out of darkness." It is the growth of Christian's ability to recognize his presence in the Word which distinguishes the way from the Celestial City, the development of the plot from the conclusion where the Word is at last Total Presence. To extend this perception of the presence of the end of the plot in its development, Bunyan's style can be seen as one of metaphor within metonymy, the aesthetic equivalent of the spirit within the flesh.

This explanation of the apparent paradox of Christian's progress through repetition aids understanding of Bunyan's achronological presentation of Old and New Testament metaphors. Because the story records Christian's growth from being the first Adam to being the last, the narrative should, one would expect, follow closely the sequence of events, people and places of the Bible. And, while it does, in overall terms, such typological imitation is overcome by the author as mechanical repetition is overcome by the character. In this light, it is appropriate that Bunyan does not simply begin his book in Genesis and end it in Revelation; he begins it in both--the old Adam in a metaphorical Babylon--and ends it in both--the new Adam in the new Jerusalem. And although Christian is in the way of Christ after he enters at the wicket gate, many of the places in the New Testament landscape are, like Vanity Fair, Old Testament metaphors. For, as the Chief of Sinners who, while called to Christ, still identifies with Esau's denial of his birthright, Christian is part of both Testaments; the very presence of temptations along the way of Christ proves this fact.

Christian is securely in Christ only after he has left "this world." So, after Vanity Fair, he meets the temptations of Lot's Wife and the hill called Lucre, Old and New Testament metaphors (Gen. xix. 26 and Tit. i. 7-11) which appeal equally to the pilgrim's attachment to things of the flesh. Similarly, when Christian and Hopeful reach "a pleasant river, which David the King called the River of God; but, John, The River of the Water of Life" (p. 148), the river of Ps. i. 3 really is an incarnational metaphor of Rev. xxii. 1. Both places are potentially one in that they give life to the pilgrims: "the water of the River . . . was pleasant and enlivening to their weary spirits" (p. 148). Bunyan's use of Scripture is almost always typological in the incarnational sense; the New Testament is in the Old, as metaphor can be in metonymy.

Likewise, Christ has been in Christian all along the way. After passing through the Gate, Christian attempts to teach Simple, Sloth and Presumption, offering to free them from their iron fetters, as he has been freed from his burden. But he lacks Christ's power to save them and these men turn from him to sleep. Then he meets and questions Formalist and Hypocrisy, this time using his knowledge of the way: "Why came you not in at the Gate which standeth at the beginning of the way? Know you not that it is written that, He that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber" (p. 71). He easily recognizes and rejects their error whereas, when Worldly-Wiseman had proposed the like justification of "laws and ordinances" (p. 73), Christian had, at that point, been misled. Know-

ledge of the way transforms his imitation of Christ, seen in the conversation with Simple, Sloth and Presumption, into a temporary identity. When Formalist and Hypocrisy reject his words, their fate is determined; they take the ways of Danger and Destruction, where one "stumbled and fell, and rose no more" (p. 74)--the fate of the other is presumably the same.

Christian's presence in the way is most secure, free from places of despair, along the extended passages, near the end of the progress, in which he uses Christ's power to recognize other pilgrims' spiritual conditions, in other words, to tell their stories. He uses his knowledge of typology to correctly name Demas: "I know you, Gehazi was your great grandfather and Judas your father, and you have trod their steps" (p. 145). Seeing Turn-away from the town of Apostacy carried by seven devils into a door in the side of a hill, Christian remembers, and tells to Hopeful, the story of the pilgrim Little-faith, using Christ's vehicle of instruction, the parable. The questions of the less knowledgeable Hopeful--why, he asks, did the beleaguered Little-faith not sell his jewels?--frustrate Christian into the kind of anger Christ (in Mat. vi. 30, for example) displays to his disciples: "Thou talkest like one upon whose head is the shell" (p. 166). If Christ is clearly in Christian at this point, and Christian securely in the way, he has nonetheless had to emerge from the condition of Little-faith; his knowledge of this pilgrim's experience derives from his own experience. Hopeful thinks that Little-faith could have fought his assaulters more bravely, but Christian

knows that the ability to fight a devil is a power unknown until the trial is experienced: "I myself have been engaged as this Little-faith was, and I found it a terrible thing. . . . no man can tell what in that combat attends us but he that hath been in the battle himself" (pp. 168-69).

Christ's humility is seen in Christian's deprecation of his own spiritual status--he is a footman where David and Peter are God's champions--to admonish and encourage Hopeful: "for such footmen as thee and I are, let us never desire to meet with an enemy, nor vaunt as if we could do better" (p. 170). Christian is most clearly identified with Christ when he erects the pillar explaining the dangers of By-Path Meadow in order to save the pilgrims who are his followers. But when Christian and Hopeful cannot identify their own enemies, such as the Flatterers, they are led from the way into a snare and become ignorant pilgrims lost in the wilderness. Recognition of the Flatterers is both knowledge of the place to which they have been misled, and the first step on their return to their own way to identity: "the white robe fell off the black man's back: they they saw where they were" (p. 172). It is no coincidence that, in this book of the knowledge of Christ, the man whose damnation is most thoroughly studied is Ignorance. Christian's defeat of Ignorance furthers his ability to recognize Christ in himself and to work out his own salvation in the manner meant by Paul who wrote, "For it is God which worketh in you" (Phil. ii. 12-13).

One must not conclude, however, that the way of each successful pilgrim is exactly like Christian's. He is not an Ideal type, in the Platonic sense, but an individual whose particular sins, pride and despair determine the trials he has to undergo. The differences between his pilgrimage and those of Faithful and Hopeful demonstrate how each pilgrim progresses through and overcomes his own weaknesses and ignorance. The one Christ is still discovered in the great variety of temporal individuals; progress along the "strait and narrow" way is, in this sense as well, anything but repetitious. Each pilgrim walks into the different chapters of scriptural landscape necessary to his salvation; thus the events of each story differ even though the direction or purpose of all progress is identification of friends and enemies, and ultimately, of oneself. Examination of the subplots of Faithful's and Hopeful's pilgrimages should help to expand and conclude this discussion of Bunyan's incarnational method of characterization.

Faithful begins from the City of Destruction but reaches the Celestial City before Christian; his River of Death is Vanity Fair. He is more willing to "see" than is Christian, more faithful. Thus the lions before House Beautiful are sleeping in the noon sun as he passes them unthreatened. His journey through the Valley of the Shadow of Death is equally easy, sun-filled, because he is strong against fear. Nor does he need to learn how to interpret signs which lead to spiritual knowledge; he passes by the House of the

Interpreter and the House Beautiful without entering them.

But Faithful is more susceptible to sensual temptations than is Christian. Thus, as he says, "I escaped the Slough that I perceive you fell into, and got up to the Gate without that danger; only I met with one whose name was Wanton what a flattering tongue she had; she lay at me hard to turn aside with her, promising me all manner of content all carnal and fleshly content. . . . I remembered an old writing that I had seen which saith, Her steps take hold of Hell. So I shut mine eyes, because I would not be bewitched with her looks: then . . . I went my way (pp. 103-04). Faithful, finding himself in Proverbs v. 5, thus encounters literal beings from the Bible, beings who do not enter Christian's pilgrimage because Christian has not entered the same parts of the Word.

Faithful's next impediment, an old man he meets before the Hill Difficulty, is St. Paul's written metaphor made literally present: "He said his name was 'Adam the First; and I dwell in the town of Deceit.' . . . He told me, That his work was many delights and his wages, that I should be his heir at last. . . . he said, that he had but three daughters, The Lust of the Flesh, The Lust of the Eyes, and The Pride of Life, and that I should marry them all if I would" (p. 104). Faithful is freed from Old Adam by a part of the Word revealed as Flesh. For Old Adam has the mark of the Beast (Rev. xiii. 17) written into his forehead as a warning: "looking in his forehead as I talked with him I saw there written, 'Put off the old man with his deeds'

Then it came burning hot into my mind . . . he would sell me for a slave" (pp. 104-05). As he turns from the vision of the harlot Wanton, so he rejects the old Adam's demonic voice: "I bid him forbear to talk . . . he reviled me, and told me that he would send such a one after me, that should make my way bitter to my soul" (p. 105). But escape is not easy from this very physical presence: "I felt him take hold of my flesh, and give me such a deadly twitch back that I thought he had pulled part of me after himself" (p. 105).

Because he has lost "part of" himself to the Old Adam, Faithful is subject to the pursuer who, like Apollyon, is both argument and struggle: "he was but a word and a blow: for down he knocked me and laid me for dead. . . . I asked him wherefore he served me so. He said, 'Because of my secret inclining to Adam the First'; and with that he struck me another deadly blow . . . so I lay at his foot as dead as before. . . . he said, 'I know not how to show mercy' He had doubtless made an end of me, but that one came by and bid him forbear. . . . I did not know him at first, but as he went by, I perceived the holes in his hands, and his side . . . he was our Lord" (p. 105). Christian is able to interpret this struggle: "That man that overtook you was Moses, he spareth none, neither knoweth he how to show mercy to those that transgress his law" (p. 106). Moses is no abstraction of language,⁵⁸ but a judge ready to collect his due. He is not a creature of local time and space, locked into an historical account, but is somebody met with physically in the act of reading,

of journeying through the Word. Faithful, through his battle with this Moses, whose character is affected by what St. Paul has had to say after the time of Moses about the Law, discovers quite forcibly who he is, even as he discovers the Word, his Savior, in the story he is "reading" of himself.

Faithful confirms his identity and ends his progress in the place of temptation to his temporal self, Vanity Fair. Evangelist appears to give Christian and Faithful the spiritual guidance, the knowledge of identity, necessary for the great trial in Vanity Fair: "The crown is before you . . . so run that you may obtain it. . . . one or both of you must seal the testimony which you hold, with blood: but be you faithful unto death, and the King will give you a crown of life" (p. 124, emphasis mine). Evangelist's words foretell the identity of the one who will have to die, and so confirm Faithful in his role as martyr. The Evangelist offers old words (Rev. ii. 10) in a new situation; Faithful is encouraged to be who he is, to remain true to his identity as revealed in the Word. The pilgrims are tortured, Faithful is burned at the stake, and Christian is imprisoned. But the power of the Word prevails: "there stood behind the multitude a chariot and a couple of horses, waiting for Faithful, who . . . was taken up into it, and straightway was carried up through the clouds, with sound of trumpet, the nearest way to the Celestial Gate" (p. 134).

For in his martyrdom Faithful is become Elijah the prophet, taken up in fire, leaving behind his successor, Elisha (II Kings ii. 11). And as Elisha assumes Elijah's role as prophet to Israel, so the chosen Christian, delivered from prison by him "that over-rules all things, having the power of their rage in his own hand, so wrought it about that Christian for that time escaped them, and went his way. . . . Christian went not forth alone, for . . . Hopeful (being made so by the beholding of Christian and Faithful in their words and behaviour, in their sufferings at the Fair) . . . joined himself unto him . . . entering into a brotherly covenant. . . . Thus one died to make testimony to the truth, and another rises out of his ashes to be a companion with Christian" (p. 135). The pilgrims Faithful and Hopeful, then, are seen to be themselves types of Christ through the pagan metaphor of the phoenix, early felt to be a type of Christ's resurrection.

Like Faithful, Hopeful is also a pilgrim distinct from Christian. Henri Talon, who reads The Pilgrim's Progress as a conscious, controlled work, argues: "Hopeful was introduced into the allegory only so as to enliven the dialogue and personify a Christian virtue."⁵⁹ But his role is not mechanical. He tells of his old love of the pleasures of this world, his "ignorant" resistance to the first signs of "the work of God upon" him (p. 177), and his misguided attempts at salvation through moral "reformations" (p. 179). Faithful "told him the way to be saved" (p. 180); Hopeful must wait for God to reveal himself to him. This revelation is the knowledge that he is chosen to progress to salvation and, typically, it is revealed in vision and voice, image and word, to Hopeful's spiritual, dream-like perception: "I did not see him with my bodily eyes, but with the eyes of mine understanding I saw the Lord

Jesus look down from Heaven upon me, and saying, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' But I replied, 'Lord, I am a great, a very great sinner'; and he answered, 'My grace is sufficient for thee'" (p. 182). This revelation repeats St. Paul's experience in II Corinthians xii. 9. It also repeats Bunyan's own experience, as told in Grace Abounding. This is, for Bunyan, the essential event, the true revelation, in whatever metaphor it is embodied. The Word speaks. But ultimately the Word is Christ Himself, speaking in the experience of the believer. Christian recognizes this significance: "This was a revelation of Christ to your soul indeed: but tell me particularly what effect this had upon your spirit?" (p. 183). Hopeful responds that the revelation did have the power to change his knowledge, his perception: "It made me see that all the world . . . is in a state of condemnation . . . that God the Father . . . can justify the coming sinner. . . . It made me love a holy life" (p. 183).

The man who does not understand this continuing Incarnation of the Word in believers' lives is Ignorance, who had entered the way by a crooked lane from his country, Conceit. Christian knows at once the error of Ignorance: "thou camest not in at the Wicket Gate . . . thou wilt have laid to thy charge that thou art a thief" (p. 162). Hopeful agrees, "God saith those that no understanding have . . . them he will not save" (p. 163). Ignorance, in response to Christian's questioning him on the basis of his faith, can only reply, "My heart

tells me" (p. 185) that he is on the way to Heaven, and argue his good thoughts and good works. Christian, sensing that Incarnation--progressive becoming of the Word--not individualism, is the way to be restored to the image of God, attacks his folly as that of a person "in a natural condition" (p. 186). Ignorance argues: "Would you have us trust to what Christ in his own person has done with us? This conceit would loosen the reins of our lust . . . for what matter how we live if we may be justified by Christ's personal righteousness from all" (p. 188). This reasoning, which the Established Church used to attack the Puritans, and which was parodied much later by James Hogg in his Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, is a denial of everything which Christian has become. As such, it points up not only doctrinal differences between the Party of Faith and the Party of Works, but also philosophical differences about language--what one understands by the Word as a work.

Christian's reply is thus akin to Christ's recognition of Satan in the wilderness: "Ignorance is thy name, and as thy name is, so art thou Ignorant thou art of what justifying righteousness is" (p. 188). Ignorance turns his back on the pilgrims, demonstrating the essential truth of his name by showing how he cannot recognize divine language, as he says to Hopeful: "You are a man for revelations! I believe that what both you, and all the rest of you say, about that matter, is but the fruit of distracted brains" (p. 189). Because he has not himself seen the revealed Word, he is cut off from knowledge,

condemned to 'natural' ignorance, as Hopeful explains: "Christ is so hid in God from the natural apprehensions of all flesh, that he cannot by any man be savingly known, unless God the Father reveals him" (p. 189).⁶⁰ Thus Bunyan conclusively demonstrates the doctrine of continuing Incarnation--not only in the Word, but more clearly in this conception of a pilgrimage into the Word.

That Ignorance is Hopeful's natural self is confirmed in the pilgrims' response to his departure from the way. On Hopeful's suggestion, he and Christian continue to discuss man's natural condition of ignorance after the departure of Ignorance from the way because meditation on ignorance, like the discussion with Ignorance, is a form of self-understanding; Hopeful says, "I know something of this myself; for before I knew myself [ignorance] was so with me" (p. 192). Hopeful has overcome his particular weakness, ignorance, and thus ends his progress, while Ignorance is sent through the door to Hell before the Gate of the Celestial City.⁶¹

The regenerative power of Hopeful's knowledge is proven in his passage with Christian through the River of Death. He can feel the bottom of the River while Christian "began to despond in his mind" (p. 198), to repeat all the sins he has been tempted by from the Slough of Despond through the Valley of the Shadow of Death and Doubting Castle: "Hopeful therefore here had much ado to keep his brother's head above water . . . saying, 'Brother, I see the Gate, and men standing by it to receive us.' But Christian would answer, 'Tis

you . . . they wait for, you have been Hopeful ever since I knew you" (p. 199). Hopeful's spiritual understanding, which is his identity, rescues Christian: "These troubles . . . are sent to try you whether you will call to mind . . . his goodness, and live upon him in your distresses.' . . . And with that, Christian brake out with a loud voice, 'Oh I see him again! And he tells me . . . I will be with thee'" (p. 199). Through the knowledge of Hopeful, the final revelation of Christ triumphs in Christian.

Because Christian is rescued by Hopeful, one might conclude, with a number of critics,⁶² that the latter is not a character in his own right but rather a projection of part of Christian's personality. Likewise, Faithful is, in one sense, Christian's faithfulness. When he decides to join Faithful on the way, "he quickly got up with Faithful, and did also over-run him Then did Christian vaingloriously smile . . . but not taking good heed to his feet, he suddenly stumbled and fell, and could not rise again, until Faithful came up to help him" (p. 101). Through incidents of this sort, Faithful seems to define Christian's progress on an allegorical level. Thus too, his first words to Christian are: "I had thought, dear friend, to have had your company quite from our town, but you did get the start of me" (p. 101). Christian had left the City of Destruction with little faith; only now does he have this first of the three most important Christian qualities

defined by Paul. His next companion, accordingly, is Hopeful and in entering the Celestial City his apotheosis is into the condition of divine Love. Neither this allegorical reading nor the psychological interpretation of the critics need contradict the argument that Faithful and Hopeful are pilgrims distinctive from Christian; the functions of these characters, it must be realized, vary from one part of the book to another.

The inconsistency in the characterization of these two pilgrims is not unique in the book as a whole. While the narrative is predominantly incarnational in its characterization, theme, plot and imagery, The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One does contain some characters and passages which are primarily allegorical, though they embody as much life as they are given in the Scriptures themselves. Talkative, for example, is a walking word, a proverb met with in I Corinthians iv. 20: "This man . . . will beguile with this tongue of his twenty of them that know him not. . . . notwithstanding his fine tongue, he is but a sorry fellow. . . . Remember the proverb, They say and do not: But the Kingdom of God is not in word, but in power. . . . His house is as empty of religion, as the white of an egg is of savour. . . . His poor family finds it so, he is such a churl, such a railer" (pp. 113-14). Faithful summarizes the usefulness of Talkative's example: "I see that saying and doing are two things, and hereafter I shall better observe this distinction" (p. 115). And Christian agrees: "as the body without the soul is but a dead carcass; so,

saying, if it be alone, is but a dead carcass also. The soul of religion is the practic part" (p. 115).

The aesthetic equivalent of this Puritan doctrine is that the spiritual power in some literary words, or works, gives them the power of revelatory action. Christian uses St. Paul's argument to illustrate the absence of power in Talkative's discourse, which represents worldly instruction: "sounding brass, and tinkling cymbals . . . Things without life, giving sound. . . . that is, without the true faith and grace of the Gospel" (p. 116). Only the voice of God has the power to teach; other discourse is essentially lifeless.⁶³ Ironically, incarnational doctrine and aesthetics are here only talked about, explained; this passage and the character of Talkative are didactic, theoretical, not informed with the living Word. So, too, Christian and Faithful succeed in embarrassing their pedantic companion by arguing incarnational theory. Christian proposes that they should "enter into some serious discourse about the power of religion; and ask him plainly . . . whether this thing be set up in his heart" (p. 116, emphasis mine), in order to prove that his discourse is conscious doctrine rather than the indwelling action of the Spirit.⁶⁴ Faithful distinguishes between Talkative's "Knowledge that resteth in the bare speculation of things, and knowledge that is accompanied with the grace of faith and love, which puts a man upon doing even the will of God from the heart" (p. 118, emphasis mine). Christian and Faithful have simply outtalked Talkative.

The dialogue with Talkative is one of the passages in the second half of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One in which the reader learns doctrine as a church member rather than experiencing the god in himself through revelations of the trials and triumphs of the word made Word. Talkative is not demonic but proverbial; unlike Apollyon and Worldly-Wiseman, he has no power to tempt Christian from his way. Christian's experience of Talkative has the secure, confident tone of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two. Talkative is nonetheless a creature of Scripture, for all his social transparency. It is perhaps this allegorical quality which makes him a comic antagonist, for he is so readily recognized. The positive quest for identity upon which Christian has embarked is made easy for once by someone (unlike the powerful characters whose concealed identities Christian must struggle to interpret) who is characterized so negatively.

The earlier Vanity Fair section is likewise one which includes didactic simplicity, but without the dramatic urgency of the identity quest. The leaders of this city are known only as allegorical figures. But then the list of contrived names of the jurymen, including "Mr Blind-man, Mr No-good, Mr Malice, Mr Love-lust, Mr Live-loose (p. 133),⁶⁵ and the mechanical language of the trial, typical of the allegorical mode, give way to metaphors describing the wonders of the power of Beelzebub, felt in the torture of the pilgrims, and of God who carries Faithful up from the flames and leaves Hopeful to rise out of his ashes.

Many of the allegorical characters whom Christian meets are not spiriti loci but rather false pilgrims. His discussions with By-ends,⁶⁶ Mr Hold-the-world, Mr Money-love, and Mr Save-all are repetitious and aphoristic. The error of Atheist is comically obvious in his tautology; denying the existence of the Celestial City, he asserts: "There is no such place as you dream of in all this world" (p. 174). His name, moreover, reinforces the impossibility of his discovery of the City of God. Christian easily passes by Atheist and meets the much greater "danger of death" of the Enchanted Ground. This place, and its characters, embody the demonic power of which Atheist is a pale repetition. Where the discourse of Christian and Hopeful in the Enchanted Ground has the power to save them (p. 176), the repetition of known homilies has no effect on the pilgrims; it seems directed, as a kind of catechism, to the reader as something he should learn by rote. At most, allegorical characters serve as reminders to the pilgrims, as Hopeful concludes after seeing Lot's wife, now a Pillar of Salt: "she may be to us both caution, and example; caution that we should shun her sin, or a sign of what judgement will overtake such as shall not be prevented by this caution" (p. 147).

It must not be concluded that all discourses between Christian and his companions are didactic. As the discussion of Ignorance is an active means of self-discovery for Christian and Hopeful, and the dialogue in the Enchanted Ground has saving power, so the discussion about Pliable works as a kind of meditation. Faithful begins by

reporting the fate of Pliable after his turning from the Slough of Despond: "He hath since his going back been had greatly in derision they say, 'Hang him; he is a turn-coat, he was not true to his profession.' I think God has stirred up even his enemies to hiss at him and make him a proverb, because he hath forsaken the way (p. 102). Pliable here is one of the many minor characters who demonstrate the power of the force of identification through incarnation of Word in man: "God [made] him a proverb." Christian, like Faithful, can see this Providential work: "he will perish in the overthrow of the City, for it is happened to him according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his vomit again" (pp. 102-03), and Faithful agrees, "who can hinder that which will be?" (p. 103). From the "occasion" of Pliable's story Christian and Faithful see "emerge" the Work of God. That their extemporal meditation, to use Joseph Hall's terms as well as Donne's, is a metaphorical place, as it is an "occasion" or event in time--an indication of the spiritual level of the discussion--is seen in Christian's proposal that they move on in their dialogue: "let us leave him, and talk of things that more immediately concern ourselves. Tell me now, what you have met with in the way as you came" (p. 103). They "leave" one discourse and progress to another.

If some passages of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One introduce didactic exempla, the structure of the book, its major characters, its use of setting and its imagery fulfill the quest for identity of the chosen man through the conflict of divine and demonic powers. It is as

if Bunyan, the "voyce of God," falls out of his inspired mode into human repetition of Scripture and platitudinous discussion of the holy. He cannot stay in the sacred mode but must return to the profane, as Christian repeatedly leaves the prophetic heavens and returns to the repetitious mistakes of his way. Nevertheless, as Christian's way is, on the whole, linear, inspired, the Word of Scripture, the book as a whole is incarnational.

Still another "voyce of God" is left to reenter the world of profane description. After his inspired witnessing of the way, the dreamer returns to the world he left at the beginning of his story. That the book begins and ends with explanation of its narrative structure, the dream-vision, substantiates this Protestant insistence on salvation as man's literal drama--his presence in the language of the Story. When Christian enters the Celestial City and stays there--he presents his certificate of election and the King commands the Gate to be opened so that Christian, transfigured by shining raiment and given a harp and crown, can pass out of the dreamer's sight--the focus of the story is finally the dreamer and his story of a story. Attention is drawn to the dreamer, who now stands in relation to Christian as the pilgrim earlier had gazed at and listened to his spiritual guides, by the repetition of phrases such as "I saw in my dream that . . . " and "I heard in my dream that . . . " (p. 203). His awe, conveyed by exclamations such as "Lo," turns his report into a song of praise. The rhetoric is that of the Apocalypse itself,

though seen through a glass clearly: "I looked in after them; and behold, the City shone like the sun, the streets also were paved with gold, and in them walked many men with crowns on their heads There were also of them that had wings, and they answered one another without intermission, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord. And after that, they shut up the Gates: which when I had seen, I wished myself among them" (p. 204).

The tone of this elegy is of longing which becomes sadness that the Gates are shut to the dreamer. He tells how "I was gazing upon all these things, I turned my head to look back and saw Ignorance come up to the River" (p. 204). His vision is over, and he sees again the mortal world which contains the ongoing drama of the way, the Shining Ones, "natural" Ignorance, and hell. "So I awoke, and behold it was a dream" (p. 205). The dreamer must not only awake from his dream-vision; he must also return to the trials of the flesh and the devil, to set out after Christian in his own encounter with the landscape of the Word. But Chapter III, in analyzing this voice of the dreamer, will seek to explain why The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two should return Bunyan to the aesthetics of allegory and to the world of the profane word.

Notes to Chapter Two

¹John Bunyan, Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, ed. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

²William Perkins, The Arte of Prophecyng, in Workes, trans. Thomas Tuke, 3 vols. (London, 1612-1613), II, 646, in Barbara Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 219.

³John Donne, Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, in The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne, ed. Charles M. Coffin (New York: Random House, 1952), p. 446.

⁴St. Thomas Aquinas, Theological Texts, ed. and trans. Thomas Gilby (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 17.

⁵T. H. L. Parker, Calvin's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1969), pp. 48-49.

⁶Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (Toronto: Academic Press Canada, 1982), pp. 100-01.

⁷Frye, p. 100.

⁸William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism, (1938; rpt. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), particularly Chapter III, "The Calling of the Saints."

⁹John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford L. Battles (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), I, 64.

¹⁰John Bunyan, "The Water of Life," in The Entire Works of John Bunyan, ed. Henry Stebbing, (Toronto: Virtue, Yorston & Co., n.d.), III, 216.

¹¹Martin Luther, The Bondage of the Will, in Luther's Works, ed. Philip S. Watson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), XXXIII, 89-91.

¹²"Life," in Thomas Taylor, The works of that faithful servant of Jesus Christ, Dr. Thom Taylor, 1653, quoted in Haller, p. 148.

¹³Thanckful Owen and James Barron, "Preface to the Reader," in Thomas Goodwin, Works, I, quoted in Haller, p. 89.

¹⁴John Downname, Christian Warfare, 1609, quoted in Haller, p. 89.

¹⁵Downname, in Haller, p. 89.

¹⁶John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress, Parts One and Two, ed. Roger Sharrock (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1965), p. 288.

¹⁷John Bunyan, "The Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love," in Works, IV, 85.

¹⁸John Bunyan, "Light for them that sit in darkness; or A Discourse of Jesus Christ," in Works, III, 141.

¹⁹Calvin, Institutes, I, 54.

²⁰Martin Luther, "Sermons on the Gospel of St. John, Chapters 1-4," in Luther's Works, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957), XXII, 473.

²¹Donne, Devotions, p. 446.

²²Joan Webber, The Eloquent "I": Style and Self in Seventeenth-Century Prose (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 48.

²³Webber, p. 34.

²⁴Webber, p. 45.

²⁵Webber, p. 41.

²⁶Webber, p. 34.

²⁷Webber, p. 28.

²⁸Webber, p. 37.

²⁹Frye, p. 6.

³⁰Frye, p. 23.

³¹Frye, p. 6.

³²Frye, p. 22.

³³Gordon Campbell, in "The Theology of The Pilgrim's Progress," in The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views, ed. Vincent Newey (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1980), pp. 251-62, accepts the aesthetic validity of Bunyan's claim that his words hold the truth as cabinets enclose gold: "That the words of a fiction represent a truth that is somehow distinct from the words is yet another commonplace" (p. 254) of Bunyan's contemporaries. In fact, Campbell argues, The

Pilgrim's Progress does not embody Puritan theology: "Speaking as a theologian, therefore, Bunyan insists that escape from the fires of hell is not a proper or sufficient motive for a man to come to Christ; writing an imaginative tale, he portrays quite the opposite. . . . And as Christian's experience changes, so does the theology by which he lives: the final episodes . . . show that the fear of hell has been almost completely obliterated by the prospect of the delights of heaven" (pp. 255-56). By overestimating Christian's fear and underestimating the role of his Book in calling him to the Way, Campbell thus distorts the Puritan theology informing the story. Another misreading of the text occurs in his argument that "one can see a characteristic sectarian feature in his distrust of theoretical discussions of theology. The only good systematic theologian in The Pilgrim's Progress is Talkative, who is condemned" (p. 258).

³⁴For David Mills, in "The Dreams of Bunyan and Langland," in Newey, pp. 154-81, the dream framework establishes "succeeding planes of reference whose connections are never made explicit." An "identification with Bunyan is suggested initially in the margin-gloss which identifies the den in which the dreamer seeks refuge with the gaol in which Bunyan was imprisoned. The reader is thus required to acknowledge . . . a link . . . without being able sharply to distinguish biography from . . . invention" (p. 179). He also argues that allegory limits interpretation, while the dream narration opens up subtleties, and thus the use of both creates a "contradictory form" (p. 155). But The Pilgrim's Progress is not a simple allegory, and the identification of the dreamer with Bunyan is not at issue, beyond the one similarity of den and gaol.

³⁵Nick Shrimpton, in "Bunyan's Military Metaphor," in Newey, pp. 205-24, also notes the Puritan metaphor of the "contest between the New Adam of the spirit and the Old Adam of the flesh" (p. 218). But his argument as a whole is questionable. He holds that the Puritan metaphor of pilgrimage, which suggests movement, is incompatible with

the static doctrine of election which is represented by the military metaphor. Moreover, "the dominant image of the book changes. Up to the moment of conversion, the shedding of the burden of sin at the foot of the Cross . . . Christian is indeed a pilgrim and his experiences can correctly be understood as a progressive linear sequence. . . . after the conversion, however, Christian becomes something else. In the House Beautiful he is armed. Henceforth he will be the Christian warrior, whose unprogressive and incessant struggles will be symbolized by the unpredictable wanderings of the questing knight" (p. 219). Shrimpton ignores the fact, central to both The Pilgrim's Progress and Calvinist doctrine, that election occurs before conversion. Christian struggles with the Old Adam before reaching the Cross. And, as the title and the events of the book indicate, Christian remains a pilgrim until he has finished his progress to the Celestial City.

³⁶Brian S. Hammond, in "The Pilgrim's Progress: Satire and Social Comment," in Newey, pp. 118-31, finds two main techniques of satire. Some characters, such as Worldly-Wiseman, are satirized by their distinctive falsity and pretension of speech: "He speaks . . . as though strict Christian faith was an unsound trading proposition. . . . His social position is clearly superior to Christian's" (p. 124). Other noble villains, such as Apollyon and Giant Despair, are not held up for the reader's laughter but are satirized from "the tradition of pre-Reformation pulpit preaching" (p. 127). But however Bunyan is indebted to medieval forms of preaching, "the employment of allegory, the use of homely examples, and the vituperation of fashionable vices" (p. 127), and although passages of Pilgrim's Progress, Part I are allegorical, the class references are used primarily to provide the

literal metaphor of oppression.

³⁷Lynn Veach Sadler, in John Bunyan (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), sees that Bunyan's use of Scripture is typological but when she tells how Bunyan "updates" the Hagar story by adding the son Legality (p. 58), she argues, as do most critics of Bunyan, from the assumption that typology is the repetition of types in a story which is simplistic in its allegory.

³⁸Roger Sharrock, "Bunyan and the English Emblem Writers," RES Vol. 21, No. 82 (April 1945), 107.

³⁹Roland Mushat Frye, in God, Man, and Satan: Patterns of Christian Thought and Life in "Paradise Lost," "Pilgrim's Progress" and the Great Theologians (Princeton, N.Y.: Princeton University Press, 1960), uses the theology of Calvin and Luther to interpret Milton and Bunyan. His reading of this theology is, however, Augustinian. Calvin, according to Frye, argues the Renaissance view of symbolism: man must see through the symbol to its referent (p. 8). "The Bible does not express what God is" but in it God's reality is accommodated through types (p. 9). Thus "a one-to-one equation between the Christian symbol and its referent is not to be expected" (p. 10). Scripture, then, is not the Word incarnate but a guide made meaningful only through the Holy Spirit, who is represented by the Interpreter in The Pilgrim's Progress. For Frye, then, Bunyan's text cannot be the living Word, since even Scripture is not. Rather, this story "interprets," through its inaccurate types, "how sin operates in different individuals . . . without ever bringing God directly on stage" (pp. 171-72).

⁴⁰C. S. Lewis, in "The Vision of John Bunyan," in Roger Sharrock, ed., Casebook, sees Bunyan's allegory as inspired. It is not a "cryptogram to be translated" while throwing out the vehicle of the allegory; one should not read "This green valley represents humility" but rather "Humility is like this green valley." This discovery of "rich" Platonic symbols within the allegory accords with Coleridge's oft-quoted praise of Bunyan: "His piety was baffled by his genius; and Bunyan the dreamer

overcame the Bunyan of the conventicle" (quoted in Sharrock, "Introduction" to the text). Lewis argues that despite Bunyan's unpleasant assertion that the faith is limited to one sect, any person with imagination and experience of terror and joy can appreciate the universal truth of Christian's emotional experience. The "dead wood" or mere sermon of the book does not destroy its story. F. R. Leavis, in "Bunyan's Resoluteness" in Sharrock, ed., Casebook, likewise contends that the religious Bunyan is more important than the theological Bunyan. The Pilgrim's Progress deserves the accolade of great art because of the profound sincerity with which it asks ultimate questions.

⁴¹Roger Sharrock, in "Life and Story in The Pilgrim's Progress," in Newey, pp. 49-68, finds numerous folk-tale elements in Christian's story: villains, provisions and Helpers for the hero on his quest, a setting which combines everyday and exotic places, useful counsel to the reader and, finally, the anagnorisis of the hero. Sharrock, again demonstrating Coleridge's premise of the divided Bunyan, finds this narrative structure, precursor of the novel, at odds with the Calvinist belief system: "The realism of the imprisonment of Faithful and Christian in Vanity Fair, their trial for treason and the execution of the former, is blurred by an unconvincing and incompletely explained release of Christian so that his story may be continued. . . . Perhaps the most amusing of these instances of the clash between fable and single-minded theological meaning is when Christian obtains for himself and Hopeful their escape from Doubting Castle by simply remembering" his key of promise.

⁴²Vincent Newey, in "Bunyan and the Confines of the Mind," in Newey, p. 24.

⁴³Newey, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁴Newey, p. 29.

⁴⁵Newey, p. 22.

⁴⁶James Turner, in "Bunyan's Sense of Place," in Newey, pp. 91-110, while drawing attention to all the topographical inconsistencies

of The Pilgrim's Progress, argues that the book "takes place in a symbolic dream-land--except that the pilgrims actually visit Calvary, Jacob's ladder, the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, and the plain of Sodom" (p. 94). Through these examples he equates the landscapes and the pilgrimages of Parts One and Two whereas my Chapter III will distinguish between the two books and their settings. Turner does not develop this idea, which he states here so radically, but instead explains that the "primitive" and childlike quality of Bunyan's landscape not as a mental "deficiency but as a specific product of the relation between him and his society" (p. 96). "Bunyan's social position was paradoxical He was a despised itinerant manual worker . . . yet he was also a householder and artisan It is no accident that Bunyan's sense of place is problematic and contradictory . . . sometimes purely metaphorical and sometimes intensely literal, sometimes regarding places as hideous exemplifications of the world and its dangers and sometimes as delightful escapes from them" (p. 97). Turner, extending biographical information into aesthetic analysis, argues that Bunyan "saw place as property" and that the "units of topographical space . . . are inseparable . . . from the social means of their control, from lordship . . . and enclosure claims" (p. 97).

⁴⁷Turner, p. 103.

⁴⁸Turner, pp. 104-05.

⁴⁹Turner, p. 106.

⁵⁰Turner, p. 108.

⁵¹Turner, p. 107.

⁵²John Donne, "Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse," in The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne, ed. Charles M. Coffin (New York: Random House, 1952), pp. 271-72, ll. 21-25.

⁵³While Chapter I of this study depends upon Lewalski's study of Donne to introduce the concept of incarnational typology, Lewalski's reading of Bunyan, in "Typological Symbolism and the 'Progress of the

Soul' in Seventeenth-Century Literature," in The Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present, ed. Earl Miner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), would suggest that she does not find in him the incarnational Protestant hermeneutics which she sees in Donne: "the dominant mode of this work is allegory rather than typology: the biblical figures . . . are embodiments of biblical metaphors rather than types" (p. 106). But the logical corollary of her argument that typology is incarnational and of Donne's insistence that "Both Adams met in me" is that biblical metaphors and images, like biblical types, can embody the Word. Furthermore, her analysis of Bunyan's characters is essentially mimetic: "The characters are . . . manifestations of a single character trait . . . sometimes abstractions of specific functions . . . or occasionally fully allegorical personages standing for abstract qualities" (p. 106). Lewalski does acknowledge spiritual presence in isolated passages, such as "Christian's gradually developing perception that he is following a well-trodden path, repeating the adventures of many biblical personages who have preceded him" (p. 106). But even here, her argument is essentially Platonic, focussed on repetition. Lewalski discovers a Protestant poetics but cannot see it practised by Bunyan.

⁵⁴Newey traces the many elements of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One which parallel the Jungian process of individuation towards "a state merging self-assertion with self-abnegation, self-sufficiency with recognition of a power greater than self (God)" (p. 38). Newey resolves this apparent challenge to his secular theory by ignoring, except for this bracketed term, the God in the story; he finds no point of similarity between the Jungian and the Puritan perceptions of the "power greater than self."

⁵⁵The vision of the 'good' place above our world and of the place of pain, evil and death beneath is found through-out Western literature and corresponds to the universal experiences of 'falling' asleep, waking 'up' and ecstatic 'uplifting.'

⁵⁶Harold Golder, in "Bunyan and Spenser," PMLA (1930), 216-37, sees The Pilgrim's Progress as an allegorized romance. Although all the metaphors are based on the New Testament, he argues, Bunyan uses popular romances, for instance, in the creation of the chivalric House Beautiful. Like Spenser's House of Holinesse, it is approached by the knight-figure who engages in desperate conflict outside it and is miraculously restored within.

⁵⁷Dorothy Van Ghent, in her chapter "On The Pilgrim's Progress," in The English Novel, Form and Function (New York: Harper and Row Publ., 1953), pp. 21-32, while using the Hill Difficulty to describe the landscape of the book as a whole, notes: "The landscape, then, though we can visualize it as something external, to be seen with the physical eye, is really internal: it is a complex image of various kinds of feeling, of muscular sensations of physical difficulty, and of fear" (p. 24). This landscape enables the book's allegory to be effective: "the images that it offers us must have the power of symbols, spontaneously to evoke feelings and emotions that naturally associate themselves with moral attitudes and specifically with those attitudes that make up the conceptual framework of the allegory" (p. 25). Van Ghent's definition of allegory, then, closely resembles C. S. Lewis' Platonic definition of symbolism. She also uses the psychological language of New Critics in describing the Slough of Despond episode: "the artistry with which it is designed is of a kind that releases instinct and stored experience in the reader It is this that we mean when we speak of the 'ambiguity' of some of the great literary works" (p. 27). Her analysis of the characters also shows a psychological subtlety which only ignores the centrality of Bunyan's biblical focus.

⁵⁸U. Milo Kaufmann, in "The Pilgrim's Progress" and Traditions in Puritan Meditation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), explains that, for the Puritan, "Character in Scripture and in The Pilgrim's

Progress was didactic example" (p. 91). Puritans reduced Scripture to a rationally-perceived Logos, which he defines as "unambiguous doctrine" (p. 24) and "knowledge mediated by words to the human understanding" (p. 55). Thus Faithful's meeting with Adam, Moses and Christ at the Hill Difficulty is Bunyan's transplanting of characters from Scripture into an allegorical landscape (p. 87) in keeping with "the basic strategy of allegory, that of substituting one set of terms for another" (p. 89). Such poetics derive from what Kaufmann understands to be the assumptions behind the work of Joseph Hall: meditation as a conscious, reasoned application of Scripture to the self. Nonetheless, "Bunyan was doing a variety of things with Scripture that were actively discouraged in the received Puritan hermeneutics" (p. 25). His "imaginative" portraits of scriptural images such as the Valley of the Shadow of Death and of everyday experiences such as the Slough of Despond reflect a minor strain of Puritan meditation. Kaufmann's stance derives from Coleridge's premise that "the Bunyan of Parnassus had the better of the Bunyan of the conventicle." His explanation of the difference between the allegorical and the imaginative through reference to Logos derives ultimately from a mimetic interpretation not only of The Pilgrim's Progress but also of the Puritan books on meditation which so strongly influenced Puritan hermeneutics.

⁵⁹Henri Talon, John Bunyan: The Man and his Works, trans. Barbara Wall (London: Rockliff Publ. Corp. Ltd., 1951), p. 200. In one of the first book-length studies of Bunyan, Talon adopts Coleridge's assumption of the tension within Bunyan: "Bunyan was possessed of the spirit and natural disposition of the mystic, but these could not expand because his religious convictions stultified their growth. Protestantism, by harnessing faith to Scriptures, usually puts a check on the intro- versive movement of the soul" (p. 306).

⁶⁰S. J. Newman, in "Bunyan's Solidness," in Newey, pp. 225-50, presents The Pilgrim's Progress as an unusual portrait of the English people: "The life of the folk is shown to be disinherited socially, divinely and linguistically. . . . God has left the world. . . . 'Christ is . . . hid in God from the natural apprehensions of all flesh'" (p. 237). Newman extends this misreading of Bunyan's text, which derives from a misunderstanding of Puritan theology: "Much of the language in Part I is aggressively unliterary; there are no concessions to the graces. Fair-speech is a place of corruption. . . . the poetic capacity of language to focus and intensify experience is rejected for the more pragmatic function of reducing spiritual apprehensions to manageable proportions. . . . The unspiritual clarity of [the Doubting Castle episode] lodges the idea of despair in your head like a joke!" (pp. 237-38). For Newman, "Bunyan was so concerned to solidify his metaphors that the numinousness of language was excluded" (p. 241). The theological concept of the spirit being in the flesh, along with the aesthetic practice of the one sense being, literally, in the metaphor, is here neglected in favor of the Platonic distinctions between the ideal and the real worlds, and the tenor and vehicle of metaphors.

⁶¹The final section of Newey's article shows "Ignorance's Revenge": "As Ignorance is damned on theological and moral grounds he is redeemed through art" in that "Bunyan takes as much delight in depicting an Ignorance damned as in portraying a Christian saved" (p. 44). Newey ignores the emotional truth of the dreamer's horror which underlies Ignorance's damnation and greatly mistakes Bunyan's artistic accomplishment when he concludes: "He was restricted by his creed but was not its victim" (p. 44).

⁶²Roger Sharrock, in "Character and Dream" in Casebook, sees all the characters of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One as embodiments of specific elements of Christian's personality. Christian, from this

perspective, is not a full individual; his religious relativism is embodied in Atheist, his worldliness in Worldly-Wiseman, his hopefulness in Hopeful. Van Ghent, likewise, contends that all the characters along Christian's way are "projections" of his mind: "Bunyan has split off from the complex main character certain aspects of his temperament that can be personified separately and that can involve Christian in an outward drama which will realize for us, imaginatively, the drama taking place within the alert soul" (p. 30). But the differences between Worldly-Wiseman and Hopeful, both of whom Van Ghent presents as "projections," render inconclusive such psychological analysis of the book's characterization.

⁶³ Nick Davis, in "The Problem of Misfortune in The Pilgrim's Progress," in Newey, pp. 182-204, describes the role of language in this book: "it is folktale-like . . . in so far as it hints at the existence of a general 'interpretability' which just eludes the human agents involved. . . . as in the Marchen to which [The Pilgrim's Progress] is indebted, riddles are more than a device of the plot. In a sense they are the plot, because the unfettering and transformation of language--which involves the release of its truth-bearing properties--takes place by the same title as the unfettering and transformation of Christian" (pp. 194-95). He sees the numerous respects in which Bunyan's book resembles popular romances as a departure from orthodox Calvinism. His observation that "the divine Word is used rather like a magic sword to cut through the equivocations whose element is ordinary speech (and its correlative, ordinary consciousness)" (p. 197), however, coincides with Puritan doctrine and hermeneutics as well as with the literary conventions of the folk-tale. Likewise, what Davis calls the "folktale concept of 'giftedness'" wherein the hero is "the recipient of supernatural gifts showered on him largely by accident" derives, as he recognizes, from "the inscrutable divine will postulated by Calvinist thought" (p. 199).

⁶⁴Brian Nellist, in "The Pilgrim's Progress and Allegory," in Newey, pp. 132-53, seems to agree with Talkative in arguing that the progress is effected through man's own efforts. Nellist constructs the centrality of Christian's struggle as a very modern statement of individualism: "in making a road the principal symbol for God, Bunyan renders Him inactive and attributes all activity instead to Christian's responses to the road" (p. 151). Nellist bases his argument on a distinction between traditional allegory, which is "a structure of thought which . . . has the authority of shared and public doctrine" (p. 151) and post-allegorical works such as Kafka's Castle and The Pilgrim's Progress in which "allegory becomes the principal threat to the individual, whom it perplexes by offering a system without an interpretation" His readings of various passages in the text show a misunderstanding of Puritan belief: "Much of the time [Christian] is resisting the claims of those collective images that allegory requires the reader to honour, such as husband, father, good citizen" (p. 134). Yet Nellist's conclusion is persuasive. That Christian struggles for doctrinal certainty is proof of his election whereas it "is the reprobate figures who are, in the main, in a hurry to reach a destination and who are cheerfully confident of their ability to read the signs" (p. 146).

⁶⁵Although David Seed, in "Dialogue and Debate in The Pilgrim's Progress," in Newey, pp. 69-90, sees Bunyan's characters as allegorical, "emblematic" "type-figures" (p. 81), his study of the verbal instructions and temptations Christian confronts substantiates the incarnational, as opposed to the allegorical, understanding of the power of words: "Christian's skill at debate is directly correlated to his spiritual stature. Growth in the one parallels an increase in the other. And since so much is at stake there is frequently more drama

in the dialogues than their surface might suggest. Christian's confrontations with Apollyon and Mr Worldly-Wiseman . . . test his moral strength rather than question his religious beliefs" (p. 81).

⁶⁶Roger Sharrock, in John Bunyan: The Pilgrim's Progress (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1966), analyses the work as an allegory. Certainly his perspective is appropriate in such scenes as the one with By-Ends and Money-Love. Their discussion of the good religious life is a satire of "those clergy of the Church of England under Charles II who were prepared to compromise with principles that might be evangelical or anti-episcopal in order to hold their livings" (p. 38). W. Y. Tindall, in "Apostolic Blows," Chapter III of John Bunyan, Mechanick Preacher (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), is another critic who finds Bunyan's work engaging in sectarian polemics. Christian's argument with Ignorance, for example, is part of Bunyan's tract war with the Anglican Bishop Fowler on the efficacy for salvation of good works. But searching for contemporary satirical references often, in the case of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, leads critics to overlook the spiritual drama of the work.

Chapter Three

Epistles from the Preacher: The Hieratic Mode of Writing in Puritan

Devotional Literature

In 1684 Bunyan published The Pilgrim's Progress. From this World to That which is to come The Second Part. Delivered under the Similitude of a DREAM Wherein is set forth The manner of the setting out of Christian's Wife and Children, their Dangerous JOURNEY, AND Safe Arrival at the Desired Country.¹ Its most important characteristic, and that which contributes to its being an allegory, is that it is a copy of Part One. To begin with, the title of Part Two repeats, almost word for word, that of the 1678 book: The Pilgrim's Progress From THIS World To That which is to come: Delivered under the Similitude of a DREAM Wherein is Discovered, The manner of his setting out, His Dangerous Journey; And safe Arrival at the Desired Countrey.² The later title indicates that the story will be of Christian's wife and children; the unnamed Christiana is not primarily heroic, not of interest in herself, but, along with her children, she is presented as the family of the leader, Christian. Secondly, the earlier title refers to "a DREAM Wherein is Discovered . . ."; meaning is actually discovered or revealed in the mysterious dream. The second Part is "Delivered under the Similitude of a DREAM Wherein is set forth . . ."; the dreamer consciously presents his story within the literary convention of the dream vision. While Part One is homiletic in that it "discovers" to the reader the mysteries of its incarnational metaphors, Part Two

"sets forth" incarnational theology, to be sure, but its structure--metaphors, plot and characterization--and its didacticism are wholly allegorical.³

Certainly in relation to the incarnate Word of Part One, Part Two is mimetic. Christiana, her sons and her friend Mercy follow Christian's path from the City of Destruction, through the Slough of Despond and the Gate where they enter the Way of Salvation which moves past the Hill of Calvary, to the House of the Interpreter, up the Hill Difficulty, down to the House Beautiful, through the Valley of Humiliation, the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and Vanity Fair, past By-Path Meadow which leads to Doubting Castle, through the Delectable Mountains and the Enchanted Ground, and across the River of Death from which they are welcomed into the Celestial City. That these places represent the stages in the Pauline sequence of election, calling, justification, adoption, sanctification and glorification establishes both parts of The Pilgrim's Progress in the Puritan tradition of wayfaring. But Christiana's progress is clearly a copy of Christian's. Not only does she visit the same places as he; along the way are monuments to his triumphs, and traces of his blood, and other pilgrims such as Mr. Valiant-for-Truth who explains, "that which caused me to come on pilgrimage, was this: we had one Mr Tell-true came into our parts, and he told it about, what Christian had done" (p. 350). Whereas Christian struck out and "discovered" his way alone, Christiana and her family "set forth" to follow the path he made. Indeed, his sons "take all after their father, and covet to tread in his steps. Yea, if they do but see any place where the old pilgrim hath lain, or any print

of his foot, it ministereth joy to their hearts, and they covet to lie, or tread in the same" (p. 314). This might even be called imitatio Christiani, imitation of Christian.

If the plot of Part Two is a mechanical repetition of the dynamic events of Part One, individual images of the two Parts can likewise be distinguished. The Interpreter shows Christian living metaphors which "become active agents in his metaphorical progress: "they may be as a goad in thy sides, to prick thee forward in the way thou must go" (p. 69). By contrast, the Interpreter takes the pilgrims of Part Two swiftly through the "significant rooms" which Christian saw and, "after these things had been somewhat digested by Christiana, and her company" (p. 247), he leads them into rooms whose meaning is fully accessible to them. The first room is that of the muck-raker:

the Interpreter takes them apart again: and has them first into a room, where was a man that could look no way but downwards, with a muck-rake in his hand. There stood also one over his head with a celestial crown in his hand, and proffered to give him that crown for his muck-rake; but the man did neither look up, nor regard, but raked to himself the straws, the small sticks, and dust of the floor.

Then said Christiana, I persuade myself that I know somewhat the meaning of this: for this is a figure of a man of this world . . .

Interpreter. Thou hast said the right, said he, and his muck-rake doth show his carnal mind. . . . Heaven is but as a fable to some, and . . . things here are counted the only things substantial (p. 247).

Christiana's quick recognition, unlike Christian's struggle to grasp "what means" each room he enters, shows how easy it is to "know" these "figures." The image is an emblem of the aphoristic, didactic concept; "Heaven is but as a fable to some, and . . . things here are counted the only things substantial." Once Christiana has consciously grasped this meaning, the

figure is obsolete, empty.

The figure of the muck-raker is like one from a morality play. Not only does it imitate a 'higher' concept, the "moral"; it also points to a contemptus mundi both in its form--the figure is less real than the concept--and in its content--heaven is more desirable than earth. As in the late medieval allegories, dualism is here expressed in metonymic form: "this is put for that." The reader can recognize and apply the figure's tropological meaning to his own life, as does Christiana. Indeed, in Part Two, Bunyan can be said to apply the established image of the pilgrim to women and children, and to invite his reader to copy the model of pilgrimage in his own life. If the images are copies of higher concepts, the characters of Part Two also stand lower on the hieratic scale than the typical--in the Pauline sense--pilgrim, Christian; the Interpreter tells Christiana and her family that he shows them these particular rooms "because you are women, and they are easy for you" (p. 249).

The muck-raker figure also resembles another traditional allegorical form, the emblem. Indeed, the reader visualizes each room as a set piece, like a picture from an emblem book. Roger Sharrock, in "Bunyan and the English Emblem Writers,"⁴ establishes Bunyan's familiarity with this tradition by noting the similarities between the emblems shown by the Interpreter in both Parts and the emblem books of Bunyan's contemporary Protestants--Whitney, Quarles and Wither--and by pointing to his "emblematic attitude" in theological works such as "Solomon's Temple Spiritualized" and his publication of an emblem book in 1696, A Book for Boys and Girls. The typical seventeenth-century emblem, according to Lewalski, consists of

"a figure in conjunction with words."⁵ Bunyan composed Divine Emblems; or Temporal Things Spiritualized of a series of such structures, with the figure consisting of verbal imagery, as for example, in "Upon the Vine-Tree":

What is the vine, more than another tree?
 Nay most, than it, more tall, more comely be.
 What workman thence will take a beam or pin,
 To make out which may be delighted in?
 Its excellency in its fruit doth lie:
 A fruitless vine it is not worth a fly.

COMPARISON

What are professors more than other men?
 Nothing at all. Nay, there's not one in ten,
 Either for wealth, or wit, that may compare,
 In many things, with some that carnal are.
 Good then they are, when mortified their sin;⁶
 But without that, they are not worth a pin.

An emblem book reader, then, would look at the image and learn its meaning from the motto's comparison and moral message. In Part Two, as in Divine Emblems, the description of the rooms stands for the figure, and the Interpreter's comments assume the function of the motto or comparison. Like an emblem, the figure of the muck-raker is static; the jerky, repeated motion has none of the dramatic conflict of the fire, sustained by Christ's pouring on of oil, raging in man's heart. Furthermore, the reader's image of Christiana looking at the muck-raker is a two-dimensional, static picture; she only looks into the room. The Interpreter leads Christian further into the room so that he can see behind the image of the raging fire. In Part One, image and pilgrim interact dynamically because "the parlour [the room which is the image of the damsel sprinkling water on dust] is the heart of a man" and the damsel "is the Gospel"(p. 61).

Christian, in interpreting these rooms, finds the Word in himself; Christiana simply reads the word as on a page.

The "riddle" or emblem following the muck-raker--a room which is empty save for a large spider on the wall--uses an equally everyday subject, and posits an equally simple moral:

But said the Interpreter, look again Is there but one spider in all this spacious room? Then the water stood in Christiana's eyes, for she was a woman quick of apprehension. . . . they all began now to understand the riddle.

Then said the Interpreter again wherefore is this recorded but to show you that how full of the venom of sin soever you be, yet you may by the hand of faith lay hold of, and dwell in the best room that belongs to the King's House above?

Christiana. I thought, said Christiana, of something of this; but I could not imagine it all (pp. 248-49).

So, through rooms showing them "to acknowledge whence your mercies come" (p. 249) and "to put up wrongs without murmurings" (p. 250), the women and children learn from the examples of hens, sheep, flowers, wheat and a robin. These images are what C. S. Lewis terms visibilia, material inventions for immaterial passions. Sharrock, after studying contemporary emblem books as well as early chap books, finds no precedents for these emblems.⁷ Original to Bunyan, they are composed from his "fancy," or rather they are applications of daily life to Scripture, whereas the images of Part One embody scriptural types. The words of the images shown to Christiana have no autonomous power to grasp her soul, as those of Grace Abounding and Part One seize upon the Chief of Sinners and Christian. These images, which lead to such conclusions as that "This robin is an emblem very apt to set forth some professors by" (p. 251), copy or illustrate ideas, even as Part Two in its structure "sets forth" the ideal

followers of "the pilgrim."

Other metaphors in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two demonstrate the same static, didactic, intellectually-apprehended meaning. The first man who joins Christiana's family as a pilgrim is old Honest who describes himself in terms of his efforts to imitate the Platonic ideal of his ethical and simple name: "Not Honesty in the abstract, but Honest is my name, and I wish that my nature shall agree to what I am called" (p. 300). Honest instructs Christiana's sons to imitate the biblical characters whom he presents as ethical models:

Matthew, be thou like Matthew the publican, not in vice, but virtue. Samuel, said he, be thou like Samuel the prophet, a man of faith and prayer. Joseph, said he, be thou like Joseph in Potiphar's house, chaste, and one that flies from temptation. And, James, be thou like James the just, and like James the brother of our Lord (p. 301).

They are to be "like" their exemplars, whereas Christian, in Part One, will be seen in relation to Christ as the type turned antitype, both incarnations. In literary terms, the difference is between literal metaphor and simile.

Even as they reach the end of their pilgrimage, Christiana, her family and the men who have joined them are still presented with didactic emblems. One of the last set of emblems they are given is the series of Mountains which, like the Interpreter's rooms, is a sequence of stations before which they stop to look and listen to interpretations:

[The Shepherds] took them, and had them to Mount-Charity, where they showed them a man that had a bundle of cloth lying before him, out of which he cut coats and garments, for the poor that stood about him; yet his bundle or roll of cloth was never the less.

Then said they, "What should this be?" "This is," said the shepherds, "to show you, that he that has a heart to give of his labour to the poor, shall never want wherewithal. He that watereth shall be watered himself" (p. 344).

The shepherds, like the Interpreter, "took" and "showed" the pilgrims something which, in this world, must always be beyond them. By contrast, the Interpreter calls up hieroglyphs which for Christian become embodiments of his inner state. The shepherds also reveal images to Christian, taking him to a perspective glass which brings him right up against the Gates of the City. The shepherds conceal such "secrets," "Things deep, things hid, and that mysterious be" (p. 161) from the pilgrims of Part Two, giving them instead "a feast of things easy of digestion, and that were pleasant to the palate, and nourishing" (p. 343).

Because the pilgrims of Part Two are, in their pale repetition of Christian, much weaker than and inferior to their model, the Interpreter and the shepherds give them a very limited experience of metaphor. Indeed, their entire progress through the metaphorical experiences which constitute the plot is made easy for them because they are so simple, so weak. As they leave House Beautiful to enter the Valley of Humiliation, Piety encourages Christiana: "This is the place where Christian your husband met with the foul fiend Apollyon, and where they had that dreadful fight that they had. . . . But be of good courage, as long as you have here Mr Great-heart to be your guide and conductor, we hope you will fare the better" (p. 288). Great-heart does make the Valley easy for them, dispelling their fears of another Apollyon by explaining:

here is nothing to hurt us, unless we procure it to ourselves. 'Tis true, Christian did here meet with Apollyon, with whom he also had a sore combat; but that fray, was the fruit of those slips that he got in his going down the Hill. . . . For the common people when they hear that some frightful thing has befallen such an one in such a place, are of an opinion that that place is haunted with some foul fiend, or evil spirit; when alas it is for the fruit of their doing, that such things do befall them there (p. 288).

Indeed, for the humble "common people" such as they, the valley is "the best, and most fruitful piece of ground in all those parts" (p. 289). Likewise, Great-heart's teaching and presence dispel the fiends which threatened Christian in the Valley of the Shadow of Death: "the fiend came on, and the conductor met it; but when it was just come to him, it vanished to all their sights. Then remembered they what had been said sometime ago. 'Resist the Devil, and he will fly from you'" (p. 294).

All along the way, the pilgrims find inns which simply had not existed for Christian. Gaius, an old, honourable disciple, gives them food, rest and the entertainment of profitable discourse. In Vanity Fair, where Christian and Faithful were so hard pressed, they find lodgings with Mr. Mnason [sic], who introduces them to some of "the good people in the town." One, Mr. Contrite, describes the Fair: "since they burned [Faithful], they have been ashamed to burn any more Then the name of a professor was odious, now, specially in some parts of our town . . . religion is counted honourable" (p. 332). The pilgrims of Part Two are not actively involved in their own progress; they are more like tourists witnessing the sites of Christian's trials as they easily pass by.

If Christian is characterized by his growth into identity with Christ, these pilgrims are portrayed in terms of their subordinate relationship to Christian. Somewhat like the Anglo-Saxon Rood, Christian is now an intercessor; his wife finds God through and in him. With Christ, Christian suffers all the extremes of the demonic and the divine within

himself, as in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and opens the way for his family, as Christ had redeemed mankind. Even as Christ's followers witnessed, recorded and repeated His story and began the work of spreading the gospel and making the church grow, so Christian's followers witness and repeat his story, and even intermarry; all four of his sons marry and have children with godly women met along the way so that "the name of their father and the house of his progenitors may never be forgotten in the world" (p. 315). After Christiana crosses the River of Death to join Christian, the narrator equates their progeny with the Church awaiting the Second Coming: "As for Christian's children, the four boys that Christiana brought with her, with their wives and children . . . they were yet alive, and so would be for the increase of the Church in that place where they were for a time" (p. 373). The Church is the bride of Christ even as Christiana is the bride of Christian.

These metaphors of sexual consummation and imitatio Christi suggest that Bunyan's characterization here is based on pre-Reformation and Platonic, rather than on his own radically Protestant, models. Part Two remains, it must be noted, closer to the didactic morality play than to homiletic poems such as "The Dream of the Rood" and "Pearl," for the power of Christ is not really present, however much it is discussed. Christian is said to have opened the way; his struggles with divine and demonic powers are only remembered, not experienced. Part Two tells the story of the Christian Church following the path of Christian, the incarnate Christ, but, with few exceptions, there are no dynamic actions, as there are virtually no incarnational metaphors.

The pilgrims of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two are "babes" in "Christ" who need more than Christian, their redeemer; they are like the Church, needing a minister. Great-heart, himself only a man-servant to the Interpreter, is commissioned to teach, guide and protect them. As their conductor, he manfully protects them from rapists and murderers, kills the giant Grim or Bloody-man who is the slayer of pilgrims; the giant Maul who spoils young pilgrims with sophistry; the giant Slay-good who was about to eat the pilgrim Feeble-mind; and Giant Despair who had imprisoned the pilgrims Mr. Despondency and his daughter Mrs. Much-afraid in his Doubting Castle.

The Puritan minister is in fact the true "hero" of Part Two; while protecting his congregation from the dangers of sin in this life, he also guides it to the spiritual safety of godly states. Thus Christiana and her family ask him to discourse upon topics essential to their spiritual growth. And when he gives a short sermon on righteousness, she responds with thanks for her "heart . . . is ten times more lightsome and joyous now" (p. 261). By encouraging his auditors with the good news of Christian's successful passage through each trial of the way, Great-heart reinforces his theological discourses with the repetition of parables of practical ethics and of typological stories. Unlike the preaching of the Chief of Sinners, as recorded in the final pages of Grace Abounding, Great-heart does not speak as the voice of God, revealing unseen mysteries; rather, like the Interpreter and the shepherds in Part Two, he simply instructs his congregation on moral issues and points to the holy powers

beyond their experience. He only occasionally demonstrates his experience of divine power; for example, in his strife with Maul, he retreats to prayer from which he returns with the power to triumph. Momentarily, with his sword, helmet and shield, Great-heart seems to be a hero of spiritual warfaring. But for most of Part Two, he remains a leader whose role is defined as inferior on the hieratic scale of spiritual leaders.

Of the secondary characters, the pilgrims met by Great-heart and his congregation along the way are essentially allegorical, as are all the characters of Part Two. Again, their allegorical nature differs from that of the secondary pilgrims in Part One. Whereas Christian encounters characters of Scripture, even walking Proverbs, the metaphorical characters of Part Two are as simply understood and met with as the emblems of the Interpreter, the sermons of Great-heart and the allegorical events of the pilgrimage. Mr. Fearing is, simply put, fearful, and Great-heart's narration of his guidance of this most unheroic man explains to the main characters that the trials and dangers of the way are mere shadows, in the Ideal sense, and never more than each person can bear. The new note of comedy in The Pilgrim's Progress is heard precisely in this disproportion between words and their referents:

Every thing frightened him that he heard anybody speak of he lay roaring at the Slough of Despond, for above a month together . . . one sunshine morning . . . he ventured, and so got over. . . . He had, I think, a Slough of Despond in his mind . . . or else he could never have been as he was. . . . When the Gate was opened he would give back, and give place to others, and say that he was not worthy. . . . When we went . . . into the Valley of Humiliation, he went down as well as ever I saw man in my life . . . there was a kind of sympathy betwixt that Valley and him. . . . But when he was come to

the entrance of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, I thought I should have lost my man . . . this Valley was as quiet while he went through it, as ever I knew it . . . the water of that River (of Death) was lower at this time than ever I saw it . . . so he went over at last not much above wet-shod (pp. 302-06).

The congregation is never made to suffer the words as real things, as before with Christian, since such presences are apparently beyond their capacity to bear.

This encouragement of the weak is frequently given by the example of minor allegorical characters in the work. Mr. Feeble-mind is found in the clutches of Giant Slay-good by Great-heart who rescues him and explains: "not any pilgrim that is taken captive by violent hands, if he keeps heart-whole towards his Master, is by the laws of providence to die by the hand of the enemy" (p. 323). Great-heart praises the shepherds of the Delectable Mountains when they offer rest and entertainment for the pilgrims Honest, Ready-to-halt, Feeble-mind, Despondency and Much-afraid who have joined Christiana's family: "you are my Lord's shepherds indeed; for that you have not pushed these diseased neither with side nor shoulder, but have rather strewed their way into the palace with flowers, as you should" (p. 342). Their reply summarizes the charitable and encouraging tone of the whole of Part Two: "all things must be managed here, to the supporting of the weak, as well as to the warning of the unruly" (p. 343).

Bunyan's characterization of the other major group, those who help or impede the progress, demonstrates the same distinction between the metaphorical forms of the two Parts. The "foul fiend Apollyon" has been

banished by Great-heart's rational assurances that such devils do not threaten "common people" "unless [they] procure it to [themselves]" and these pilgrims, from start to finish, do not evoke, and are not entered by, the warring powers of heaven and hell. Likewise, Christian has beaten the Giant Despair,, Evangelist's directions through Scripture have been replaced by Great-heart's ethical guidance, and the Interpreter and the shepherds have assumed the voices of human preachers. These characters in Part Two are themselves "common people," pale imitations of the forces active in Part One.⁸

One might expect a character in Part One by the name of Mercy to incarnate this divine grace. But in Part Two, Christiana's friend is simply one of the "common people," a follower of Christiana, who is herself a follower. The Interpreter defines the typological quality of Mercy's pilgrimage:

Thy setting out is good, for thou has given credit to the truth. Thou art a Ruth, who did for the love that she bore to Naomi, and to the Lord her God, leave father and mother The Lord recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust (p. 255).

The difference, of course, is that Mercy is an allegorical type of Ruth. Christian, who might be said to begin as a type of Israel, ends as the New Testament embodiment of Grace. For reasons which have yet to be considered, Bunyan in Part Two turns back toward "Egypt" in his aesthetics, reviving the medieval habit of allegorizing and the Platonic ontology of dualism.

The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two is not entirely devoid, however, of the Protestant dynamics of "growth." Christiana tells her sons, as they set out to follow Christian, how her understanding of her husband's compulsion to leave them had changed: "though I formerly foolishly imagined concerning the troubles of your father that they proceeded of a foolish fancy that he had . . . they sprang from another cause, to wit, for that the light of light was given him" (p. 223). In coming to recognize that Christian was motivated, not by his own fancy, but rather by a divine gift, Christiana has taken a step toward spiritual knowledge. But her progress is not with him through Scripture; she learns about Scripture from his example more than from her own experience, as the book as a whole talks about, more than it embodies, holy mysteries. Her growth is, like Everyman's, through emblematic lessons about spiritual truths. And the reader undertakes, with both protagonists, an allegorical journey toward full instruction.

The major difference between the medieval Everyman and The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two concerns the theology of election taught by the latter. Bunyan describes the Spirit in these pilgrims, for they are of the Puritan elect; but in aesthetic terms, he fails to demonstrate its power in the language of his story. Great-heart, after telling his followers the story of Christ's redemption of man, describes the effect of hearing the Word on those who already have an Epistle written in their hearts: "There is not only comfort, and the ease of a burden brought to us, by the sight and consideration of these, but an endeared affection begot in us by it" (p. 261). Christiana's response to the Word spoken by Great-heart reflects

her love of Christ as well as her need for worship and commitment: "me-thinks it makes my heart bleed to think that he should bleed for me. Oh! thou loving one, Oh! thou blessed one. Thou deservest to have me all" (p. 261). Her practical ignorance of spiritual matters is evident, though, in her wish that her former neighbours, Mrs. Timorous and Madam Wanton, were with them, for "surely, their hearts would be affected, nor could the fear of the one, nor the powerful lusts of the other prevail with them to go home again, and to refuse to become good pilgrims" (pp. 261-62). Great-heart corrects her misguided friendliness by distinguishing between the elect, those with divinity in them, and the reprobate, those who ignore the story of Christ:

this is not communicated to every one, nor to every one that did see your Jesus bleed. There was that stood by, and that saw the blood run from his heart to the ground . . . that . . . instead of becoming his disciples, did harden their hearts against him. So that all that you have, my daughters, you have by a peculiar impression made by a divine contemplating upon what I have spoken to you. . . . This you have therefore by a special grace (p. 262).

Great-heart speaks of the "special grace" of "a divine contemplating," but Christiana's enthusiastic and loving reactions hardly show active possession by the Spirit. She receives the "special grace," as it were, from "up there."

There are some passages, however, in which the power of the Spirit begins to be felt in the language itself.⁹ It is as the pilgrims approach the Celestial City that the metaphors used to describe their experience become increasingly incarnational. Mercy requests from the

shepherds, who had offered them only didactic emblems, a looking-glass with marvellous properties, which the narrator describes:

It would present a man, one way, with his own feature exactly, and turn it but another way, and it would show one the very face and similitude of the Prince of pilgrims himself. Yea I have talked with them that can tell, and they have said, that they have seen the very crown of thorns upon his head Yea, such an excellency is there in that glass that it will show him to one where they have a mind to see him, whether living or dead, whether in earth or heaven (pp. 346-47).

It was the
Word of God

This passage, which equates glass, image and similitude, expresses the old incarnational theology: the glass shows the person looking at himself in it and Christ and any other person in terms of his spiritual state. As the Word is both in the glass and the similitude, so Christ can be seen in a man looking at his own image. Again, theological and aesthetic issues momentarily coalesce in the theory and practice of incarnation. Logos is described as incarnate in a metaphor of the story, which is itself a literal metaphor of the elect's spiritual growth, as the pilgrims cross the Enchanted Ground. Great-heart guides his charges through "a place at which a man is apt to lose his way" by means of "a map of all ways leading to or from the Celestial City." The narrator reflects:

Then thought I with myself, who, that goeth on pilgrimage, but would have one of these maps about him, that he may look when he is at a stand, which is the way he must take? (p. 357).

God's book

The margin, "The light of the Word," again establishes the literal metaphor when Great-heart is said to strike a light to help the pilgrims through the darkness. Logos not only is glass, image and similitude; it also is map, light and book. And these metaphors derive from traditional,

biblical metaphors unlike the applied emblems which Bunyan made up for the Interpreter's teaching in Part Two.

As, towards the end of the book, literal metaphors come to replace, to some degree, the similes and allegorical metaphors, so, towards the end of the pilgrimage, the Spirit's presence in the pilgrims is occasionally felt, by both reader and pilgrims, rather than merely explained. The family is joined by other pilgrims, mostly men with some spiritual weakness who are, nevertheless, called to and eventually successful in reaching the Celestial City. Christiana and her family enter with them into edifying discourses rather than passively receiving doctrine. After Great-heart tells the story of Mr. Fearing's pilgrimage, a dialogue ensues in which the pilgrims show themselves capable of learning, not just from aphorisms, "easy" emblems and catechisms, but also from representative stories:

Christiana. Then said Christiana, This relation of Mr. Fearing has done me good. I thought nobody had been like me, but I see there was some semblance 'twixt this good man and I, only we differed in two things. His troubles were so great they brake out, but mine I kept within

Mercy. If I might also speak my heart, I must say that something of him has also dwelt in me. For I have ever been more afraid of the lake and the loss of a place in Paradise, than I have been of the loss of other things.

. . . .

James. No fears, no grace, said James. Though there is not always grace where there is the fear of Hell; yet to be sure there is no grace where there is no fear of God (p. 308).

Since interpretation is made possible by the Spirit in one's heart, Christiana and her family can be seen at least to have grown into spiritual responsibility. In the inn of Gaius, they enter the entertainment of theological discourse as questioners, learning from the wisdom and

experience of their host. While Christiana learns from the Word made word and story, her version of Everyman is a story which is certainly representative and didactic for the reader; but for the original Everyman, although he receives instruction, the process of revelation and interpretation is never at issue as it is so centrally in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One and then peripherally in Part Two.

Though most of Part Two is made didactic primarily by the characterization of its pilgrims, it is a work of preaching in its message as well. The extended discourses, many of which are pastor Great-heart's, have as their subject matter not the embodiment of unseen mysteries but the illustration of moral virtues. The Interpreter, after showing Christiana and her family "his significant rooms," responds to her request that he "tell of some other things that are profitable" in a series of homely proverbs, such as "One leak will sink a ship, and one sin will destroy a sinner," and "If a man would live well, let him fetch his last day to him, and make it always his company-keeper" (pp. 251-52). The Interpreter is evidently descended from Puritan preachers such as John Dod who was renowned for "sayings" which "have the familiar ring of Anglo-Saxon homely wisdom."¹⁰

This latent pragmatism is yet applied to theological goals in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two, but the Word is correspondingly reduced to "physic." When Matthew, the eldest son, takes sick after eating apples from the Devil's orchard, we are no longer in a literal biblical landscape with the Pauline Old Adam. Instead, Bunyan tells how Matthew is treated

by Mr. Skill who cures him with a purge: "'Twas made ex carne et sanguine Christi (you know physicians give strange medicines to their patients) and it was made up into pills with a promise or two, and a proportionable quantity of salt. Now he was to take them three at a time fasting in half a quarter of a pint of the tears of repentance" (p. 280). Bunyan makes this "applied" figure into a long dialogue which concludes:

Matthew. Then Matthew who had been sick, asked her, Why for the most part physic should be bitter to our palates?

Prudence. To show how unwelcome the Word of God and the effects thereof are to a carnal heart.

Matthew. Why does physic, if it does good, purge, and cause that we vomit?

Prudence To show that the Word when it works effectually, cleanseth the heart and mind. For look what the one doth to the body, and other doth to the soul (p. 282).

As the family leaves House Beautiful, Piety gives them a present, telling them, "I have brought thee a scheme of all those things that thou hast seen at our House, upon which thou mayest look when thou findest thyself forgetful, and call those things again to remembrance for thy edification, and comfort" (p. 287). Christiana represents some of the more practical virtues of "huswifery" in her pilgrimage, of course; but the literal landscape of the Word through which her husband journeyed is more often replaced by images from church and home, as if the homely virtues were, in themselves, housebound.

While the form and content of Part Two are predominantly allegorical and didactic, the narrator purports still to be a dreamer. It is, in fact, through the dreamed immediacy of Scripture in Part One that he shares with the reader the collective dream, the vision, of the incarnate

Christ. One of the passages in Part Two which witnesses the work of the Spirit in true believers addresses this very question of the Word which speaks in dreams: whose voice is it? In House Beautiful, Mercy dreams that she is led by a winged one to a golden Gate; when it is opened, the one on the throne welcomes her. Christiana recognizes this dream as the act of God speaking to his chosen one; using the words of Job xxxiii.

14-15, she explains:

God speaks once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not. In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumbering upon the bed. We need not, when a-bed, lie awake to talk with God; he can visit us while we sleep, and cause us then to hear his voice. Our heart oft times wakes when we sleep, and God can speak to that, either by words, by proverbs, by signs, and similitudes (p. 273).

The difference we have noted in Christian concerns a sense of "possession" by the dream; the Word "seizes upon" him and the dreamer. Christiana's own dreams are more consciously contrived by the dreamer of Part Two to illustrate a desired end. Christiana has a series of dreams, including one of Christian in "a place of bliss among many immortals" (p. 224). She is instructed to follow his way to the City by a letter from God brought to her by Secret, a messenger whose emblematic name defines the privilege of her election. Dreams and spiritual beings are mere instruments of instruction; God is 'up there,' not within her.

The dream of the narrator, who in Part One manifests the Word "by words, by proverbs, by signs, and similitudes," has become the dream of a story, the Word heard at one remove from the action. Dream structure is here a literary convention used to "set forth" the story, to introduce us into the world of the allegory from our waking world. That this story

is specifically directed to an audience is suggested in the elaborate contrivances of the opening pages:

COURTEOUS companions . . . I have been much hindered, and kept back from my wonted travels into those parts whence [Christian] went, and so could not till now obtain an opportunity to make further inquiry after whom he left behind But having had some concerns that way of late, I went down again thitherward. Now, having taken up my lodgings in a wood about a mile off the place, as I slept I dreamed again (p. 219).

In his dream, the narrator meets an old gentleman, Mr. Sagacity, who tells him the story of Christiana and her family until the point at which they approach the Gate; then "Mr Sagacity left me to dream out my dream by myself" (p. 234). The narrator who listens to a story which he then retells introduces dualism back into a world which has been immediate. In fact, Mr. Sagacity becomes an intermediary for the Word which had formerly been written in the individual pilgrim's experience.

A sense of cameraderie among such as the dreamer, Mr. Sagacity and the "courteous companions"--readers who are on the same way--now reflects the fellowship of the congregated pilgrims, while the conscious, almost contrived narrative structure reflects the intellectual and didactic message. The story is both a copy of Mr. Sagacity's story and a repetition of the dream of Part One. The act of reading, which in Part One is the experience of vision, is here the reception of emblematic instruction. Dream, dreamer and reader join in the monistic world of Part One; Part Two reflects a world of Platonic dualism, as dreamer and reader perceive the fiction, the dream, as something separate, something to be imitated but not to be overtaken.

If the narrative structure reflects, in its allegorical nature, the didacticism of Part Two as a whole, the dreamer still points beyond his allegorical "dream" to the possibility of literal wayfaring. Mr. Sagacity's departure from the story suggests that wisdom can witness and report the calling of the saints but cannot itself proceed on to the way of salvation which begins at the Gate. The dreamer, who claims to be he who dreamed Christian's journey, enters part way again, though his final reserve suggests that he has already gone the whole route with Christian, and his real perspective is retrospective; he looks backward with the message of one who has gone before: "Shall it be my lot to go that way again, I may give those that desire it an account of what I here am silent about" (p. 373).

The question, of course, is why Bunyan, like the dreamer, the Interpreter, and the shepherds, should be silent after having said so much. What is there in the original story of Christian which makes later versions, including The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Three,¹¹ mere repetitions? For the most part, critics agree that the first Part is a "swift and tense spiritual drama" whereas the second is "a bourgeois novel" and that while Christian goes on a pilgrimage, Christiana goes on a walking tour."¹² Inspiration, the breathing in of the spirit, certainly informs Part One more than Part Two and Bunyan's other fictions. But is it lack of inspiration which makes the words of Part Two powerless to embody, for the reader, the vision of the pilgrim's progress?

In answering these questions, it must first be recognized that Bunyan did not distinguish between the two parts of The Pilgrim's Progress. As he uses equivalent narrative structures for both, so he introduces the metaphors of both in the same terms. The epigraph "I have used similitudes," which establishes the metaphorical structure of Part One to be that of the Author of Scripture, is the epigraph as well of Part Two and of Bunyan's most sustained allegory, The Holy War. And passages from his Apology to Part One support the claim that he assumes the role of "voice of God," incarnating the Word in his word. The metonymy of the "similitudes" of Part Two and, as will be seen, of The Holy War, brings into question Bunyan's understanding of how similitudes function in his art.

Part Two is manifestly empty of the homiletic power of the "voice of God," offering in its place the voice of the preacher. Examination of the Apology to Part Two shows, in fact, a confusion in his defence of his style. On the one hand, he promises to continue in the metaphorical style of Part One, to

. . . show how wisdom's covered
With its own mantles, and to stir the mind
To a search after what it fain would find (p. 215).

On the other hand, he argues for a more applied use of similitudes:

I also know, a dark similitude
Will on the fancy more itself intrude,
And will stick faster in the heart and head,
Than things from similes not borrowed (p. 215).

It must also be noticed that the Apology to Part One contains some descriptions of his metaphors which suggest a confusion of metaphor and metonymy:

. . . this method, where the cases
 Doth call for one thing to set forth another:
 Use it I may then, and yet nothing smother
 Truth's golden beams, nay, by this method may
 Make it cast forth its rays as light as day (p. 36).

Likewise, the "Conclusion" to Part One uses images which separate vehicle and tenor:

Put by the curtains, look within my veil;

 What of my dross thou findest there, be bold
 To throw away, but yet preserve the gold (p. 207).

Still, he warns against such separation:

Take heed also that thou be not extreme,
 In playing with the outside of my dream:

 What if my gold be wrapped up in ore?
 None throws away the apple for the core (p. 207).

The contradictions in Bunyan's descriptions of his similitudes reflect a general confusion in seventeenth-century aesthetic definitions. Donne's concept of literal metaphor, as we have noted in Chapter One, was not without contradiction in both theory and practice. And many of the terms Bunyan uses, such as symbol, figure, allegory, similitude, comparison and emblem, were also used interchangeably by others in defining didactic imagery. Benjamin Keach, for example, writes that "in a similitude there is a manifest comparison of one thing with another" and that a parable is a "Similitude or Comparison by which some certain Affair or Thing is feigned, and told, as if it were really transacted and is compared with some spiritual thing, or is accomodated to signify it."¹³ Bunyan, in his poem "Ebal and Gerizim," uses Platonic terms

to define similitude; explaining the difficulties of describing the horrors of hell, he writes:

. . . but the case,
 The sad, the woful case, of those that lie
 As wracked there in endless misery,
 By all similitudes no mortals may
 Set forth in its own nature; for I say
 Similitudes are but a shade, and show
 Of those or that they signify to you.
 The fire that doth within thine oven burn,
 The prison where poor people sit and mourn,
 Chains, racks, and darkness, and such others, be
 As painting on the wall, to let thee see
 By word and figures the extremity
 Of such as shall within these burnings lie. ¹⁴

Literary criticism in English before Coleridge did not really distinguish between different kinds of metaphor; Bunyan, however careful and consistent he is as a theologian, lacks a precise aesthetic terminology in keeping with the rest of his age.

The declared purpose of all of Bunyan's writings is consciously didactic: to teach the Work of the Spirit in man. Like radical ministers within the Church of England in the early seventeenth century, and like later preachers of Separatist churches, he fictionalized standard sermon treatments of such central theological issues as man's role in salvation and the meaning of God's grace. In a time of political upheaval, seen by many as the prologue to the Millennium, the itinerant leaders of persecuted sects wrote out of an urgent need to educate the common people. In Bunyan's eyes, all his written work, from sermons to The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One to The Holy War, share this utilitarian goal. In the Apology to Part One he promises:

This book will make a traveller of thee,
 If by its counsel thou wilt ruled be;
 It will direct thee to the Holy Land,
 If thou wilt its directions understand (pp. 36-37).

The Apology to Part Two concludes with the same hope:

And may it persuade some that go astray,
 To turn their foot and heart to the right way (p. 218).

In fact, this Apology, "The Author's Way of Sending Forth his Second Part of the Pilgrim" (p. 211), addresses the book itself as a pilgrim. Bunyan uses the same metaphor to define the purpose of the sermon as "Light for them that sit in darkness;" he tells the reader: "take me to the Bible receive my doctrine . . . I know it to be the way of salvation."¹⁵

Another, related image which authorizes the Protestant preacher's single purpose in his written works derives from Paul's letter to the Corinthians: "Ye are our epistle, written in our hearts" (II Cor. iii. 2). Donne uses this metaphor to describe the literal quality of the Word: "as Christ referred the Church for hearing to the Scriptures, so every man hath Scriptures in his own heart, to hearken to."¹⁶ Bunyan promises the same learning from his didactic sermon "A Discourse upon the Pharisee and the Publican": "in reading this little book thou must needs read thyself."¹⁷ His use of the metaphors of the reader-made-pilgrim and the "walking Bible"--as Thomas Taylor was called--indicates that if Bunyan does not distinguish between his metaphorical and metonymic images, neither does he differentiate between the purpose and function of his various works. The distinction between homiletic and didactic modes is, after

all, more recent than that between different kinds of metaphor.

Bunyan, then, like his contemporaries, attributes the same metaphors and the same saving power to all his religious writing, whether story or sermon, whether--to repeat Frye's terms--hieroglyphic or hieratic writing. That Bunyan could believe in the consistency of the Word in two such different kinds of writing perhaps derives from the fifteenth-century Roman Catholic principle of the duplex sensus literalis; study of this doctrine does not conclusively establish a derivation from Roman Catholic to Protestant theory, although Karlfried Froehlich, in "'Always to keep the literal sense in Holy Scripture means to kill one's soul': The State of Biblical Hermeneutics at the Beginning of the fifteenth Century," presents the young Luther in this tradition and suggests his mode of literalism as an outgrowth of it.¹⁸ Froehlich describes the dissatisfaction of fifteenth-century Church leaders who feared the heresies which could develop from distortions of Scripture resulting from "the traditional exaltation of the 'spiritual' interpretation at the expense of the literal."¹⁹ Shocked by the justification of a French court assassination by a theologian using biblical proofs, the Council of Constance struggled with this theologian's premise, that "this tyrannicide was fully within the spirit of the law, i. e., the scope of charity, if not within its letter,"²⁰ and concluded with a redefinition of the meaning of "literal sense." Traditionally, the phrase "the letter killeth" referred to the limitations of "the grammatical surface sense."²¹ Perpetuating this nominalist mistrust of words,²² they refused to adopt the

possibility of literalism, as it had begun to be advocated by Wyclif;²³ they nevertheless felt the need to establish an orthodox understanding of Scripture's meaning. Thus they developed the duplex sensus literalis, distinguishing between "a lower level which could draw to itself all the negative consequences of an 'insufficiency' theory of words, including their sometimes being 'false'; and a higher level that would do justice to the positive consequences of affirming that the literal sense, inasmuch as it expresses what God as the author intends, must always be true."²⁴ Eventually, "the spiritual senses in their totality were subsumed under one principal sense and appeared under the designation of 'true literal.'"²⁵ This pre-Reformation exegetical position required little change to become Donne's assertion that "the literall sense is not alwayes that, which the very Letter and Grammar of the place presents But the literall sense of every place, is the principall intention of the Holy Ghost, in that place."²⁶

Bunyan uses the same exegetical principles when, in "Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ; or, A Plaine and Profitable Discourse on John vi. 37," he explicates the words "All that the Father giveth me":

This word 'all,' therefore, must be limited and enlarged, as the truth and argument for the sake of which it is used will bear 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth,' said Christ, 'will draw all men after me.' (John xii. 32) Can any one imagine that by 'all,' in this place, he should mean all and every individual man in the world, and not rather that all that is consonant to the scope of the place? And if, by being 'lifted up from the earth,' he means, as he should seem, his being taken up into heaven; and if, by 'drawing all men after him,' he meant a drawing them into the place of glory; then must he mean by 'all men' those, and only those, that shall in truth be eternally saved the word 'all,'

as also other words, must not be taken in such sort as our foolish fancies or groundless opinions will prompt us to, but do admit of an enlargement or a restriction, according to the true meaning and intent of the text. We must therefore diligently consult the meaning of the text, by comparing it with other sayings of God; so shall we be better able to find out the mind of the Lord, in the word which he has given us to²⁷ know it by.

Here, explicating one passage of Scripture "by comparing it with other sayings of God," Bunyan assumes Logos to be knowable, "the mind of the Lord, in the word."

But while the distinction between the literal or grammatical sense and the literal sense which "expresses what God as the author intends" led for Roman Catholics to two distinct literal senses, the Protestants considered only the literal sense of divine intention. But the communication of this Logos depended, they often argued, as much upon the presence or absence of the Spirit in the reader as it did upon its presence in the written word. In Bondage of the Will, Luther elaborated, defining "Scripture, with its 'Internal' and 'External' Clarity, as the Test of Truth"; there are "two sorts of judgment": "One is internal, whereby . . . anyone who is enlightened concerning himself and his own salvation, judges . . . There is therefore another, an external judgment [which] belongs to the public ministry of the Word. . . . and is chiefly the concern of leaders and preachers of the Word."²⁸

In this vein as well, Bunyan prefaces a number of his didactic sermons. In "A Discourse upon the Pharisee and the Publican," an examination of prayer and free grace, Bunyan explains:

COURTEOUS READER,--I have made bold once again to present thee with some of my meditations Wherefore, in reading this little book thou must needs read thyself. I do not say thou must understand thy condition; for it is the gift of God must make thee do that. Howbeit, if God will bless it to thee, it may be a means to bring thee to see whose steps thou art treading, and so at whose end thou art like to arrive. . . . I say, art thou a Pharisee? here is a Pharisee for thee! Art thou a Publican? here is²⁹ a Publican for thee!

One of the elect could see his life's pattern, "read himself," in Bunyan's books and, again only with God's help, could he accept this calling, this pattern. At the conclusion of "A Caution to Stir up to Watch against Sin," the Preface to his "Divine Emblems; Or Temporal Things Spiritualized,"

Now let the God that is above,
That hath for sinners so much love:
These lines so help thee to improve,
That he to him thy heart may move.³⁰

Such claims step beyond aesthetic discussion of the power implicit in the figure into spiritual evaluation of the reader. In the Preface to The Holy War, Bunyan tells the reader:

Well, now go forward, step within the door,
And there behold five hundred times much more
Of all sorts of such inward rarities
As please the mind will, and will feed the eyes
With those, which if a Christian, thou wilt see,³¹
Not small, but things of greatest moment be.

Bunyan's descriptions of his images not only use contradictory terminology; they are also frequently, for him, of secondary importance to his main concern, theology.

When Bunyan does distinguish between works themselves, as opposed to the gift of understanding in the audience, he demonstrates hieratic premises quite as Platonic as some of his definitions of metaphor. In the

sermon "Solomon's Temple Spiritualized," he presents an ontological hierarchy, explaining that although Christ is a priest, the high priest of God, "Let us . . . keep these distinctions clear, and not put an apostle in the room of Christ, nor Christ in the place of one of those apostles."³² Likewise, he continues, the modern preacher is lower than the apostle in greatness, and the modern sermon is inferior to the words spoken by the apostles, as these words are lesser than Christ's. Bunyan's theology, while certainly more coherent than his aesthetics, is not wholly consistent; this sermon belies the God-in-man metaphor of Puritan theology and his implicit literary practice in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One. The existence of higher and lower kinds of priests is, however, appropriate to the hieratic form of his allegories. The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two, we have seen, is a simplified copy of a more powerful tale in which Bunyan quite consciously points beyond ethical instruction to "secrets," "Things deep, things hid, and that mysterious be." Although he argues that the two Parts are alike in metaphorical structure and saving power, he does recognize a difference in subject matter. The "things hid" in Part One "that mysterious be" have evidently to do with the mystery of the Incarnation, and how the Word is made flesh in the individual believer. But as in theology so in aesthetics--the Incarnation is a unique event in history as it is in the literary artist's work. And once it has been concluded, the "gospel" is replaced by the Pauline epistle. The "language of immanence" is exchanged for the "language of transcendence."³³ "Personal possession" by the power of the Word is reduced to observation, that

analogical habit of thought which is the chief feature of a hieratic phase of language.

ii

In The Holy War, Bunyan articulates, repeatedly, the hieratic concept of higher and lower levels--duplex sensus literalis--of preaching. Emmanuel, the character who represents Christ in the allegory, teaches the people of Mansoul "riddles" which the marginalia define as "The Holy Scriptures":

Now after the feast was over, Emmanuel was for entertaining the town of Mansoul with some curious riddles of secrets drawn up by his Father's secretary, by the skill and wisdom of Shaddai: the like to these there is not in any kingdom. These riddles were made upon the King Shaddai himself and upon Emmanuel his Son, and upon his wars and doings with Mansoul.

Emmanuel also expounded unto them some of those riddles himself; but oh! how they were light'ned! They saw what they never say; they could not have thought that such rarities could have been couched in so few and such ordinary words. I told you before whom these riddles did concern; and as they were opened, the people did evidently see 'twas so. Yea, they did gather that the things themselves were a kind of a portraiture, and that of Emmanuel himself; for when they read in the scheme where the riddles were writ, and looked in the face of the Prince, things looked so like the one to the other, that Mansoul could not forbear but say, 'This is the Lamb! This is the Sacrifice! This is the Rock! . . . And this is the Way!'--with a great many other things more. . . . Oh, they were transported with joy, they were drowned with wonderment, while they saw and understood, and considered what their Emmanuel entertained them withal, and what mysteries he opened to them. (pp. 132-33)

Though the "mysteries" of Emmanuel and his "riddles" seem to be literal metaphors--"'This is the Lamb! . . . And this is the Way!'"--with the power to transport the people with joy and drown them with wonder--the language of The Holy War, like that of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two,

really points to a transcendent order. Emmanuel's "riddles" are predicated upon things of this world being "put for" things of that world; metaphor has become metonymy, in Frye's sense of the word: "verbal expression is 'put for' something that by definition transcends adequate verbal expression."³⁴

The subject matter of preaching in The Holy War evidently confirms this hieratic belief in the insufficiency of language to reveal divine matters. Emmanuel commands Mr. Conscience, the Subordinate Preacher, to attend to the ethical instruction of Mansoul and to leave its spiritual guidance to the Lord High Secretary, the allegorical figure who represents the Holy Spirit:

thou must . . . confine thyself to the teaching of moral virtues, to civil and natural duties, but thou must not attempt to presume to be a revealer of those high and supernatural mysteries that are kept close in the bosom of Shaddai, my Father; for those things know no man, nor can any reveal them but my Father's Secretary only. . . . Thou must therefore in all high and supernatural things, go to him for information and knowledge; for though there be a spirit in man, this person's inspiration must give him understanding. (p. 160)

Here Bunyan hedges the power of words with the unnamed power of the Spirit to communicate Truth. Mr. Conscience is empowered to repeat whatever the Spirit wishes to "say" to him, but the "words" of the Lord High Secretary are only reported to be "most exactly significant, and the townsmen were allowed to pry into them, and to expound them to their best advantage" (p. 218). This distancing of the event into narrative abstraction furthers the distance between subject and object, and reduces language to no more than a medium of the once incarnate Word.

The Holy War likewise resembles The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two in the implicit dualism of its structure. In the Preface to the Reader, the narrator claims that his story is true, as Christians will recognize from their reading of the Scriptures, and that he was present during the whole history of the town. Repetition of phrases such as "I saw," "I was there when" and "they would molest us," as he summarizes the main events of the story, might suggest that, in Donne's terms, he is reading his own history in Scripture. But the story does not continue in this autobiographical mode and, unlike Grace Abounding and The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, does not lead the reader to share the narrator's personal experience of the Word of God. Furthermore, A Relation of the Holy War--this title suggests that what is to follow is a re-telling, a copy of the Scripture story rather than an immediate experience of it--begins with an awkwardly contrived narrative framework: "In my travels, as I walked through many regions and contries, it was my chance to happen into that famous continent of Universe. . . . there travel I did, and that so long, even till I learned much of their mother tongue, together with the customs and manners of them among whom I was. . . . I had, to be sure, even lived and died a native among them . . . had not my master sent for me home to his house, there to do business for him" (pp. 1-2). The travelogue mode then gives way to the history of Mansoul told in the past tense as a story derived from the narrator's research into "the best and most authentic records I can gather" (p. 2). His involvement from this point is minimal, as the details of the allegorical structure develop. In fact, by the end of the book, the fiction of his narrative presence has been dropped and the story concludes,

not with reference to the narrative framework, but with Emmanuel's instructions to contemporary Mansoulans on behavior to be followed until the Second Coming. In this way, metaphor gives way to allegory, to "a special form of analogy, a technique of paralleling metaphorical with conceptual language in which the latter has the primary authority."³⁵

In structural terms, The Holy War has much in common with Everyman. The allegorical figures in both are intellectual abstractions--of the divine, the demonic and the mundane--interacting on a single plane. These, along with personifications of spiritual states, are wooden and mechanical; indeed, the introduction of the Vices under the disguises of aliases, for example, Covetousness as Prudent-Thrifty, Anger as Good-zeal, seems as medieval as the story's setting, the beseiged walled town. Emmanuel, in The Holy War, is as much of a didactic set piece as is God in the play. Even the vehicles of the metaphors are obviously medieval--rival lords with their knights, each with ensigns, colours and scutcheons, beseiging a walled town. The title of the story--The Holy War Made by Shaddai upon Diabolus for the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World--along with its anagogical subtitle--OR The Losing and Taking again of the Town of Mansoul--suggests that the author intends the reader to approach the work in terms of the medieval levels of meaning, anagogy and tropology. Certain specific references within the allegory to contemporary events, such as the changes in Bedford Corporation to give the central government more control which are suggested by Diabolus' "new-modelling" of Mansoul,³⁶ and Charles II's appointment of the licenser of

the press which is satirized in Diabolus' instructions to Mr. Filth to print foul ballads,³⁷ would occasion another level of interpretation, the topical.

But this equation of Puritan allegory with Catholic "four-fold" reading is potentially misleading. To begin with, Roman Catholics used this interpretative model for Scripture, rarely for contemporary literature.³⁸ Further, Bunyan's method did not encourage the extrapolation of levels of spiritual meaning from his text; his aesthetics and theology are as literalist when he uses the "language of transcendence" as when he uses the "language of immanence." The story of Israel is still the literal story of man and not, as for the Catholic, an instructive parallel. When the evil forces enslave the people, the town becomes, albeit temporarily, "a den of dragons, an emblem of Hell, and a place of total darkness" (p. 232). The word "emblem" does not aim at comparison but, as the other two epithets make explicit, at equation or embodiment: Mansoul is, during Diabolus' ascendancy, "a den of dragons" and "a place of total darkness," Hell. Nevertheless, these individual images are literal only in the most mechanical and allegorical way, as the secondary form of the duplex sensus literalis.

If the images, didacticism and setting of The Holy War resemble those of a medieval morality play, the theological content of the story is as incarnational as that of any Puritan fiction. The Catholic tropological level, quid agas, is absent here; Bunyan's tale does not encourage exemplary behavior which the reader could imitate in his effort to win

salvation. Puritan theology rather emphasized the opera Dei, effected through Christ and the Holy Spirit in the ongoing work of redemption. The title, quoted above, proposes that power and action belong to the divine realm; Shaddai, the Hebrew God Almighty, in conflict with the demonic Diabolus, determines the fate of the world. The centrality of opera Dei and the limitation of man's role to a choice of divine or demonic rule are illustrated by the plot. The creation by Shaddai of the Universe and His particular joy in one town, Mansoul, before its fall to the wiles of Diabolus, "the greatest deluder" (p. 84), has led to Diabolus's residence in Mansoul's castle. The town had petitioned to Shaddai for help, until He sent an army led by Captains, including the brave Captain Boanerges, who failed to rout Diabolus. Shaddai had then sent his Son, Emmanuel, who persuaded the townspeople, led by the Lords Willbewill and Understanding whom He reinstated to their original positions as military leader and mayor, to open their gates to Him, to expel Diabolus and his leaders from the town, and to accept a new covenant. Soon, however, the residents, growing complacent, turned to the few remaining Diabolans such as Mr. Carnal Security, Lord Fornication and Mr. Heresy; Emmanuel withdrew in sorrow and his Lord Secretary, the Holy Ghost, responded only reluctantly to the concerns of those townspeople still aware of their peril. Diabolus, hearing of Mansoul's defenceless condition, attacked again with his wily temptations through the town's Eargate and then with his whole army of Doubters. But, just as Diabolus was about to triumph, Emmanuel sent messages of encouragement and His army, led by Captain Credence, who was enabled to defeat and expel both the Doubters and

Diabolus's last and most furious army, the Bloodmen under such Captains as Cain, Nimrod, Ishmael, Judas, and Pope. The biblical story of the creation, fall, prophets, incarnation, trials of the church against the AntiChrist, and the promise of the second coming of Christ, is thus retold with Calvinist emphasis on man's essential passivity and susceptibility to divine and demonic powers. Yet this Calvinist doctrine, when presented in allegorical form, becomes as mimetic as the dogma of the medieval morality play. The plot illustrates a theological system which is itself a doctrinal formulation of the religious experiences of Reformation leaders.

Numerous thematic passages in The Holy War reinforce the events of the plot in "setting forth" incarnational theology. When the Mansoul-ians, seeking release from the Doubters' power, determine to send a petition to Emmanuel, Mr. Godlyfear argues that He would only receive it if it were signed by the Lord Secretary, the figure of the Holy Spirit. This revered preacher agrees to help write the petition but insists on the Mansoul-ians' participation: "the hand and pen shall be mine, but the ink and paper must be yours; else how can you say it is your petition"? (p. 236). This statement, which demonstrates the Puritan understanding of literary inspiration in "the voyce of God," delegates man's role in salvation to one of co-operation with God. Lord Willbewill, whose attribute is fickleness, illustrates this necessity as well. He is one of the first

to succumb to Diabolus's temptations of carnal delight and freedom from Shaddai's rules--Mansoul could not be won except by its own consent--but on Emmanuel's approach, Willbewill cooperates with this greater force and thereafter leads the Mansoulians' fight against Diabolus. Shaddai, through the warrior Emmanuel and the preacher Lord Secretary, imbues fickle man's soul with the strength and wisdom to accept and strive for his own salvation.

In The Holy War, Bunyan, pointing the congregation to higher mysteries and guiding it to spiritual growth, has adopted a role like that of Great-heart. In the Preface he instructs his readers:

Nor do thou go to work without my key,
 (In mysteries men soon do lose their way;)
 And also turn it right, if thou wouldst know
 My riddle, and wouldst with my heifer plough.
 It lies there in the window. (pp. 5-6)

The words "The margent" in the margin beside the line "It lies there in the window" provide the "key" to Bunyan's "riddle"; the glosses include exclamations of praise, such as "O sweet Prince Emmanuel!" (p. 86), warnings and exhortations, such as "Mark this" (p. 89), "Take heed Mansoul" (p. 199) and "No, no, no, not upon pain of eternal damnation" (p. 220). The Puritan preacher, while basing his sermon on Scripture, always quoted and paraphrased Scripture and gave book, chapter, and line references, as do many of the marginalia. Finally, the preacher, by interpreting Scripture typologically, applies its message to contemporary life. Likewise, when the Mansoulians are impressed by Shaddai's army, the margent reads "the world are convinced by the well ordered life of the godly" (p. 44);

but when they obey Diabolus's command that they defy Shaddai's army, the margent glosses, "When sinners hearken to Satan they are set in a rage against godliness" (p. 46). The marginalia, like the preacher, repeat and explicate Scripture, praise God, and instruct and warn the Christian continually to search for and to conform to God's way. In retelling the sacred story, in his riddle, or in explicating that story in marginalia and sermon, Bunyan as writer and theologian/preacher here assumes a subordinate role, of "ink and paper" to the Holy Spirit's "hand and pen." His "riddle," the book, does not contain "mysteries" as Grace Abounding, the profession of "the voyce of God," does. Like Emmanuel's riddles, this allegory is said to open mysteries for those who "turn it right"; but if the Holy Spirit is active in the elect reader of these sermons, Its power is not present in the words themselves.

Bunyan, then, in his works other than Grace Abounding and The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, demonstrates both a Platonic aesthetics--The Holy War is a mechanical if ingenious allegory,³⁹ as The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two is a copy of Part One--and even, in many instances, neoPlatonic theological premises, granted his hierarchy of preachers and of readers. That Bunyan claims these allegories as the literal way reflects the second of the duplex sensus literalis, and this concept, in positing a duality, is itself an essentially Platonic distinction. Puritan allegories, which so greatly outnumber incarnational stories, reflect the narrow rigidity popularly associated, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, with the word "Puritan," whether it apply to behavior,

belief or writing style. Bunyan is typically Puritan, in this sense, in claiming that his allegorical works are the Way; like the emperor with his new clothes, he condemns as reprobate the reader who does not see the divine Truth present in his human words. In Grace Abounding and The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, Bunyan has avoided all such hierarchical premises, demonstrating divine power to be active in his life and words. The question, why does he fail to distinguish between the two kinds of works, shows a twentieth-century critical assumption; like his contemporaries, Bunyan lacks the aesthetic terminology necessary to differentiate varieties of metaphor. Why he and Puritans from seventeenth-century England to nineteenth-century New England have fallen back upon a Platonic, anti-incarnational element in their theology is a subject for theologians and historians.

What can be asked, within the scope of literary analysis, is why Bunyan has only one hieroglyphic period in his writing career and why all the rest of his sermons, poems and fictions are hieratic. The answer lies within the realm of the nature of religious experience. If Grace Abounding is his autobiographical witness to the power of the Word in his life and The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One his literal metaphor of this salvation story, his other works are about his "Acts" as an apostle of the Word, not as the Word in itself. In Christian tradition, God creates one unique Son in whom the Sons of God find their identity. Creating a Son might be said to be God's "self-realization" in the objective form of metaphorical flesh; a similar act is the artist's creation of the metaphorical Christ, Christian. The Puritan creator has only one story which he can apply to his personal

history or extend into visionary fiction. When he has done this, the story is done; he has completed his identity through his experience of the immanent Word. After that, his language imitates this unique event, as The Pilgrim's Progress, Part Two copies Part One, or, as in The Holy War, it manufactures consciously fictitious visibilia, as C. S. Lewis puts it, to point to a higher reality.

iii

The great bulk of seventeenth-century English Puritan writing must be said to fall into the category of hieratic visibilia. Bunyan, in his creative visions, records religious experiences which, it would seem from their mimetic style, most of his contemporaries either never had or were unable to articulate. Having themselves no original dream, they allegorized the accepted metaphors of their tradition and thus produced fictions of singularly little originality or "creativity." Analysis of a few such allegories demonstrates the conventions of this tradition. Most adopt as their central allegorical image one of the two most popular Puritan figures, those of "spiritual wayfaring and warfaring."⁴⁰ The first derives from Christ's claim, "I am the Way" and the second from one of Paul's letters:

Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.

For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and, having done all, to stand.

Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth,
 and having on the breastplate of righteousness;
 And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;
 Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be
 able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.
 And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit,
 which is the word of God. (Ephesians vi. 11-17)

The Holy War is typical of the many sermons which extend this scriptural figure into a didactic fiction. Bunyan has Diabolus parody Paul's advice to don metaphorical armour to combat the principalities and powers of evil, inasmuch as the devil urges Mansoul's to arm themselves against Shaddai with the helmet of the hope of doing well, the breastplate of a hard heart, the fiery sword that speaks evil of Shaddai, and the shield of unbelief (p. 40). Just as the Holy War rages through each stage of Mansoul's progress from creation to glorification, so too the individual Puritan would feel himself to be the battleground in this struggle between God who calls him to "the way" and the Devil who attempts to distract him through temptation or despair. The role of the individual soul, represented by Lord Willbewill, is to choose to fight for God in order to progress along His way. Here, as often in Puritan allegories--witness the figure of Great-heart--the images of wayfaring and warfaring are used simultaneously. Brief analysis of one other allegory of battle and of several varieties of the pilgrim story offers a final, contemporary perspective on Bunyan's mixed achievement as an artist.

Richard Bernard's The Isle of Man (1626),⁴¹ a popular allegory using the besieged town motif, tells the history of Soul, the biggest town in the Isle of Man. Soul has been invaded by Sin who has taken possession of a busy inn, called Heart, at the centre of town. This Heart, a Harlots'

House, has five doors (the senses) for Sin to enter, maids (harlots) such as Desire and Hatred of Good, food such as Lust of the Flesh, and beds in which lie patrons such as Impatience and Murder. All these sinners, along with Will, the lover of Mrs. Heart, and the thief Covetousness or Idolatry are connected not only with carnal pleasures and spiritual sins but, as often in Puritan sermons and allegories, with Papistry and "heresies" such as that of the Anabaptists. These godless tendencies in Soul are attacked and expelled, thereby completing the familiar plot sequence of all, suffering, recognition of error, struggle and redemption. Again, the human Soul is primarily the field of battle between Sin and His legions and the powers of good: the Grand Jury, Scriptures; Sheriff Religion; and the Complainant, true Repentance. The inhabitants of Soul, like the Mansoulans, in turn succumb to Sin and then witness and laud Sin's expulsion by the superior power of redemption. The terms "material inventions" which copy human "passions," used by C. S. Lewis to describe courtly love allegories, are equally applicable to warring characters such as Impatience and Repentance. In The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One it was seen that character is both setting and plot in that all are literal metaphors of the central creative image, the progress into identity with Christ. Here, character and setting are more allegorical--Mrs. Heart, for example, is her inn, Heart. And plot is simply the struggle of the perpetually opposed passions, or characters, for possession of the setting, Soul. The overall structural principles of Puritan allegory, as well as its individual images, can thus be seen to copy those of its incarnational models as well as those of medieval allegories.

Another allegorical motif perhaps more central to the structure of The Isle of Man is the trial by jury, which becomes a precedent for the trials of Faithful and Christian in *Vanity Fair*. Bernard's subtitle outlines the plot: "the Legal Proceeding in Man-Shire against SIN Wherein, by way of a continued Allegory, the chief Malefactors disturbing both Church and Commonwealth are detected and attached; with their Arraignment and Judicial Tryal, according to the Laws of England." The pattern of the calling of sinners to trial, indictment, defence, witnesses, judgment and conviction was a favorite vehicle for the Puritan preachers' identification of and warning against sinful behavior. Thus Bunyan, in The Holy War, gives a long and detailed account of the trial of the Diabolans after the triumph of Emmanuel and, in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, parodies the act of justice, modelled as it is upon God's Judgment Day, in the demonic trial by stacked jury and perjured witnesses in *Vanity Fair*. Bernard connects the metaphor of trial to that of wayfaring in his biblical epigraph, "Let us search and try our ways." Trial is also a variation of warfaring in that both record the conflict of Good and Evil. These sorts of connections between images typify allegory; its figures repeat and extend established images, which are ordered according to a conceptual standard.

Bernard's subtitle continues: "To which is added, the Contents of the Book for Spiritual Use with and Apology for the manner of handling, most necessary to be first read, for direction in the right use of the Allegory throughout." In this Apology Bernard claims that his allegory is "no dreaming dotage or fantstick toy," not, in Bunyan's words, composed

of "foolish fancies." Rather, Bernard explains, the allegory is intended to teach readers to recognize their tendencies to corruption and to learn the process of reform; if families would search themselves for sin and put it on trial, the land might be better governed. This deliberately didactic intent typifies Puritan allegory; like the Subordinate Preacher, Bernard teaches "moral virtues . . . civil and natural duties." Again, in his Apology, Bernard justifies his choice of allegory to convey his message: "I perswaded my selfe that the allegory would draw many to reade, which might be as a bait to catch them, perhaps, at unawares, and to move them to fall into meditation . . . of the spirtual use thereof." The concept of allegory as "bait," a source of entertainment drawing the reader to its serious message, echoes, as does the story's didacticism, the purpose and style of the morality plays. But the corollary, like Bunyan's belief that a Christian will see "inward rarities" in his allegory, is the hope that the reader, if he is graced with spiritual understanding, may "fall into meditation . . . of the spirtual use thereof." The premise that a sermon may be made "spiritual" deflects attention from the literary or spiritual qualities inherent in the work, thereby replacing literary discussion with evaluation of the status of the reader. Such disclaimers suggest, almost, that the authors are aware of the abstraction of spirituality in their fictions.

The figure of wayfaring, which was even more popular than that of warfaring to the generation of Puritans writing after the Civil War, is the central structural principle of the plot, setting and characterization of Benjamin Keach's Travels of True Godliness (1683).⁴² Travels begins

with an epistle to the reader in which the author, a Fifth Monarchist, explains, "In this Tract is shewed the many Snares and Temptations that attend" everyone; why many people are strangers to true godliness; and the errors of the present time, especially the Baxterian and the Antinomian. All these, and the means to true conversion, are "presented in an Allegory, since the holy Scriptures abound with them." The impulse to preach overwhelms even the allegorical structure: the thread of the story is awkwardly stretched to include long lists of godly and ungodly attributes and detailed descriptions of true and unacceptable doctrines. The character Godliness was known by Adam, loved by Abel, Abraham, Joseph and Lot who are blessed for this attachment, and hated by Cain and Sodom who are punished for their enmity.

Godliness travels through biblical history to the present time where his enemies include Unbelief and Pride as well as the Devil, the Pope and Superstition. Shunned from a town near Babylon by Riches, he reaches England where he is quite well treated until the last forty years when the Pope of Babylon and a counterfeit God take power and imprison most of his friends. Travelling to Jerusalem, he comes upon a small town called Religion whose owner, Legalist, attempts to turn him away and whose former professors are fleeing into apostasy. Finally welcomed in the house of Thoughtful and his friends Consideration and Contentment, Godliness discusses the powers of their enemies Sloth, Willful-Will and Apollyon. Thoughtful dies while singing Hallelujahs and Apollyon, foiled, retreats. Many abrupt changes in topic of argument and uncertain settings,

as seen in this plot summary, create major structural imbalances in the work, and the motif of travel is used almost in picaresque fashion to move Godliness through time and space. Keach typifies the Puritans who closed down English theaters in their mistrust of metonymy.

He "puts" his figures "for" his message only half-heartedly, perhaps fearing human usurpation of the power of the figure, always careful to stress the primacy of "Tract" over the "Allegory" which "presents" it.

Another allegory of wayfaring is Thomas Taylor's The Pilgrim's Profession or A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Mrs. Mary Gunter To which also is added a short relation of the life and death of the said Gentle-woman, as a perpetual monument of her graces and vertues (1622).⁴³

Haller explains the literary limitations of this work by comparing it to Bunyan's:

the preacher explores the experiences of the wayfarer for analogies to the spiritual experiences of the elect soul. The studied similitudes, animated though they are, never quite cross the line that separates the sermon from symbolic narrative. Taylor cannot quite transform his saint into a dramatic person, never quite say Christian rather than the Christian or that the Christian, 44 is a pilgrim rather than like one.

Bunyan, whose The Pilgrim's Progress, Part I does tell the story of the pilgrim Christian is, in Haller's terms, a "symbolic narrative" whereas Taylor's is an exploration of "analogies."

The Pilgrim's Profession is, in its subject matter, a hagiological study of imitation. Mrs. Gunter, in keeping a record of her spiritual errors, resembles the many Puritans who recorded their spiritual progress in diaries. Believing that God's Providence may be seen in the events of their lives, they looked back through their writings over the years to

discern the pattern of His saving work. But they looked not only in their own lives for indications that they were on "the way"; because every pilgrim travelled the same progress, a Christian could learn more about his own spiritual way by studying the lives of others. Samuel Clarke wrote a series of very popular spiritual biographies on this assumption. His A General Martyrologie containing a Collection of the Greatest Persecutions which have befallen the Church of Christ from Creation to the present Time Whereunto are added the Lives of sundry modern Divines (1651) is dedicated to Frances Lord Brook with the recommendation that Lord Brook consider the "many excellent examples worthy of your imitation" in the book.⁴⁵ Likewise Taylor begins Mrs. Gunter's biography with the statement that her story will be profitable as a model to other Christians. The funeral sermon of the Protestant, whether Mary Gunter or Elizabeth Drury, coalesces sermon and biography; the eulogy of a saint becomes exhortation to the congregation members, saints at earlier stages of the same journey, to persevere. The funeral sermon The Pilgrim's Profession thus contains several Puritan literary genres--sermon, allegory, spiritual biography--and reference to one other, the spiritual autobiography or diary, because all these literary forms copy a single pattern: the Pauline story of the redemption of man.

In its two-part structure, as well, The Pilgrim's Profession indicates that Taylor's writing process is one of imitation. Both parts, sermon and spiritual biography, are allegories of wayfaring. Taylor begins with the text "I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner as all

my Fathers" (Psalm xxxix. 12). The Christian, whom Taylor presents as a character, is a stranger like David, a pilgrim in a strange land. Like all saints and believers, his soul is only temporarily in its tabernacle, his body; he avoids attachments in the present land and strives only to journey towards his home in heaven. His profession is his prayer that God would provide the weapons and food of faith and the guidance of the Bible and the Church. This allegory of the Christian's pilgrimage through a difficult life is echoed by the spiritual biography of Mary Gunter. An orphan raised by Roman Catholics until the age of fourteen when Protestants assumed her care and instruction, she grew in Christian (Protestant) knowledge, but was tempted by Satan to despair that she had sinned against the Holy Ghost in acting like a Protestant while still believing Catholic doctrines. For five years she was tempted with suicide and blasphemous thoughts until she resolved that there is one Truth to be learned from Scripture and prayer and that temptations were but God's grace providing her with the occasion for spiritual growth. For the rest of her life she attended Church, prayed, read the Bible, behaved charitably, and kept a record of her sinful thoughts to increase her humility. At death she prayed for endurance, overcame her doubts, and died a Christian death. Taylor combines these stories, the allegory of the Christian--in this case as in others the story is the sermon---and the biography of Mary Gunter in one publication because both are allegories or imitations of the stages of every Christian's journey through life to salvation.

A common assumption of non-Puritans is that Puritan allegory is the simplistic, mechanical literary manifestation of the Puritans' rigorous behavioral strictures which grew, it was thought, from a hatred of life in the flesh and in the world, and out of a concern only for otherworldly fulfilment. Examination of Reformation theology, in this issue as in others, clarifies an aspect of Puritan aesthetics, in this case a misconception. Taylor's sermon about the pilgrim who is a stranger in this world, hastening to his heavenly home, would seem to reflect contemptus mundi. But the Puritans saw the world as the Book of Creatures, man's body as God's temple, and events in the world and in personal history as Providential patterning. Thus, when Taylor argues in his sermon that "strangeness is a spiritual condition," he is speaking from a different frame of reference than that of medieval contemptus mundi which equated the world and the flesh with the devil. Luther defines the radical new understanding:

FLESH and SPIRIT must not be understood as if flesh had only to do with moral impurity and spirit only with the state of our hearts. Rather, flesh . . . means everything that is born from the flesh, i.e. the entire self, body and soul, including our reason and all our senses. . . .

On the other hand, the term spiritual is often applied to one who is busied with the most outward of works, as when Christ washed his disciples' feet, and when Peter went sailing his boat and fishing. Hence the term "flesh" applies to a person who, in thought and in fact, lives and labors in the service of the body and the temporal life. The term "spirit" applies to a person who, in thought and fact, lives and labors in the service of the spirit and of the life to come.

46

The pilgrim is the spiritual person who is a stranger in the midst of the many people whose minds and spirits are darkened by their preoccupation with temporal life. The Puritan would see both Taylor's allegory and the

spiritual behavior of the practising Christian as full of life since the mundane, though fallen, can be sanctified; allegory, however hurriedly it is written, is thus made spiritually effective and, in Puritan terms, made aesthetically admirable by the Spirit. Still, no matter how incarnational Taylor's theology, and no matter how "useful" to the reader, the general character of Puritan allegory is as metonymic as that of the morality plays, and, in literary terms, as tainted by assumptions about the insufficiency of language.

One satiric allegory about "a person who, in thought and in fact, lives and labors in the service of the body and the temporal life," is Bunyan's The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, presented to the world in a familiar dialogue between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive (1680).⁴⁷ The story, a demonic version of the saint's progress, traces Mr. Badman's history. As an apprentice he cheats his master and debauches this master's daughter. Pretending to be religious, he marries for her wealth an honest maid and leads her such a miserable life that she dies of disappointment. Having squandered her money, he goes bankrupt but continues his dishonest business dealings through arson, extortion and pawnbroking. An atheist with no concern for heaven and hell and no conscience, Mr. Badman substitutes for worship of God pride in himself. When God calls him to repentance by bringing him to the fear of death, once through a broken leg and once through grave illness, he in both instances calls on God's mercy but promptly forgets the religious impulse when danger to his life is past. Bitter, lonely, full of sins when he dies at last, he is

clearly damned, showing no signs of real repentance either in life or in death. Mr. Wiseman, who tells this story, and his listener, Mr. Attentive, explicate the events of the history and comment on God's workings and the necessity of man's willing to follow the way of salvation. The didacticism of the pattern of sin and damnation and the moralistic commentary is reinforced by Bunyan's introductory message to the reader:

I do trace him in his life, from his childhood to his death; that thou mayest, as in a glass, behold with thine own eyes the steps that take hold of hell; and also discern, while thou art reading of Mr. Badman's death, whether thou thyself art treading in his path thereto. . . . gravely inquire concerning thyself by the word, whether thou art one of his lineage or no: for Mr. Badman has left many of his relations behind him

I cannot but think that this shot will light upon many, since our fields are so full of this game; but how many it will kill to Mr. Badman's course, and make alive to the Pilgrim's Progress, that is not in me to determine; this secret is with the Lord our God only, and he alone knows to whom he will bless it to so good and so blessed an end. (IV, 3)

There are always these two ways; as the reader of The Pilgrim's Profession might recognize the pattern of his life from the model of Mary Gunter's, so he might, "as in a glass, behold . . . the steps that take hold of hell."

The pervasive structural motifs of most Puritan literature thus find expression even in the negative example of wayfaring to hell. Since Puritan allegories outnumber incarnational fictions, they leave us with an excessively narrow understanding of Puritan poetics; but inasmuch as they undermine the incarnational theology which they profess, they contribute to critical confusion about the real revolution in language and aesthetics which is one of the great legacies of the Puritan tradition in literature.

Notes to Chapter Three

¹ John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II, ed. Roger Sharrock (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1965), pp. 209-373. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in page references in the body of the paper.

² John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress, Part I, ed. Roger Sharrock (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1965), pp. 29-207. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in page references in the body of the paper.

³ Note the definitions of these terms in Chapter One.

⁴ Roger Sharrock, "Bunyan and the English Emblem Writers," RES, XXI (1945), 105-16.

⁵ Barbara Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 181.

⁶ John Bunyan, The Entire Works of John Bunyan, ed. Henry Stebbing (Toronto: Virtue, Yorston & Co., n.d.), IV, 447.

⁷ Sharrock, 112-15.

⁸ David Seed, "Dialogue and Debate in The Pilgrim's Progress," in Vincent Newey, ed., The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1980), pp. 69-90. Seed compares the characters of the two parts of The Pilgrim's Progress in terms of dialogue. In Part One, "since so much is at stake there is frequently more drama in the dialogue than their surface might suggest. Christian's confrontations with Apollyon and Mr Worldly-Wiseman . . . test his moral strength In Part Two a character usually names himself to the pilgrims and then gives a narrative of how he came to be travelling. . . . Here there is no hint of testing or verbal combat. . . . the characterization is both more explicit and less tense" (pp. 81-86).

⁹ S. J. Newman, in "Bunyan's Solidness," in Newey, pp. 225-50, takes an almost opposite position: "In Part One Bunyan was so concerned to solidify his metaphors that the numinousness of language was excluded. In Part Two Bunyan's confidence in his community is reflected in a different

attitude to language. . . . Language is once again miraculous, poetic and potential" (p. 241).

¹⁰William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (1938; rpt. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), p. 59.

¹¹John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress, Part III, Works, IV, 504-34.

¹²N. H. Keeble, in "Christiana's Key: The Unity of The Pilgrim's Progress," in Newey, pp. 1-20, records the various critics' distinctions and then argues that the two Parts make a creative whole; the focus on family and community in Part Two restores the imbalance of Part One's presentation of the isolated hero. A few critics, such as Charles W. Baird, in John Bunyan: A Study in Narrative Technique (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press, 1977), base a claim for the superiority of Part Two over Part One on the more mimetic, realistic and colloquial characterization of the former.

¹³Benjamin Keach, Tropologia: A Key to Open Scripture Metaphors: Book II: Practical Improvement (London, 1682), pp. 14-15 and pp. 46-47.

¹⁴Bunyan, Works, IV, 441.

¹⁵Bunyan, Works, III, 114.

¹⁶John Donne, The Sermons of John Donne, ed. G. F. Potter and Evelyn Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-1962), VII, 356.

¹⁷Bunyan, Works, II, 318.

¹⁸Karlfried Froehlich, "'Always to keep the literal sense in Holy Scripture means to kill one's soul': The State of Biblical Hermeneutics at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century," in Earl Miner, ed., Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 26.

¹⁹Froehlich, p. 33.

²⁰Froehlich, p. 28.

²¹Froehlich, p. 33.

²²Froehlich, p. 37.

²³Froehlich, p. 38.

²⁴Froehlich, p. 35.

²⁵Froehlich, p. 47.

²⁶Donne, Sermons, VI, 62.

²⁷Bunyan, Works, II, 190-91.

²⁸Martin Luther, The Bondage of the Will, in Luther's Works,

ed. Philip S. Watson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972),

XXXIII, 89-91.

²⁹Bunyan, Works, II, 318.

³⁰Bunyan, Works, IV, 444.

³¹John Bunyan, The Holy War, ed. James F. Forrest (New York: Copp

Clark Publishing Co., 1967), p. 5. Subsequent references to this text

will be incorporated in page references in the body of the paper.

³²Bunyan, Works, III, 227.

³³Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (Toronto:

Academic Press Canada, 1982), p. 15.

³⁴Frye, p. 15.

³⁵Frye, p. 10.

³⁶Bunyan, The Holy War, p. 20n.

³⁷Bunyan, The Holy War, p. 35n.

³⁸Lewalski, Protestant Poetics, pp. 115-16.

³⁹Lynn Veach Sadler, John Bunyan (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979),

pp. 88-89.

⁴⁰In The Rise of Puritanism, p. 142, Haller records many of the

sermons and tracts based on these figures.

⁴¹Richard Bernard, The Isle of Man, 4th ed., 12o, for E. Black-

more, 1627 (Xerox: University Microfilms, n.d.).

⁴²Benjamin Keach, The Travels of True Godliness, 3rd ed. 12o, for

John Duntun (Xerox: University Microfilms, n.d.).

⁴³Thomas Taylor, The Pilgrim's Profession: a sermon, 12o, J. D[awson]

for J. Bartlet, 1622 (Xerox: University Microfilms, n.d.).

⁴⁴Haller, p. 149.

⁴⁵ Samuel Clarke, A General Martyrologie, London: Printed by A. M. for Thomas Underhill and John Rothwell, 1651, fol. (Xerox: University Microfilms, n.d.).

⁴⁶ Martin Luther, "Preface to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans," in Reformation Writings of Martin Luther, ed. Bertram Lee Woolf (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956), II, 290.

⁴⁷ John Bunyan, The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, in Works, IV, 3.

Chapter Four

"Not even a metaphorical existence": Hawthorne in an age

of hieratic and demotic language

In The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, Bunyan parodies the saint's progress, perhaps his own Pilgrim's Progress. Parody demands conscious recognition by the reader of the discrepancies between the original story's theme and structure and those of the ironic inversion. To insure that the reader correctly interprets his parody, Bunyan adopts the narrative structure of a dialogue: Mr. Wiseman comments and Mr. Attentive learns. Where Bunyan trusts the reader of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One to find the Word in himself and by himself, in this didactic phase of his writing Bunyan sets up a preacher-figure as the interpreter of the Word rather than allowing for the active insight of the reader to distance him from the false version of the story of wayfaring.

It is not as great a leap from a seventeenth-century story of wayfaring to a nineteenth-century New England version of the story as one might think. But the first thing one notices about Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Celestial Railroad" (1846)¹ is that the reader is required to be both Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive, to recognize for himself the demonic nature of this parody of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One. To begin with, the reader must know Bunyan's story, must recognize, for example, the substitution of the railroad for the foot path and of Mr. Smooth-it-away for Evangelist. But where Bunyan contrasts the two pious speakers to the character central to the story's action, Hawthorne opposes his narrator,

another such "bad man" devoted to temporal well-being and "convenient" religious practices and visited by occasional misgivings, to the two worthy pilgrims, Mr. Stick-to-the-truth and Mr. Foot-it-to-heaven. The narrator notes: "It was laughable . . . to observe two dusty foot travelers in the old pilgrim guise, with . . . their intolerable burdens on their backs. The preposterous obstinacy of these honest people in persisting to groan and stumble along the difficult pathway rather than take advantage of modern improvements, excited great mirth among our wiser brotherhood" (p. 1073). Making his sinner the first-person narrator, Hawthorne extends the irony of his story in that he requires his reader to make another act of interpretation: the narrator must be recognized as unreliable and the pilgrims he ridicules must be seen as being, like Christian, successful pilgrims.

Bunyan's values, along with his narrative structure, are far more straight-forward than Hawthorne's; indeed, the references in "The Celestial Railroad" to the characters, places and events of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One suggest qualified admiration, or perhaps a nostalgia for the certainty of traditional theology. Mr. Smooth-it-away tells the narrator that "Greatheart has grown preposterously stiff and narrow in his old age" (p. 1072) and points out the "large, antique edifice" which, in "Bunyan's road-book . . . is mentioned as the Interpreter's House"; the "keeper was violently opposed to the railroad" but "the foot-path still passes his door, and the old gentleman now and then . . . entertains

[a pilgrim] with fare as old-fashioned as himself" (pp. 1073-74). The Hill Difficulty and the Valley of Humiliation have both been levelled, "smoothed away"; difficulties such as the Real Presence of the Word do not intrude because this is an ironic version of a pilgrimage, not a story of a pilgrim face to face with divine power.

The irony in "The Celestial Railroad" functions primarily, along with the irony of Mr. Badman, to portray the contemporary evils which are "the steps that take hold of hell."² In the tradition of Bunyan, Hawthorne warns against the preoccupation with material prosperity of "the first gentry and most respectable people" (p. 1072) whose progressivist confidence in the "scientific process" (p. 1071) would substitute the "convenient" and "accommodating" modern invention, the railroad, for the more difficult pilgrimage by foot. Progressivism in technology and the celebration of prosperity are closely tied, in this story, to "liberal" religious practices. Mr. Smooth-it-away, a character who is one of the "largest stockholders" of the railroad, this "praiseworthy enterprise" (p. 1070), is the guide devoted to "smoothing away" the difficulties of the pilgrimage; the company's choice of Apollyon as the train's engineer "shows the liberality of the age [and] proves, if anything can, that all musty prejudices are in a fair way to be obliterated" (p. 1073). The travellers on the railroad, along with its "worthy and enlightened directors" (p. 1072), keep their "religion . . . thrown tastefully into the background" to the extent that it would not "shock [the] sensibility" even of "an infidel" (p. 1072). Hawthorne's reader, then, must reject his role as "benevolent reader" (p. 1072), must reassess, in other

words, the assumptions of the "sensibility" of Hawthorne's time. Both "The Celestial Railroad" and Mr. Badman are satires as well as parodies, negative examples which attack contemporary evils and imply, through reference to The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, a normative story of way-faring.

"The Celestial Railroad" satirizes not only "realistic" religious and business practices and liberal ideas of what is "real" but also the "realism" of the narrator's language. This modern pilgrim feels obliged to deny that the pit they pass in the Valley of the Shadow of Death can be the entrance even to some metaphorical hell: "The spot where we had now paused is the same that our friend Bunyan--a truthful man, but infected with many fantastic notions--has designated, in terms plainer than I like to repeat, as the mouth of the infernal region. This, however, must be a mistake, inasmuch as Mr. Smooth-it-away . . . took occasion to prove that Tophet has not even a metaphorical existence. The place, he assured us, is no other than the crater of a half-extinct volcano" (pp. 1075-76). The phrase, "not even a metaphorical existence," reveals that, for him, metaphor has no reality, no power to guarantee the identity of what he perceives as identical. The irony of the passage shows that his realism is merely a defensive reaction against such identity: "Whoever . . . had heard the awful murmurs . . . and whispers of the blast, sometimes forming themselves into words almost articulate, would have seized upon Mr. Smooth-it-away's comfortable explanation as greedily as we did. . . . grim faces . . . seemed to thrust themselves through the veil of light I almost thought that they were my

own sins that appalled me there. These were freaks of imagination . . . waking dreams. . . . I could wellnigh have taken my oath that this whole gloomy passage was a dream" (pp. 1076-77). The narrator's only recourse is to deny the reality of imagination itself; he dismisses as "dream" what the narrator of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One recounts as a true dream, thereby denying the validity of his own experience. The narrator's remarks thus provide us with an oblique assessment of a major shift in cultural attitudes to language which has taken place since Bunyan's time. His rejection of metaphor in favor of realism represents what Frye has termed the demotic phase of language, where "things" become the only criterion of truth.³ His kind of literalism is in fact the precise opposite of Bunyan's kind since truth is now projected outward into the external source of the description, rather than inward toward the authorizing power of the metaphorical Word.

Hawthorne's satire may reveal his discomfort with the social and linguistic values of his age, but his broadside against the Giant Transcendentalist suggests that he is hardly more comfortable with Emersonian theories of language and metaphor. This nineteenth-century American way leads, after the Valley of the Shadow of Death, past the Giant Transcendentalist whom "neither he for himself, nor anybody for him, has ever been able to describe" (p. 1077). He occupies the old cave of the Giants Pope and Pagan (Augustine and Plato) and fattens his victims on smoke, moonshine and sawdust--there is no middle term between the impalpable and the gross. Hawthorne reinforces his perception of the emptiness of this religious-philosophical movement by concluding: "He shouted after us, but in so strange a phraseology that we knew not what he meant, nor whether to be encouraged or affrighted" (p. 1077).

His publication of The Scarlet Letter three years later marks the decisive character of Bunyan's influence in that Hawthorne solves for himself what he takes to be the aesthetic crisis of his age; in particular, his fixation upon a letter become a metaphor is a direct outgrowth of the Bunyanesque vision of the word become the Word. But his development of this central feature of Puritan metaphor involves something of a return to origins, rather than an extension of the tradition of metaphor which had evolved from the poetics of early American Puritans. To understand his quarrel with the Giant Transcendentalist, we must distinguish between Emersonian and Bunyanesque conceptions of metaphor before we locate Emerson as an outgrowth of a particular tradition in America.

ii

Ralph Waldo Emerson's Nature expresses a theory of language which can best be called metonymic. As briefly explained in Chapter One, metonymic language does not represent things in nature as reality but "a world of thought separate from and in some respects superior to the physical world of nature."⁴ Words, as Frye describes this form of language, "are 'put for' thoughts, and are the outward expressions of an inner reality. But this reality is not merely 'inside.' Thoughts indicate the existence of a transcendent order 'above,' which only thinking can communicate with and which only words can express."⁵ This metonymic phase of language is identified with Plato; its transcendental perspective introduces a dualism into language and thought which projects reality into some "higher" sphere beyond itself, thereby elevating the

concept at the expense of words or figures of speech such as metaphors. The metaphorical "sense of energy common to subject and object"⁶ is overtaken by a sense of their separation.

The epigraph to the 1836 edition of Emerson's Nature is fittingly taken from Plotinus: "Nature is but an image or imitation of wisdom, the last thing of the soul; nature being a thing which doth only do, but not know."⁷ It establishes at the outset both the traditional character of his "transcendental" perspective, and the philosophical dualism of his epistemology. The philosopher is viewed as the person who, through his awareness of Nature, can perceive both worlds, the Ideal and the Material, the One and the Many: "The lover of nature is he whose inward and outward senses are still truly adjusted to each other Standing on the bare ground . . . all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eye-ball. I am nothing. I see all. The currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or particle of God."⁸ The eye-ball, "put for" the perceiver, is nevertheless transparent in its concern that the material world be left behind. The perceiver is nothing; some "higher" world is "all." In fact, in the section entitled "Idealism," he concludes that in physics, art and philosophy, "the material is ever degraded before the spiritual."⁹

The philosopher capable of such vision or understanding of Nature is, in expression, a poet:¹⁰

the poet . . . differs from the philosopher only herein, that the one proposes Beauty as his main end; the other Truth. But, the philosopher, not less than the poet, postpones the apparent order and relations of things to the empire of thought. "The problem of philosophy," according to Plato, "is, for all

that exists conditionally, to find a ground unconditioned and absolute." It proceeds on the faith that a law determines all phenomena . . . That law, when in the mind, is an idea. Its beauty is infinite. The true philosopher and the true poet are one, and a beauty, which is truth . . . is the aim₁₁ of both.

The philosopher and the Emersonian poet, then, both see in nature a correspondence to a reality beyond itself. While it is the work of the philosopher to find the source of such correspondences, it is the task of the poet to create verbal correspondences for the analogue of Nature. The central aesthetic device in Emerson's prose, according to William J. Scheick, is the image, such as the "One Man Hieroglyph" of the "Traveling Geologist Hieroglyph," which helps the reader "see into and beyond art, nature and the self [The writer's] hieroglyphs embody what should be seen, possessed, and eventually transcended."¹² Language thus becomes a first rung in the metonymic ladder:

1. Words are signs of natural facts.
 2. Particular natural facts are symbols of particular spiritual facts.
 3. Nature is the symbol of spirit.
- . . . man is an analogist, and studies relations in all objects. . . . This immediate dependence of language upon nature, this conversion of an outward phenomenon into a type of somewhat in his life, never loses its power to affect us. . . . Thus is nature an interpreter, by whose means man₁₃ converses with his fellow men

This Platonic belief that language copies the forms of nature comes to Emerson through a long tradition reaching from Aristotle and Plotinus to Coleridge.¹⁴

Emerson's philosopher-poet is dependent, however, upon a Christian tradition as well; deity is a "trinity of Goodness, Truth and Beauty."¹⁵

In this sense he becomes a moralist. Yet the book of nature is no longer the expression of ongoing Providence, rather the illustration of abstract and progressivist social values. Joel Porte explains this aspect of Emerson's thought: "Nature simply serves as a source of tropes for the discourses of the moralist or . . . the poet (who turns out to be a moralist in disguise). . . . Communion and ecstasy are replaced by progress, and art finds no honored place beside commerce, science, and philosophy. . . . Nature ends as a hymn to progress under the moral law."¹⁶ This secular teleology of progress has developed from, and itself becomes a contradiction of the Christian sense of history since it is made abstract, ignoring the concrete Reformation emphasis on Divine Time intersecting contemporary experience, on "Apocalypse Now." This social aspect of Emerson's thinking is not all that far from the world of "The Celestial Railroad," giving Hawthorne another reason to doubt whether the Giant Transcendentalist shouted words of encouragement or threat.

Certainly Emerson's conception of metaphor is nothing like the practice of seventeenth-century English Puritan poets; indeed, David Porter finds latent in Emerson's Platonic aesthetics the modern concern, found for example in Wallace Stevens and Robert Frost, with the poet's ordering of the chaos of experience into meaning.¹⁷ What happened in America to man's consciousness of language in general and of metaphor in particular in the two hundred years between Bunyan and Emerson can be traced in the works of two other men who also focussed their dual concern--for poetry and "truth"--in metaphor.

The New England aesthetic tradition from which, among other influences, Emerson's Transcendentalism is derived begins with such seventeenth-century Puritan poets as Edward Taylor. Taylor's "Prologue" to Preparatory Meditations questions and then asserts the belief, summarized by Donne in the metaphor of the poet as the "voyce of God," that he can, in his verse, express God's Word:

Lord, Can a Crumb of Dust the Earth outweigh,
Outmatch all mountains, nay the Chrystall Sky?
Imbosom in't designs that shall Display
And trace into the Boundless Deity?
Yea hand a Pen whose moysture doth guild ore₁₈
Eternall Glory with a glorious gloire.

In God's Altar: The World and the Flesh in Puritan Poetry, Robert Daly

cites several theological statements by Taylor which underlie this aesthetics:

"The world is his book; so many pages, as so many several creatures; no page is empty, but full of lines; every quality of the creature, is a several letter of this book, and no letter without a part of God's wisdom in it."

If the world itself is metaphorical, then "the voice of the Creatures is not to be banished out of the church," and ministers must be metaphorical in their conceivings and their preachings

In focusing on the metaphorical nature of the physical world and the metaphorical language of the Bible, Taylor was moving toward an understanding of meditation as a literary, as well as a religious, exercise. And he knew it. Discussing metaphorical predications about the nature of God, he clearly moves into the realm of literary criticism The sensible world was a voice to be heard, a book to be read, and meditation was a verbal, a literary, method₁₉ of practicing one's religion.

Taylor's reading of the Book of Nature would be indistinguishable from Emerson's method of reading it as a sign of "spirit," were it not for the existence of another Book which, if called the Word of God, has the same name as the Son. This presence of Christ as metaphor is, according to Daly, the cornerstone of Taylor's art:

the greatest metaphor, for Taylor, is Christ Himself, the living link between grace and nature, God and man, the metaphor who uses metaphors and whose union of earthly and divine is figured through another metaphor, the Lord's Supper. . . . This perfect metaphor, neither the world nor heaven but this union of the two, inspired Taylor's poetry. First, Christ completes the order of nature, and love of Christ enables the poet to sing as love of the world cannot. . . . Not only would man be dead to God without the intermediation of Christ, but without Christ's having taken on a body, man could have no notion of God. Without the mediation of the Christ-metaphor, the image of God would fade Christ had left behind a metaphor to feed the image of God in the mind of each man, the Lord's Supper. ²⁰

Taylor can thus create poems, such as "Meditation 8 (First Series)," based on John vi. 51, "I am the Living Bread," which explore Christ's literal metaphor: the Son is the Bread of Life. ²¹

Daly argues that such poetry and poetics were not unique to Taylor but characterized the work of most of his contemporaries: "Puritan poets saw symbols in the Bible and the world. From these sources they derived not only most of their symbols, but the symbolic method itself, the lens through which they perceived and expressed their own experience. Not ornaments retrospectively imposed upon a simple narration, the Puritans' symbols were central to their writings because they were central to their lives."²² Though he finds no deliberately articulated poetics in early American poetry, Daly does assert that there was a common belief which found expression in a characteristic and persistent quality of Puritan metaphor: religious and sensual symbols "are based upon an intrinsic relation between the sign and thing signified";²³ "the only way to say anything about God's glory is through the creatures, through metaphor, a literary device implicit in God's creation and sanctioned by its use in Scripture."²⁴

Taylor's "Meditation 8 (First Series)" nonetheless raises the doubt that the poet can ever truly speak with "God's voyce," or that his word can become the instrument of the Word's expression.

Taylor's very method of translating biblical metaphors into

"kitchen metaphors" is a step toward metonymy, though Lewalski terms it rather "meiosis--a recasting of God's metaphors in homely, colloquial terms. By this means the poet represents the immense gulf between himself and God's glory and greatness, and enacts the utter impossibility of proper description and praise."²⁵ Taylor's meditation, while undertaking "an 'application to the self' of [the] text"²⁶ in the manner of Donne, concludes with a vision of "God's white loaf" (l. 28) crying in the speaker's mouth, "Eat, eat me, Soul, and thou shalt never die" (l. 36). The Pauline metaphor of Christ living within the individual (Galatians ii. 20) is not confidently realized here; rather, there is real doubt that "This wicker cage (my corpse)" (l. 8) could ever achieve that perfection in which Christ becomes the individual, "in which the total body is complete within each individual."²⁷ The soul is offered a reprieve, but the body does not become the Bread it eats; the metaphor does not give the individual "the internal authority of the unity of the Logos"²⁸ in the typically decentralized version of the Puritan metaphor.

Taylor is unusual, according to Daly, in expressing serious doubts about the power of his metaphors.²⁹ In "Meditation 22 (First Series)," he deprecates his poetry:

My Quaintest Metaphors are ragged Stuff,
Making the Sun seem like a Mullipuff.

Its my desire, thou shouldst be glorifi'de:
But when thy Glory shines before mine eye,
I pardon Crave, lest my desire be Pride.
Or bed thy Glory in a Cloudy Sky.

.

Whether I speake, or speechless stand, I spy,
I faile thy Glory: therefore pardon Cry.

But this I find; My Rhymes do better suite
Mine own Dispraise than tune forth praise to thee.
Yet being Chid, whether Consonant, or Mute,
I force my Tongue to tattle, as you see.
That I thy glorious Praise may Trumpet fight,³⁰
Be thou my Song, and make Lord, mee thy Pipe.

Taylor's humble concern about the separation of subject and object ("I fail Thy glory") may be explained theologically in terms of election. Thus Daly defines Taylor's questioning of his own metaphors as the expression of his concern for his calling--will God "make" him His "pipe?"³¹

Certainly the same pattern of doubting self-criticism and prayerful hope structures other poems, such as "Meditation 26 (Second Series)":

Unclean, Unclean: My Lord, Undone, all vile,
Yea all Defild: What shall thy Servant doe?
Unfit for thee: not fit for holy Soile,
Nor for Communion of Saints below.

.

Oh! wash mee, Lord, in this Choice Fountain, White
That I may enter, and not sully here
Thy Church, whose floore is pav'de with Graces bright
And hold Church fellowship with Saints most cleare.
My Voice all sweet, with their melodious layes
Shall make sweet Musick blossom'd with thy prase.³²

While the hope of making "sweet music" is an expression of confidence in God, the singer is most concerned that he should not "sully" God's church or the company of saints. The metaphor leads in a centralizing sense to the Church, rather than the individual believer, as the Body of Christ. Taylor, then, takes the first step back in America from emerging Puritan habits of metaphor to Platonic and Augustinian concepts of metonymy.

A far more serious challenge to the power of metaphor, and one which more certainly laid the groundwork for Emerson's transformation of it into a secondary sign, is that of the eighteenth-century Puritan preacher, Jonathan Edwards. Leader of the "Great Awakening" of the 1740s, Edwards used the Bible as his model for finding spiritual meaning in natural life: "The book of Scripture is the interpreter of the book of nature two ways, viz., by declaring to us those spiritual mysteries that are indeed signified and typified in the constitution of the natural world; and secondly, in actually making application of the signs and types in the book of nature as representations of those spiritual mysteries in many instances."³³ Images or Shadows of Divine Things is Edwards' collection of such applications; for example, "Ravens, that with delight feed on carrion, seem to be remarkeable [sic] types of devils, who with delight prey upon the souls of the dead."³⁴ For Edwards, signs in nature resemble biblical types. In "Miscellanies," No. 362, he writes:

Indeed, the whole outward creation, which is but the shadows of His being, is so made as to represent spiritual things. It might be demonstrated by the wonderful agreement in thousands of things, much of the same kind as between the types of the Old Testament and their antitypes; and by there being spiritual things being so often and continually compared with them in the word of God. And it is agreeable to God's wisdom that it should be so, that the inferior and shadowy parts of His works should be made to represent those things that are more real and excellent, spiritual and divine, to represent the things that immediately concern Himself and the highest parts of His work. . . . Thus the inferior dispensation of the Gospel was all to shadow forth the highest and most excellent which was its end; thus almost everything that was said or done, that we have recorded in Scripture from Adam to Christ, 35 was typical of Gospel things. (emphases mine)

Unlike the typology of Donne's Devotions, in which the story of Israel becomes that of the individual, Edwards' typology is essentially Platonic. The very diction of his title, Images or Shadows of Divine Things, indicates how far his "signs and types" are from literal metaphor.

Perry Miller, in his "Introduction" to this work, maintains that Edwards adopted Locke's psychological empiricism in order to restate, for his church, the relationships of physical nature, the perceiving, "sensible," human mind, and spiritual meaning.³⁶ More recent critics find Platonic dualism the most pervasive determinant in Edwards' metaphysics, theology and theories of language. William J. Scheick, for example, quotes Edwards' claim that "Material things can have analogy to things spiritual but they can have no more than a shadow or image of being's consent to Being" as typical of his philosophy.³⁷ Conrad Cherry argues that, out of his hierarchical perception of the relationships of nature, art, the redeemed man and God, Edwards developed two kinds of figurative language, not only the didactic exempla popularized by his followers, but also images of nature as symbols: "The aim of the true 'type' or 'image' is to re-present through itself a

higher meaning, rather than simply to point toward that meaning. . . . in his most 'affective' sermons he achieved . . . an imagery designed to lead one into . . . the delights of heaven and the miseries of hell."³⁸ But natural images, whether they represent or point to higher meaning, remain instruments secondary in importance to the concepts which they symbolize. Thus, "Nature was beautiful, not in itself, but only to the extent that it reflected the harmony of the human mind and the glory of the Creator."³⁹

Edwards' idealism, therefore, contradicts the primitive sense of his Puritan ancestors that language has the power to express religious experiences. Harold P. Simonson quotes Edwards: "'the things of Christianity are so spiritual, so refined . . . so much above the things we ordinarily converse with and our common affairs for which we adapt our words' that we are forced to use words 'analogically.' Edwards was certain that words in their literalness and 'their ordinary use' do not exhibit 'what we intend they should when used in divinity.'"⁴⁰ Words, such as those of a sermon, prepare man for religious experience by exciting his emotions and by explaining doctrine but neither are words the means of grace nor can words express the heart's experience of grace: "they emphatically do not reach the religious vision of [God's glory] nor can they incarnate it."⁴¹ Likewise, in an analysis of Edwards' Personal Narrative, Wayne Lesser discovers that "The language of man is an expression of fallen man, and the act of writing, rather than representing the teleology of conversion (change in one's mode of being), discloses the fluctuation of the human entity away from and toward its own human mode of being--the essence of the human dilemma. [Edwards distinguishes]

. . . between the living man whose being is tied to language and a saintly man whose essence is beyond language (and, therefore, beyond the scope of man in his worldly existence)."⁴² Platonic aesthetics, for Edwards as for St. Augustine, led in two directions, towards metonymy and towards mystical retreat from language into silence.

In the history of American aesthetics, Edwards extended the process whereby the literal metaphor of Puritans such as Bunyan and Taylor gave way to the hieratic mimesis of nineteenth-century Transcendental and Romantic writers even as it was replaced in seventeenth-century England by the same second strain of Puritan writing. Emerson, with his accurate description of and perception of abstract meaning in nature, took the next short step after Edwards to complete the movement to descriptive realism which joined metonymy, the aesthetic outgrowth of Platonic dualism, as the dominant linguistic forms. Hawthorne, who is not comfortable with either, engages his characters and his narrators in various acts of interpretation, thereby using the concern of his contemporaries with perception to redefine the cornerstone of his Puritan heritage, literal metaphor.

iii

Critical study of Hawthorne's aesthetics has usually been conducted with reference to the aesthetics of his Transcendentalist circle of friends⁴³ and in terms of the thematic preoccupations of other nineteenth-century American writers of romance.⁴⁴ Certainly a few have noted that, for example, Hawthorne, a direct descendant of the strict New England Puritans, "names and uses The Pilgrim's Progress in his own

pages more than any other book."⁴⁵ But no one has examined Hawthorne in terms of Puritan aesthetics.⁴⁶

"Ethan Brand"⁴⁷ refers directly to The Pilgrim's Progress in a description of the door at the bottom of a kiln tower: "With the smoke and jets of flame issuing from the chinks and crevices of this door, which seemed to give admittance into the hill-side, it resembled nothing so much as the private entrance to the infernal regions, which the shepherds of the Delectable Mountains were accustomed to show to pilgrims" (p. 1185). The titular hero, Ethan Brand, has in fact undertaken a quest for the Unpardonable Sin, the demonic equivalent of Christian's quest for knowledge of the goodness beyond normal human ken. Brand seeks evil and becomes trapped in the identity of that which he seeks—he "became a fiend" (p. 1194)—as Bunyan's pilgrim becomes identified with Christ. This growth into identity suggests that "Ethan Brand" is not an ironic allegory like "The Celestial Railroad," but that it has many of the structural characteristics of Bunyan's fiction.

Landscape, to begin with, is a psychological projection of the characters, embodying the conflict of divine and demonic forces within them and the natural world, as in the landscape of The Pilgrim's Progress. The lime-kiln, in which Brand evokes the shape of the Ultimate Sin, performs a kind of alchemy or transfiguration of common matter. The kiln, which is also the agent of Brand's transformation, is on a mountain, near a village where the world retains its normal guise. Brand's fiendish laugh at the absurdity that he had sought through the world for the sin

he eventually found in his own heart "almost appalled the lime-burner when it heralded the wayfarer's approach. The solitary mountain-side was made dismal by it" (p. 1187). And it is metaphorically important that Brand is as cut off from the natural world as he is from the natural man such as Bartram, his successor as lime-burner. As Brand plunges into the fire he acknowledges that he has left the temporal world of man and nature: "O Mother Earth, . . . who art no more my Mother, and into whose bosom this frame shall never be resolved! O mankind, whose brotherhood I have cast off O stars of heaven, that shone on me of old, as if to light me onward and upward!--farewell all, and forever" (p. 1195). His final demonic laugh is heard by Bartram and his son: "dim shapes of horror and anguish haunted their dreams" (p. 1195). When they shake off these dream images, they share with the landscape the joy of daylight unthreatened by an unnatural dark:

The early sunshine was already pouring its gold upon the mountain-tops, and . . . they smiled cheerfully in the promise of the bright day The village . . . looked as if it had rested peacefully in the hollow of the great hand of Providence. . . . Stepping from one to another of the clouds that rested on the hills, and thence to the loftier brotherhood that sailed in air, it seemed almost as if a mortal man might thus ascend into the heavenly regions. Earth was so mingled with sky that it was a day-dream to look at it. (p. 1195)

The celestial way can almost be seen in reaction to the departure of the demonic wayfarer; day-dreams, visions of heaven, replace nightmare shapes. The son, Joe, less tied to temporal concerns than his father, hears the echo of the stage-coach horn: "The great hills played a concert

among themselves, each contributing a strain of airy sweetness" (p. 1196). Joe understands this response of the natural world to "the familiar and homely, which Nature so readily adopts" and tells his father: "that stranger man is gone, and the sky and the mountains all seem glad of it" (p. 1196).

Another Bunyanesque technique is Hawthorne's development of his story in terms of a few metaphors which become somehow literal. Brand is himself an embodiment of the biblical "hardened heart" (John xii. 40). When he watches the kiln for Bartram, Brand burns the marble into perfect lime by throwing his body, "branding" himself, into the hot marble. Within the ribs of his skeleton "was the shape of a human heart" (p. 1196). Bartram guesses at the earlier alchemy of the natural heart into one which is spiritually dead: "Was the fellow's heart made of marble?" (p. 1196). Brand remembers his progress toward spiritual death in similar terms:

He remembered . . . with what reverence he had then looked into the heart of man . . . with what awful fear he had deprecated the success of his pursuit, and prayed that the Unpardonable Sin might never be revealed to him. Then ensued that vast intellectual development, which, in its progress, disturbed the counterpoise between his mind and heart. The Idea . . . had raised him from the level of an unlettered laborer to stand on a star-lit eminence, whither the philosophers . . . might vainly strive to clamber after him. (p. 1194)

He is the first of a series of fiends, including Chillingworth, who over-value abstraction and hence lose their concrete, human identity; his heart "had hardened He had lost his hold of the magnetic chain of humanity. He was no longer a brother-man, opening the chambers or

the dungeons of our common nature by the key of holy sympathy, which gave him a right to share in all its secrets" (p. 1194). Although, Faust-like, Brand "had produced the Ultimate Sin" (p. 1194), "secrets" are not revealed to him. The theological implications of Brand's alienation--"he was no longer a brother-man"--and of his Platonic abstraction--"The Idea"--have to do with the pre-eminence of love and fellowship in human life. "Ethan Brand" offers an ironic reversal of the values in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One insofar as it is implicitly critical of the pilgrim like Christian who leaves the brotherhood of man to go on his quest for perfection. "Salvation," for Hawthorne, generally does not mean going beyond the common walk of humanity, but remaining in sympathy and pity with sinning creatures.

Giles Gunn, in The Interpretation of Otherness: Literature, Religion and the American Imagination, finds this sympathy one of the three responses to the "Other" most often found in major American works. American literary heroes, typically, fall from naivety into an experience of the "Other"--whether that be God, Nature, the wilderness, the city--in response to which they must redefine themselves and move beyond their myopic, profane, and ultimately innocent social selves. Hawthorne's work is distinguished, in these terms, from that of Emerson and Edwards primarily in terms of the identity of the "Other": "Where those who imagine 'otherness' in the transcendental mode define virtue as a form of consent, those who imagine 'otherness' in what may be described as the social mode redefine virtue as a form of sympathy."⁴⁸

Hawthorne's redefinition of some of Bunyan's theological beliefs, as well as those of his American Puritan forefathers, has a literary dimension: he is attempting to recreate, in an age of metonymic and demotic writing, Bunyan's tradition of metaphor. For the aesthetic correlative of Hawthorne's emphasis on the evil of abstraction, whether intellectual or social, is his perception of the inadequacy of the Platonic tradition of metonymy. He posits an Interpreter, like Bunyan's, with a portable "House" in which the pilgrim can recognize his identity; in the diorama Brand sees an image which he interprets as the Ultimate Sin while "a curious youth, who had peeped in almost at the same moment, beheld only a vacant space of canvas" (p. 1192). But Brand, with the potential to interpret images and know the metaphorical identity of the old man as the Jew of Nuremberg, bids this Wandering Jew to reveal no more. Brand's quest, from the start, has been for an abstraction, an image which could deny the divine power which could connect God and man: "by [evoking] a fiend from the hot furnace of the lime-kiln . . . [he labored] to frame the image of some mode of guilt which could neither be atoned for, nor forgiven" (p. 1188).

The aesthetic equivalent of such forgiveness would be a metaphor, an expression of the energy common to subject and object. But Brand recognizes only metonymic images. While he is watching a "very quiet, well-disposed dog . . . [which] began to run after his tail . . . as if one end of the ridiculous brute's body were at deadly and most unforgivable enmity with the other" (p. 1192), Brand recognizes in

its behavior, which the villagers see as a simple amusement, the absurdity of his frantic quest for the Ultimate Sin: "moved, as it might be, by a perception of some remote analogy between his own case and that of this self-pursuing cur, he broke into the awful laugh, which, more than any other token, expressed the condition of his inward being" (p. 1193). Seeking abstraction and denying his gift of metaphorical interpretation, he "abstracts" himself from true knowledge, forgiveness and contact with man and nature. His sin is seeking abstract Sin, flight from the metaphorical Word of union and identity. If Bunyan's Christian becomes the Word, Brand, as a negative Christian, becomes a devil precisely because he admits to no Word. Turning from the source of life ("In the beginning was the Word") to the nothingness of abstraction, Brand destroys himself; the only act which is left to him is suicide.

If Ethan Brand's demonic progress proves by negative example the necessity of correct interpretation of metaphor, Bartram and the villagers, tied as they are to temporal concerns, have no interpretative powers. The Jew shows in his diorama what they can recognize: crude reproductions of the fine arts, images of historical characters and travelogues of European castles. He also provides for them magical entertainment by distorting the image of Joe's face. To them, Brand is "but a crazy fellow" (p. 1191). Their perception is demotic, determined by reference to everyday experience. But Ethan Brand's denial of metaphor, of the energy between subject and object, which is much like his denial of community, goes beyond such natural ignorance to make him what he sought to avoid: a literal metaphor of

the hardened heart. In "Ethan Brand," then, Hawthorne both uses literal metaphors and reveals their misinterpretation by a Platonist and the "realistic" villagers; only the child recognizes the energy connecting man and nature, man and goodness, man and evil.

"Young Goodman Brown" (1835)⁴⁹ begins contrariwise with a protagonist and his wife whose names, Goodman Brown and Faith, suggest that they might belong to a morality play; but such allegorical interpretation by the reader is precluded by the ironic world of hieroglyphic metaphors in which the ambiguities of their relationship are revealed. The metaphorical structure of this story, like that of "Ethan Brand," centers upon the literal metaphors which Brown and the reader learn to identify. The devil, whose family resemblance proves him to be an ancestor figure, a metaphor of Brown's identity, carries a staff "which bore the likeness of a great black snake, so curiously wrought, that it might almost be seen to twist and wriggle itself, like a living serpent" (p. 1034). An image which combines the serpent of Eden and the rod of the Israelites' deliverance, this staff wields the "living" power of sin and salvation. And character is, literally, metaphor in this story; the guide's Homeric-like attribute is "he of the serpent" (p. 1034). Literal metaphor is made possible by ritual as well as by the image; in the midnight forest communion of evil, man, beast, and landscape become one in the demonic parody of a familiar hymn; with the hymn, the tune of which was known but whose words "expressed all that our nature can conceive of sin" (p. 1040), "there came a sound, as if the roaring wind, the rushing streams, the howling beasts, and every other voice of the unconverted wilderness,

were mingling and according with the voice of guilty man, in homage to the prince of all" (p. 1040). This story thus supplies many more examples than does "Ethan Brand" of the knowledge of metaphorical identity in art (word or image), in character and in nature.

Young Goodman Brown, like Ethan Brand, is a pilgrim damned by his quest for the abstract distinction between good and evil, for "the deep mystery of sin, the fountain of all wicked arts" (p. 1041). Brown, who had earlier been naively pious, seeing only goodness in his wife and his community and church leaders, now despairs and sees them as wholly evil: "My Faith is gone! There is no good on earth; and sin is but a name. Come, devil! for to thee is this world given" (p. 1038). This despair makes him evil: "Thus sped the demoniac on his course" (p. 1039). This story too is thus, in some respects, an ironic inversion of Christian's progress--a demoniac's course.⁵⁰ Not only does Brown lose his Faith, where Christian remembers the promise of his in Doubting Castle, but the devil in the later work is also better than the "goodman"--Brown, with his insistence on defining evil, is shown as spiritually inferior to his devil guide who shows sorrow, sympathy and understanding, even reluctance to take Brown into the absolute knowledge which will sever him from human contact. The devil is a better interpreter than Brown because he is more flexibly sympathetic. For Brown's damnation is his determination to distinguish, his refusal to recognize the ironic interaction and identity of good, evil and the natural world. Brand and Brown are failed Interpreters, representatives of what Hawthorne evidently saw as the great difficulty, in his age, even for brilliant and "good" men, of redeeming

perception. Michael Davitt Bell, in The Development of American Romance: The Sacrifice of Relation, also finds that Hawthorne explores his characters' needs to think in allegorical terms as a "sacrifice of relation," as their unconsciously "sinful," dualistic denial of the possibility of understanding eternal truths and of expressing meaning in words: "Brown accepts abstract, allegorical meaning as a displacement for unacknowledgeable impulses--as a refuge from more personal insight."⁵¹

Hawthorne uses the narrators of both stories to demonstrate the problems of interpretation. The blatantly ironic presentation of the narrator of "The Celestial Railroad" is followed, in his other stories and in The Scarlet Letter, by more complex and subtle narrative stances. The narrator of "Ethan Brand," for example, in using phrases such as "it seemed . . . that," "as if," and "as it might be," refuses to interpret the supernatural phenomena of his story, refuses even to assert that there are any; yet he does record these events--the box does contain a vision which startles even Brand, and his heart is turned to stone. This narrator, like so many others in Hawthorne's works, stands at the heart of what D. H. Lawrence calls his "duplicity,"⁵² and is typical of the many narrators who, wavering in their fear of being unrealistic, present further attempts at testing the validity of metaphorical language.

One such narrator, in "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1832),⁵³ assumes the pose of a realistic historian, asserting, along with the narrators of "My Kinsman, Major Molineux"⁵⁴ and "The Custom House,"⁵⁵ that his story is at least in part derived from colonial New England history: "Some of

the incidents contained in the following pages will be recognised, notwithstanding the substitution of fictitious names, by such as have heard, from old men's lips, the fate of the few combatants who were in a condition to retreat, after 'Lovell's Fight'" (p. 1125). But if he can specify the date (1725) of this story, as the incidents of The Scarlet Letter are likewise said to occur in 1649,⁵⁶ he also tells a metaphorical tale of sin, sacrifice and redemption.

It is his realistic, historical perception which finally prevents the narrator of "Roger Malvin's Burial" from fully and clearly interpreting and accepting the presence of these events. He can record only Reuben Bourne's perception of supernatural intervention: "Unable to penetrate to the secret place of his soul, where his motives lay hidden, he believed that a supernatural voice had called him onward, and that a supernatural power had obstructed his retreat. He trusted that it was Heaven's intent to afford him an opportunity of expiating his sin; he hoped that he might find the bones . . . and that, having laid the earth over them, peace would throw its sunlight into the sepulchre of his heart" (p. 1136). But "Heaven's intent" requires the sacrifice of a young man to "redeem" Bourne's earlier refusal to be himself what he had thought would be a "useless sacrifice." Bourne is the agent of this justice, shooting his son (in attempting to fell a deer) on the rock where Malvin had died. The narrator tells a story of metaphorical actions, however, without fully acknowledging their import. For example, he records that the "sapling, to which [Bourne] had bound the blood-

stained symbol of his vow, had increased and strengthened into an oak but a blight had apparently stricken the upper part of the oak, and the very topmost bough was withered, sapless, and utterly dead" (p. 1137). This description of the transformation of the tree, "apparently" by natural blight, ends with the question, "Whose guilt had blasted it?" (p. 1137) and the reader is left to conclude that Bourne's guilt is the blight with the power to "blast"--a verb associated with evil power--the young growth of the tree as well as of his own life and that of his own son. In this story, then, Hawthorne uses a recording and questioning narrator to express his peculiar concern with realism--the narrator repeats the story as a historical document and raises ironic doubts about the validity of Bourne as an Interpreter--as well as with metaphorical "truth." The story is, after all, an implicit interpretation of the divine power in metaphors. The act of narration becomes, in diverse ways, the interpretative act which the narrator refuses.

So, too, the narrator of "Young Goodman Brown," less encumbered by historical realism, tells of the actions, images and sounds of witchcraft and offers tentative interpretations: for example, he describes the guide's gift of his staff to Goody Cloyse: "he threw it down at her feet, where, perhaps, it assumed life, being one of the rods which its owner had formerly lent to the Egyptian Magi" (p. 1036). But more consistently, he undercuts the literal reality of his story by qualifiers such as "it seems" and vague descriptive words such as "strange." At times capable of recording Brown's thoughts, he distances himself at other times

from the young man's experience so that the demonic seems the product of Brown's fevered imagination or of "ocular deception assisted by the uncertain light" (p. 1034). He leaves interpretation of the story to the reader: "Had goodman Brown fallen asleep in the forest, and only dreamed a wild dream of a witch-meeting?" (p. 1042). In the last paragraph, however, the narrator, leaving aside his equivocation, asserts the metaphorical reality of the protagonist's experience: "Be it so, if you will. But, alas! it was a dream of evil omen for young goodman Brown" (p. 1042). The narrator has moved from his scepticism at the start of the story to a tone of certainty in describing this "evil omen." He concludes his story by describing Brown's tombstone. This image is made notable by the lack of a "hopeful verse" carved on it; thus the tombstone is the figure, not of the divine, saving power of the Puritans' hope, but of Brown's despair. The narrator explains the appropriateness of this blank stone by using another literal metaphor: "they carved no hopeful verse upon his tomb-stone; for his dying hour was gloom" (p. 1042). The narrator, then, records, misinterprets and finally interprets correctly the outcome of his story in terms which are at once literal and metaphorical: his protagonist becomes the embodiment of the figure which has bedevilled him.

In "The Minister's Black Veil" (1836),⁵⁷ Hawthorne deals most explicitly with the saving power of interpretation of a metaphor of evil. The motive which has led the Reverend Hooper to assume his veil is never given, but, like Brown's midnight journey, the veil's "gloom, indeed,

enabled him to sympathize with all dark affections" (pp. 879-80). Unlike Brown, then, Hooper accepts and uses his dark vision. Going about his work, he was "a very efficient clergyman. By the aid of his mysterious emblem . . . he became a man of awful power His converts always regarded him with a dread peculiar to themselves, affirming, though but figuratively, that, before he brought them to celestial light, they had been with him behind the black veil" (p. 879). The people see that this man of "awful power" has a connection with the world of the dead. They can express their awareness "but figuratively": one description of the power of the veil is that "though it covers only our pastor's face, [it] throws its influence over his whole person, and makes him ghost-like" (p. 875); a woman in a funeral procession of a young girl "had a fancy . . . that the minister and the maiden's spirit were walking hand in hand" (p. 876). He is "dimly feared; a man apart from men" (p. 880). His veil thus puts him in the realm of death, the metaphorical world of sin: "It was said, that ghost and fiend consorted with him" (p. 879) behind the veil. Like the Chief of Sinners, the minister uses knowledge of sin and death for divine purpose, using his "awful power" to bring converts from darkness "to celestial light."

If the veil is the source of the man's dark "vision" and power, it is also, clearly, a symbol. The story, subtitled "A Parable," discusses and demonstrates the power of such a symbol in language--parable, symbol, emblem, type, veil--which repeats the terms of Bunyan's prefaces and apologies. Shortly after Hooper assumes the veil, a deputation from

the church attempts to question him on its meaning and to persuade him to remove it. His plighted wife, Elizabeth, tries as well:

'There is an hour to come,' said he, 'when all of us shall cast aside our veils. Take it not amiss, beloved friend, if I wear this piece of crape [sic] till then.'

'Your words are a mystery too,' returned the young lady. 'Take away the veil from them, at least.'

'Elizabeth, I will,' said he, 'so far as my vow may suffer me. Know, then, this veil is a type and a symbol, and I am bound to wear it ever' (pp. 877-78).

The reader, like Elizabeth, cannot know what Hooper's veil and words are types and symbols of, because Hooper's knowledge is a mystery he has vowed not to reveal. The biblical diction and the exegetical term "type" seem to connect his veil with that of the ark of the covenant through which only the high priest can look, or with the darkened, veil-like vision Paul says mankind must endure until after death when we will see "face to face." Elizabeth's inability to comprehend his words and veil derives from her temporal vision and concern: "what if the world will not believe that it is the type of an innocent sorrow? . . . For the sake of your holy office, do away this scandal!" (p. 878).

A fuller revelation of the power behind the veil is again approached, at the conclusion of the story, in the minister's death. Elizabeth's love enables her to respect his vow and keep the veil in place during his final illness. The "young and zealous divine," Reverend Clark, who attends Hooper on his deathbed, is more foolhardy in his desire for knowledge, demanding that Hooper let him remove the veil so that they can see his "triumphant aspect" (p. 881) in the face of death. But Hooper retains the power of the veil which so awes his people: "exerting

a sudden energy, that made all the beholders stand aghast, Father Hooper snatched both his hands from beneath the bed-clothes, and pressed them strongly on the black veil" (p. 881). Clark, like Goodman Brown, can interpret such dread power only as evil: "'Dark old man!' exclaimed the affrighted minister, 'with what horrible crime upon your soul are you now passing to the judgment?'" (p. 881). But Hooper at last teaches the people something of the meaning of the veil: "Tremble also at each other! . . . What, but the mystery which it obscurely typifies, has made this piece of crape so awful? . . . I look around me, and lo! on every visage a Black Veil!" (pp. 881-82). The mystery of evil, in other words, is in everyone; but only the truly regenerate man has the knowledge to "see" that his veil is a "type" of pity for the secret sin of others. Thus the minister makes the metaphorical truth of sin hidden in the heart literally visible in his own hidden face; he becomes the embodiment not of evil but of the Redeemer who would take on himself the sins of the world.

The story which so explicitly deals with the power of metaphor and the metaphorical--as opposed to the realistic--knowledge or vision of mysteries, ends with the human response to such revelation. The "auditors shrank from one another, in mutual affright" (p. 882), unable to move beyond their fear. The narrator recounts Hooper's burial and, years after, retains his fear that "good Mr. Hooper's face is dust; but awful is still the thought, that it mouldered beneath the Black Veil!" (p. 882). The irony of this version of Hawthorne's "literalized" metaphor is that the congregation for whom it is intended mistakes its meaning.

The veil, like the scarlet letter after it, may well be "the figure, the body, the reality of sin" (The Scarlet Letter, p. 61); the minister takes on himself the "body" of communal sin. This act of mercy does transform the veil into the "Real Presence" of Mercy. But the problem, as always, is for the congregation to see themselves in the figure, and so to find themselves transfigured by the power of the metaphorical Word.

In these stories, it must be concluded, Hawthorne challenges the aesthetic correlatives--metonymy and realism--of his contemporaries' understanding of perception by experimenting with a variety of narrative forms: allegory; a more realistic mode in which literal metaphors are examined but also qualified by irony and narrative ambiguity; fiction which disproves, in its final images, the narrator's scepticism; and the consistently metaphorical "Parable." He shares with seventeenth-century Puritans both their language of religious experience--good, evil, guilt, sacrifice, redemption, light, darkness, the natural world--and their aesthetic terms--image, symbol, emblem, figure, token, vision, model. Like Bunyan, he structures his plots around metaphorical actions, particularly those of pilgrimage including travel, transformation, isolation from family, movement from town through wilderness to a newly-experienced town, and growth into self-knowledge. And like Bunyan, he sets his quests in landscapes which are metaphors of the conflicts within the heroes. Finally, Hawthorne focusses the protagonists' quests in their confrontations with images--the Jew's diorama, the blighted oak, the serpent-staff, the black veil--which, like Bunyan's Interpreter's

House, are instinct with meaning, capable of becoming a "redemptive" aesthetics--redemptive for the right reader, if not for the protagonists. The differences between the two authors--Hawthorne's claims of historical accuracy and his use of irony and ambivalent narrators--cannot but reflect a more modern consciousness of the complexity of portraying the workings of the human psyche in words, as well as a less dogmatic theology based on pity and connection, and a greater aesthetic interest in the communicative nature of metaphor. The next step in Hawthorne's career is to develop these techniques and concerns in a full-length novel which likewise has its roots in the new "language" of a reformed aesthetics.

Notes to Chapter Four

¹Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Celestial Railroad," in The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne, ed. Norman Holmes Pearson (New York: Modern Library, 1937), pp. 1070-82. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in page references in the body of the paper.

²John Bunyan, The Life and Death of Mr. Badman, in The Entire Works of John Bunyan, ed. Henry Stebbing (Toronto: Virtue, Yorston & Co., n.d.), IV, 3.

³Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (Toronto: Academic Press, 1982), p. 13.

⁴Frye, p. 8.

⁵Frye, pp. 7-8.

⁶Frye, p. 7.

⁷Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nature, in Emerson's Nature-Origin, Growth, Meaning, ed. Merton M. Sealts, Jr. and Alfred R. Ferguson (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., 1969), p. 2.

⁸Emerson, p. 8.

⁹Emerson, p. 27.

¹⁰Charles Feidelson, Jr., "Toward Melville: Some Versions of Emerson," in Emerson: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Milton R. Konvitz and Stephen E. Whicher (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 137.

¹¹Emerson, p. 26.

¹²William J. Scheick, The Slender Human Word: Emerson's Artistry in Prose (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1978), p. 71. He also notes that Emerson, without believing in the incarnation of Logos in Christ, used the idea of incarnation, of the god within, to describe the active power of the will which transforms instinct into thought (p. 5). Scheick traces Emerson's "use of the traditional Christian concept of the

indwelling Spirit . . . to explain the Logos-like prophetic nature of man The soul in man and the Over-Soul in the universe share this Spirit or principle of animation. . . . each person must strive for the animation of the mediating will and thereby participate in the upward flow from form to spirit" (pp. 98-99). Other images of the Emersonian poet are Pan, who mediates between animal and man, and the bird, which mediates between earth and heaven, sensation and thought (pp. 112-13).

¹³Emerson, pp. 15-16.

¹⁴Norman Foerster, "Emerson on the Organic Principle of Art," in Konvitz and Whicher, pp. 108-20. R. A. Yoder, in Emerson and the Orphic Poet in America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), notes that while Nature and other early essays articulate positive Neo-Platonic aesthetics, Emerson's poetry and later essays move away from the Romantic tradition of the Orphic poet to the poetics and poetry of mediation, through the indirections of necessarily corrupt or fallen language, of the spiritual and material worlds.

¹⁵Charles R. Metzger, Emerson and Greenough: Transcendental Pioneers of an American Esthetic (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Publ., 1954, rpt. 1970), p. 30.

¹⁶Joel Porte, "Nature as Symbol: Emerson's Noble Doubt," in Sealts, pp. 147-49.

¹⁷David Porter, Emerson and Literary Change (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

¹⁸Edward Taylor, The Poems of Edward Taylor, ed. Donald E. Stanford (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 1.

¹⁹Robert Daly, God's Altar: The World and the Flesh in Puritan Poetry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 73-74.

²⁰Daly, pp. 181-82.

²¹Taylor, pp. 18-19.

- ²²Daly, p. 31.
- ²³Daly, p. 30.
- ²⁴Daly, p. 10.
- ²⁵Barbara Lewalski, in "Edward Taylor: Lisps of Praise and Strategies for Self-Dispraise," in Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 401.
- ²⁶Lewalski, p. 395.
- ²⁷Frye, p. 100.
- ²⁸Frye, p. 100.
- ²⁹Daly, p. 185.
- ³⁰Taylor, pp. 36-37.
- ³¹Daly, pp. 196-99.
- ³²Taylor, pp. 129-30.
- ³³Jonathan Edwards, Images or Shadows of Divine Things, ed. Perry Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 109.
- ³⁴Edwards, p. 65.
- ³⁵Edwards, p. 63.
- ³⁶Perry Miller, "Introduction," in Edwards, p. 19.
- ³⁷William J. Scheick, The Writings of Jonathan Edwards: Theme, Motif, and Style (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975), p. 131.
- ³⁸Conrad Cherry, Nature and Religious Imagination: From Edwards to Bushnell (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), pp. 31-32.
- ³⁹Cherry, p. 15.
- ⁴⁰Harold P. Simonson, Jonathan Edwards: Theologian of the Heart (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1974), pp. 91-92.
- ⁴¹Simonson, p. 106.
- ⁴²Wayne Lesser, "Jonathan Edwards: Textuality and the Language of Man," in William J. Scheick, ed., Critical Essays on Jonathan Edwards (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1980), p. 290.

⁴³Marjorie J. Elder, Nathaniel Hawthorne: Transcendental Symbolist (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1969); R. H. Rgle, Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952); and Roy R. Male, Hawthorne's Tragic Vision (New York: W. W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1957).

⁴⁴Richard Chase, The American Novel and its Tradition (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957); Leslie A. Fiedler, Love and Death in the American Novel, rev. ed. (New York: Stein and Day, 1960); Harry Levin, The Power of Blackness (New York: Knopf, 1964); and R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

⁴⁵Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York: The Viking Press, 1949); a few other critics, such as Yvor Winters, in "Maule's Curse, or Hawthorne and the Problem of Allegory," in In Defense of Reason (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1947), refer to Hawthorne's Puritan tendency to allegory and to his love of Bunyan's writings.

⁴⁶One partial exception is Merlene Ann Ogden, "Nathaniel Hawthorne and John Bunyan" (DA, 25 (1964), 2964-65); this Ph.D. thesis shows that Hawthorne uses the dream structure, the allegorical episodes, the pilgrimage theme and the theme of doubt and despair which he learned from writers such as Bunyan who belong to the tradition of religious allegory.

⁴⁷Hawthorne, "Ethan Brand," in Pearson, pp. 1184-96. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in page references in the body of the paper.

⁴⁸Giles Gunn, The Interpretation of Otherness: Literature, Religion and the American Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 204.

⁴⁹Hawthorne, "Young Goodman Brown," in Pearson, pp. 1033-42. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in page references in the body of the paper.

⁵⁰ Herman Melville, in "Hawthorne and his Mosses," in Ronald Gottesman et al ed., The Norton Anthology of American Literature (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), I, pp. 2056-70, was one of Hawthorne's few contemporaries who recognized not the surface piety of tales such as "Young Goodman Brown" but the presentation of the power of evil and the process of damnation: "this great power of blackness in him derives its force from its appeals to that Calvinistic sense of Innate Depravity and Original Sin" (p. 2060). But in a letter, in Gottesman, pp. 2070-72, which he wrote to Hawthorne after reading The House of Seven Gables, Melville acknowledges Hawthorne's power to move, where Goodman Brown could not, beyond not only naive faith but also despair in the face of the power of evil: [he] declares himself a sovereign nature (in himself) amid the powers of heaven, hell, and earth. . . . he insists upon treating with all Powers upon an equal basis. . . . He says NO! in thunder; but the Devil himself cannot make him say yes. For all men who say yes, lie" (p. 2072).

⁵¹ Michael Davitt Bell, The Development of American Romance: The Sacrifice of Relation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 135. In fact, Bell argues, most Americans before the Civil War agreed that all romances were unrealistic, subjective, that is, subversive of individual and social stability. Hawthorne differed from his contemporaries in attempting to integrate the Actual and the Imaginative, but Bell feels that "Hawthorne, unlike Melville, seldom used the disrelation of romance to explore problems of supernatural or metaphysical significance, but they both used the dissociated world of romance, its 'world of words,' to scrutinize the world of their contemporary American culture" (p. 155). "Hawthorne simply assumes as a given what so horrified Melville as a possibility--that 'there's naught beyond'" (p. 152).

⁵² D. H. Lawrence, Studies in Classic American Literature (1921; rpt. Harmondsworth, U. K.: Penquin Books, 1971), p. 106.

⁵³ Hawthorne, "Roger Malvin's Burial," in Pearson, pp. 1125-39. Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in page references in the body of the paper.

⁵⁴ Hawthorne, "My Kinsman, Major Molineux," in Pearson, pp. 1209-23.

⁵⁵Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, ed. Sculley Bradley (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1978), end ed.

⁵⁶Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, p. 39n.

⁵⁷Hawthorne, "The Minister's Black Veil," in Pearson, pp. 872-82.

Subsequent references to this text will be incorporated in page references in the body of the paper.

Chapter Five

"The figure, the body, the reality of sin": Hawthorne's

"Progress" in his "Letter"

Hawthorne's discovery of a scarlet letter and its potential for metaphorical development initiates The Scarlet Letter, a novel about a woman who is reduced to a letter of shame but who transforms that letter into a new, incarnate metaphor of Grace. In "The Custom-House," the novel's persona¹ also records a change in the manner of writing itself--from metonymy and realism to metaphor--after he finds a package among the records of former officials: "There was something about it that quickened an instinctive curiosity, and made me undo the faded red tape . . . with the sense that a treasure would here be brought to light."² It contains a piece of "fine red cloth, much worn and faded," with "traces about it of gold embroidery," "wrought . . . with wonderful skill of needlework" (p. 27). This piece of art, when examined closely, "assumed the shape of a letter. It was the capital letter A" (p. 27).

The whole artistic process is summed up in this episode. For the alchemy of imagination converts the material sign into a metaphor charged with power; the letter undergoes an imaginative transfiguration which makes its proper interpretation even more dependent upon the non-rational resources of imagination: "it strangely interested me. My eyes fastened themselves upon the old scarlet letter, and would not be turned aside. Certainly, there was some deep meaning in it, most

worthy of interpretation, and which, as it were, streamed forth from the mystic symbol, subtly communicating itself to my sensibilities, but evading the analysis of my mind" (p. 28). Hawthorne's examination in "The Custom-House" of this "streaming forth" which locates literary power in both the metaphorical letter and in its interpretation constitutes his ultimate answer to his contemporaries' aesthetics and their attendant theories of perception.

Hawthorne begins his apparently autobiographical sketch with realistic description, the literary correlative of the working world of the Custom-House. He portrays the indolence, general inefficiency and childish, self-indulgent mirth of the old workers; trapped as they are in their "real," worldly concerns, untouched by meaning, their business routines are as deadening as the poor trade has been to the wharf and building. Three men, the Inspector, the Collector and the young businessman, stand out from this decadent group and yet they too are limited, not fully human. Hawthorne uses demotic language to describe the absence, in these men, of "moral and spiritual ingredients" (p. 17), of life beyond the business of the Custom-House. He also uses allegory to portray the other workers' abstraction from a fully involved life; the typical official "does not share in the united effort of mankind [Because each officer] leans on the mighty arm of the Republic, his own proper strength departs from him [When his party is defeated, he is] thrust out, with sinews all unstrung, to totter along the difficult footpath of life he for ever afterwards

looks wistfully about him in quest of support external to himself. Uncle Sam's gold . . . has, in this respect, a quality of enchantment like that of the Devil's wages" (p. 33). Hawthorne uses realism and allegory to define this Custom-House before he discovers the letter which enables him to create the metaphorical world of his novel. This House is an Interpreter's House in which the demotic and metonymic forms of language fail to explain the incarnate presence of the Word or the living presence of the metaphorical letter.

Hawthorne is a most reluctant Surveyor of the Revenue in the Salem Custom-House, even as he is a reluctant "surveyor" of the powerful world of metaphor. The first of his ancestors to come to Salem "was a soldier, legislator, judge; he was a ruler in the Church; he had all the Puritanic traits, both good and evil. . . . His son, too, inherited the persecuting spirit . . . in the martyrdom of the witches" (p. 11). He imagines the scorn of men who interpret life allegorically, in simple terms of good and evil, for a mere story-writer such as himself and yet he claims "strong traits of their nature have intertwined themselves with mine" (p. 12). This ambivalent connection with his ancestors continues in his history of the generations of practical, manly sailors between the first Puritans and himself. But finally he has to reject, for himself, repetition of both traditions: "This long connection of a family with one spot, as its place of birth and burial, creates a kindred between the human being and the locality . . . the connection, which has become an unhealthy one, should at last be severed. Human

nature will not flourish . . . if it be planted and replanted . . . in the same worn-out soil" (pp. 12-13). Like Bunyan's pilgrim Christian, Hawthorne's persona seeks a world away from family connection and home town for the sake of health and growth. Only this "Wicket-Gate" at which the "modern" author enters is now the world of creativity.

Hawthorne, "melancholy and restless" (p. 34) in the Custom-House, is, like Christian aware of the danger of remaining in the City of Destruction, conscious of the enervating power of the place: "the nature that is developed in earth and sky, was, in one sense, hidden from me; and all the imaginative delight, wherewith it had been spiritualized, passed away out of my mind. A gift, a faculty . . . was suspended and inanimate within me. . . . this was a life which could not, with impunity, be lived too long; else, it might make me permanently other than I had been, without transforming me into any shape which it would be worth my while to take" (p. 23). He uses the language of transformation to describe the effect of this loss of his gift: "I never considered it as other than a transitory life. There was always a prophetic instinct, a low whisper in my ear, that . . . whenever a new change of custom should be essential to my good, a change would come" (p. 23). The "Custom"-House is a "transitory" but instructive experience, destructive if dwelt in permanently, to be escaped with help from a power outside mere human will.

Hawthorne links the writer with the man searching for spiritual integrity by paralleling his inability to see the spiritual dimension in nature with his weakness as a writer: "My imagination was a tarnished mirror. It would not reflect . . . the figures with which I did my

best to people it" (p. 30, emphases mine). He agrees with the "torpid creatures" of his stories when they accuse him: "The little power you might once have possessed over the tribe of unrealities is gone! You have bartered it for a pittance of the public gold" (p. 30, emphasis mine).³

His solution to this impasse is quite as Emersonian as his abstract, moralistic analysis of the problem. Willing to restore his "imaginative faculty," he seeks the aid of moonlight which, in transforming the appearance of the everyday things of his evening study, might encourage his fancy: "details, so completely seen, are so spiritualized by the unusual light, that they seem to lose their actual substance, and become things of intellect. Nothing is too small or too trifling to undergo this change A child's shoe . . . is now invested with a quality of strangeness and remoteness the floor of our familiar room has become a neutral territory, somewhere between the real world and fairy-land, where the Actual and the Imaginary may meet" (p. 31, emphases mine). Again, the Platonic diction reinforces his conviction that the world of stories is one of "intellect," to be reached through conscious efforts to stimulate his imagination. Coal fire helps, he continues, "in producing the effect which I would describe. . . . This warmer light . . . communicates, as it were, a heart and sensibilities . . . to the forms which fancy summons up. . . . Glancing at the looking-glass, we behold . . . a repetition of all the gleam and shadow of the picture, with one remove farther from the actual, and nearer to the imaginative" (p. 31, emphases mine). The real world must

be left, transformed by the artist who uses reflection, repetitions, shadows, to write his romances. Hawthorne's assumed goal is mimesis, as the underlined words in the above passages suggest. But he cannot contrive, as he had in the past, even such visibilia.

When he realizes his error, he turns from this past talent which, like his Salem life, is now stagnant:

It was a folly . . . to insist on creating the semblance of a world out of airy matter, when, at every moment, the impalpable beauty of my soap-bubble was broken by the rude contact of some actual circumstance. The wiser effort would have been, to diffuse thought and imagination through the opaque substance of to-day, and thus to make it a bright transparency; to spiritualize the burden that began to weigh so heavily; to seek, resolutely, the true and indestructible value that lay hidden in the petty and wearisome incidents, and ordinary characters, with which I was now conversant. . . . The page of life . . . seemed dull . . . because I had not fathomed its deeper import.
(p. 32, emphases mine)

Works of imitation, of "semblance of a world," are "folly"; "value" must be sought "in" his life. The diction of this passage, then, marks a decisive movement from Platonic to incarnational aesthetics, from shadowy signs to literal metaphors.⁴

Revelation of the "God" of whom Hawthorne is to be "the voice" begins with his encounter with the scarlet letter and his death to his Custom-House existence. He describes his removal from the office of Surveyor: "The moment when a man's head drops off is seldom . . . precisely the most agreeable of his life. Nevertheless, . . . even so serious a contingency brings its remedy and consolation . . . my fortune somewhat resembled that of a person who should entertain an idea of committing suicide, and . . . meet with the good hap to be murdered"

(p. 35). He continues this metaphor in telling of the editorial outcry against his dismissal: "the press had taken up my affair, and kept me, for a week or two, careering through the public prints, in my decapitated state, like Irving's Headless Horseman . . . longing to be buried, as a politically dead man ought. So much for my figurative self" (p. 36). Ending this fanciful joke by undercutting it as merely a figure of speech, he asserts: "The real human being . . . had brought himself to the comfortable conclusion, that every thing was for the best . . . and was again a literary man" (p. 36).

Thus the "literary man" is restored his gift of The Scarlet Letter, which he had wanted but had been unable to write in the Custom-House. Its "stern and sombre aspect," Hawthorne believes, "is perhaps due to the period of hardly accomplished revolution, and still seething turmoil, in which the story shaped itself" (p. 36). The autonomy of the writing process--the story shaping itself--is connected with the spiritual change in the writer. He refers to the collection of short stories and The Scarlet Letter which were written at this time: "the whole may be considered as the 'Posthumous Papers of a Decapitated Surveyor'; and the sketch which I am now bringing to a close, if too autobiographical for a modest person to publish in his lifetime, will readily be excused in a gentleman who writes from beyond the grave. . . . I am in the realm of quiet! The life of the Custom-House lies like a dream behind me. . . . I am a citizen of somewhere else" (pp. 36-37). He uses the metaphor of death more seriously now as he connects the

"revolution" in both his life and his art to a sort of transformation. Like the Chief of Sinners who had been given the power of the Word through a symbolic death, Hawthorne is reborn as a "citizen of somewhere else."⁵

The worldly author is still disposed to offer a rational explanation for his story: "I . . . had the satisfaction to find, recorded by the old Surveyor's pen, a reasonably complete explanation of the whole affair. There were several foolscap sheets, containing many particulars respecting the life and conversation of one Hester Prynne, who appeared to have been rather a noteworthy personage in the view of our ancestors" (p. 28). This story, complete with historical setting and oral testimony, portrays her "as a kind of voluntary nurse, . . . taking upon herself . . . to give advice in all matters, especially those of the heart; . . . she gained from many people the reverence due to an angel" (p. 28). The "A" might be interpreted as the human token of respect for Hester's good works. Hawthorne claims his novel is based on Pue's "original papers, together with the scarlet letter itself,--a most curious relic" (p. 29). But he allows his story a vague poetic licence "as if the facts had been entirely of my own invention. What I contend for is the authenticity of the outline" (p. 29). Hawthorne's persona is a rational, curious man who is as uneasy in explaining, or as unable to explain, just how his story grows as he is perplexed by his strange attraction to the letter and his fearful experience of its heat.

"The Custom-House" tells of a man's confrontation with a literal metaphor charged with spiritual power; the metaphor leads him through death to this world to a new understanding of aesthetics which is also his spiritual rebirth--for artistic creation is his pilgrimage. This Hawthorne is both Bunyan, who recognizes the Word and then uses "similitudes" to make his experience of the Letter into a fiction of it, and Christian who reads the Word and then sets off on his experience of it. Hawthorne is also like the dreamer of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One whose seventeenth-century England is to be found at every turn; he is very much aware of this world of temporal concerns--family connections, financial and political gain--but the fictional and spiritual world of Hester Prynne's scarlet letter is still more real to him. Unlike Bunyan's dreamer, however, Hawthorne shows himself to be a story-teller concerned with his relationship to his ideal audience, "a friend, kind and apprehensive" who receives autobiographical information with understanding and sympathy and yet does not need to see the author's "inmost Me behind its veil" (p. 7).

In his lengthy description of his relation to his home town of Salem, his ancestors and his fellow Custom-House officials, Hawthorne explores the position of the artist in society. In his exposition of the genesis of The Scarlet Letter, the failure of his willed imagination, and the working of his creative gift in response to a material symbol met with in isolation, Hawthorne defines the artistic process. And in assuming a role somewhat like that of Bunyan's dreamer, Hawthorne sets

himself up as a fictional character, the narrator of The Scarlet Letter, thus analysing the role of the artist-visionary in action as well as describing it in "The Custom-House." Bunyan's short defence of his metaphor in the Apology is extended by Hawthorne into "The Custom-House" which unites spiritual autobiography and aesthetic theory. And in The Scarlet Letter he develops even further the identity of artist and protagonist, of fact and fiction, in the central characters' interpretations of the Letter. The Word is made fiction in The Scarlet Letter as in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, but Hawthorne goes further to articulate the aesthetic theory which is implicit in Bunyan's work, and to connect the experiences of the artist, the reader and the pilgrim.

ii

Hawthorne thus repeatedly draws his reader's attention to his literal-spiritual heritage;⁶ the physical setting of the novel in the time of the Puritans' political ascendancy in England is the first of many more substantial connections with Bunyan's time and work. Father Wilson, for example, walking from the death-bed of Governor Winthrop, was "surrounded . . . with a radiant halo . . . as if he had caught upon himself the distant shine of the celestial city, while looking thitherward to see the triumphant pilgrim pass within its gates" (p. 110). The light in Chillingworth's eyes as he searches for Dimmesdale's secret is said to be a power within him: "a light glimmered out of the physician's eyes . . . like one of those gleams of ghastly fire that darted from Bunyan's awful door-way in the hill-side, and quivered on the pilgrim's face" (p. 95). Less specific references to The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One

abound. The protagonists are most frequently described as pilgrims. Dimmesdale addresses his congregation: "I, whose footsteps, as you suppose, leave a gleam along my earthly track, whereby the pilgrims that shall come after me may be guided to the regions of the blest, . . . am utterly a pollution and a lie!" (p. 105). Chillingworth watches Dimmesdale "keeping an accustomed pathway in the range of thoughts familiar to him, and as he appeared when thrown amidst other moral scenery" (pp. 91-92). In such a manner, Hawthorne adopts setting and metaphors together from Bunyan.

The landscape of the pilgrimages in The Scarlet Letter is, as in Bunyan, "moral scenery," or the internal states of the protagonists. After he sees Dimmesdale's chest, the "intellect of Roger Chillingworth had now a sufficiently plain path before it. It was not, indeed, precisely that which he had laid out for himself to tread" (p. 102). Hester's intellectual and moral existence is likewise described in metaphors which, uniting time and space, establish the spiritual dimension of her world. After leaving the prison, she takes up life at her cottage: "The days of the far-off future would toil onward, still with the same burden for her to take up, and bear along with her" (p. 60). Unlike Bunyan's Christian, Hester cannot leave her home, carrying her burden, because Hawthorne, as we have seen, cannot accept the theology of separation.

Hester may move toward a state where she becomes the Word of grace, but if she becomes the Word of grace, but she can only do so by embodying the sin and suffering her "letter" represents. In fact, her "sin, her ignominy, were the roots which she had struck into the soil. It

was as if a new birth . . . had converted the forest-land, still so uncongenial to every other pilgrim . . . into Hester Prynne's wild and dreary, but life-long home" (p. 61). Her connection with Dimmesdale compounds this attraction, keeping "her within the scene and pathway that had been so fatal" (p. 61); they "are here wandering together in this gloomy maze of evil, and stumbling, at every step, over the guilt wherewith [they] have strewn [their] path" (p. 125). She mistakenly attempts to lead Dimmesdale away from their place of sin; such escape, "into the wilderness" or onto the "broad pathway of the sea" (pp. 141-42), such denial of their evil, would lead them deeper into moral chaos. They must recognize and accept their "place" "in this gloomy maze" of their social life.

Like Bunyan in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, then, Hawthorne unites his major structural elements--setting ("wilderness"), character ("pilgrim") and plot ("wandered")--in the central image of the pilgrimage. But the successful quest, in Hawthorne, is rather that of Hester, a woman who does not leave her family and town; much though her society tries to isolate her; she is to become not only the allegorical letter of the law it wants to make her as a punishment, but also the letter of grace, the embodiment of a new and saving sympathy. Opposite to Bunyan, the Word comes to live in Hester through her sinning and suffering in the wilderness of this world, not through her warfaring or wayfaring beyond ordinary human limits. Where Christian finds his Celestial City by leaving his temporal City and resisting Old Testament identities, by moving through the Law to Revelation, Hester, in progressing from the Old Testament Law to the New Testament Word of Grace, subsumes the Old Letter in the New.

Dimmesdale, "this poor pilgrim, on his dreary and desert path" (p. 144), must also find a way to embody the letter of the Word. Because his word is false, because his sin is unconfessed, he can follow only "along the track of a creed, [which] wore its passage continually deeper with the lapse of time" (p. 91). It is this very creed, however, which has enlarged his human sympathy for the secret guilt of his congregation; he is unaware that the dogmatic Word of theology is humanized in him by his own sin. But it can be made "flesh" only by his confession, on the scaffold, of the letter on the flesh of his chest, as Hester, from the time of her punishment on the scaffold, has been in her own person the letter. The quest of both protagonists is their search for grace, the entrance of "the spirit [which] giveth life" (II Cor. iii. 6) into the "letter" which, remaining unredeemed, "killeth."

The setting in seventeenth-century New England of this novel about an allegorical figure become a literal metaphor is eminently appropriate because the everyday conversations of all the characters are filled with figures of speech which point to an interpretative habit of perception. Two traditions, the allegorical and the metaphorical, co-exist; the leaders label the sinful Hester with an allegorical letter which in turn becomes a spiritual power. The town-beadle "prefigured and represented in his aspect the whole dismal severity of the Puritanic code of law" (p. 43). And Governor Bellingham, watching Pearl frolicking in his garden, cries, "we might have judged that such a child's mother must needs be a scarlet woman, and a worthy type of her of Babylon!" (p. 82). Finally, Chillingworth, seeing Hester on the scaffold, recognizes that "she will be a living sermon against sin" (p. 50), though he is unaware of the

potential for a public allegory to take on new life of its own. The process whereby metonymy becomes metaphor is in fact the implicit subject of The Scarlet Letter as well as of "The Custom-House."

The narrator, with his concern for correct interpretation of the events of his story and for his role as story-teller, makes use himself of the interpretative diction of the Puritan community to describe his major characters. Hester, for example, is "set up as a type of sin before the people" (p. 87), "the type of shame" (p. 61). Again, "giving up her individuality, she would become the general symbol . . . in which [preachers] might vivify and embody their images of woman's frailty and sinful passion. Thus the young and pure would be taught to look at her . . . as the figure, the body, the reality of sin" (pp. 60-61). This last passage shows the narrator's understanding and acceptance of Puritan metaphor: preachers are confident that a spiritual analogy can be embodied in, or given life by, an individual. Whereas in other passages the narrator distances himself from the aesthetically naive interpretations of Puritan theologians, here he uses without qualification their perceptions of Hester to equate the metaphor or "figure" with "the reality of sin." And the term "body" suggests that the individual and the letter embody the sin of the whole congregation; Hester "becomes the general symbol." But the allegorical letter which is demonic, "killing," in its abstraction, is eventually transformed into a saving metaphor; Hester, "the figure," will thus become the saving Mercy, the Christ "Herself" of the story.

The narrator also adapts his own literal metaphors to portray

Pearl. In a paragraph in which he struggles to articulate the child's spiritual identity, he sees first her clothes as an artistic creation which embodies her spiritual condition, and then the girl herself as a figure of what she embodies:

But it was a remarkable attribute of this garb . . . that it irresistibly and inevitably reminded the beholder of the token which Hester Prynne was doomed to wear upon her bosom. It was the scarlet letter in another form; the scarlet letter endowed with life! The mother herself—as if the red ignominy were so deeply scorched into her brain, that all her conceptions assumed its form—had carefully wrought out the similitude; lavishing many hours of morbid ingenuity, to create an analogy between the object of her affection, and the emblem of her guilt and torture. But, in truth, Pearl was the one, as well as the other; and only in consequence of that identity had Hester contrived so perfectly to represent the scarlet letter in her appearance. (emphases mine) (p. 76)

The aesthetic terms here show the power of art when there is a pre-existing "identity." Hester prefigures her own transformation of the letter in her later years when she argues that Pearl's spiritual function is identical to that of the scarlet letter: "she is the scarlet letter, only capable of being loved" (p. 84).

Hester is made "the figure, the body, the reality of sin" not primarily by the elders' sentence that she be an example to others, or by the narrator's attempt to understand her story, but by a curiously isolating power in the letter. In the last scene in the market-place, for example, "Hester was clad in a garment of coarse gray cloth. . . . it had the effect of making her fade personally out of sight and outline; while, again, the scarlet letter brought her back from this twilight indistinctness, and revealed her under the moral aspect of its own illumination" (p. 161). This lurid power makes the "moral aspect" rather than the individual personality of Hester apparent. When she

Her attire . . . seemed to express the attitude of her spirit, the desperate recklessness of her mood But the point which drew all eyes, and, as it were, transfigured the wearer,--so that both men and women, who had been familiarly acquainted with Hester Prynne, were now impressed as if they beheld her for the first time,--was that SCARLET LETTER, so fantastically embroidered and illuminated upon her bosom. It had the effect of a spell, taking her out of the ordinary relations with humanity, and inclosing her in a sphere by herself. (p. 44).

The power of the letter depends upon the people's belief in their literal identification of Hester with the scarlet woman, Whore of Babylon, and so for them, she now walks literally in the pages of divine Revelation.⁷

To the wearer who is forced to embody such a metaphor, however, the reality is somewhat different: the letter changes with the corresponding changes in her inward state. At first, its spell withers up her passionate femininity: "The effect of the symbol . . . on the mind of Hester Prynne herself, was powerful and peculiar. All the light and graceful foliage of her character had been withered up by this red-hot brand, and had long ago fallen away, leaving a bare and harsh outline" (p. 118). But in the forest with her lover, she throws off the "stigma": "Her sex, her youth, and the whole richness of her beauty, came back" (p. 145). When Pearl insists that Hester fasten the letter on again, "there was a sense of inevitable doom upon her, as she thus received back this deadly symbol from the hand of fate. . . . So it ever is, whether thus typified or no, that an evil deed invests itself with the character of doom. Hester next gathered up the heavy tresses of her hair, and confined them beneath her cap. As if there were a withering spell in the sad letter, her beauty, the warmth and richness of her woman hood, departed" (p. 151). But her rich womanhood is restored

through long years of voluntary resumption of the letter; after Dimmesdale makes his ambiguous confession and dies, Hester goes away, only to return to the scene of her sorrow. Here, "the scarlet letter ceased to be a stigma which attracted the world's scorn and bitterness, and became a type of something to be sorrowed over, and looked upon with awe, yet with reverence too. . . . [P]eople brought all their sorrows and perplexities, and besought her counsel, as one who had herself gone through a mighty trouble." Hester thus predicts a new chapter in the Book of Revelation, when "in Heaven's own time, a new truth would be revealed" (p. 185). To that extent, Hawthorne's "modern" aesthetics argues not only for continuing incarnation but also for continuing revelation.

For the moment, however, Hester like Bunyan's Christian must go through the wilderness of the world, though for her the wilderness is not at first a place to be eschewed: "She had wandered, without rule or guidance, in a moral wilderness Her intellect and heart had their home, as it were, in desert places The scarlet letter was her passport into regions where other women dared not tread. Shame, Despair, Solitude! These had been her teachers" (p. 143). This solitude is a consequence of her literal isolation by a metaphor, in Frye's terms, by the expression of an energy or power which is common to both the subject and object. The letter, which is Hester's "passport" to wild and evil thoughts, "seemed to derive its scarlet hue from the flames of the infernal pit" (p. 54). The people of Boston instinctively recognize the magic nature of her sign; as "was usually the case wherever Hester stood, a small, vacant area--a sort of magic circle--had formed itself about her, into which . . . none ventured, or felt disposed to intrude. It was a forcible type of the moral solitude in which the scarlet letter enveloped its fated wearer" (p. 166). The force of the type,

however, comes from literal belief in its powers; the obloquy of the crowd could mean nothing if Hester did not take the "sign" at its face value. Chillingworth recognizes this when he vengefully gives her medicine, saving her life "so that this burning shame may still blaze upon [her] bosom" (p. 57).

There is another person on whom is branded "the same scorching stigma" (p. 175). The narrator never specifies what it is on Dimmesdale's bosom which fills Chillingworth, when he sees it, with a "wild look of wonder, joy and horror" (p. 102). And after Dimmesdale bares his breast on the scaffold, the narrator exclaims, "It was revealed! But it were irreverent to describe that revelation" (p. 180). But the title of the chapter is "The Revelation of the Scarlet Letter" and Dimmesdale has just described himself to the people as "the one sinner of the world! . . . He bids you look again at Hester's scarlet letter! He tells you, that, with all its mysterious horror, it is but the shadow of what he bears on his own breast, and that even this, his own red stigma, is no more than the type of what has seared his inmost heart!" (p. 180). Dimmesdale here undervalues Hester's letter, calling it "but the shadow" of the "stigma" on his breast which is, in turn, "no more than the type" of his inner torment. His misreading is not so much an instance of his Platonism, however, as it is an expression of his painful secrecy. Hester's letter has spoken for her in ways which his hidden "letter" cannot speak for him.

If Dimmesdale cannot correctly interpret the letter, neither can the townspeople. Although, like him, they feel its threat, they assign conflicting allegorical meanings to it. Various townspeople conjecture

that Hester's letter "meant Able" (p. 117) because she is so adept at helping those in distress. Dimmesdale's sexton tells him that the meteor, which, in the shape of an A, had flashed over the town, "we interpret to stand for Angel as our good Governor Winthrop was made an angel this past night" (p. 115). And the narrator does not define or even conjecture the rest of the word begun by the scarlet letter; it retains its mystery by being completed only in the reader's mind. It has traditionally been assumed that Hawthorne, in deference to Victorian prudery, was reticent to use the word "adulteress." Perhaps Hawthorne leaves the word unnamed because, as he recognized in the Custom-House, it embodies "some deep meaning in it, most worthy of interpretation." The ambiguity of public readings of the letter suggests more than a kind of relativism, however; the open-endedness of the letter suggests that it is capable of transformation. The adulteress herself becomes a saving angel.

The chapter, "The Minister's Vigil," directly addresses this inter-relationship of vision, metaphor and interpretation. Standing hand in hand with Hester and Pearl on the midnight scaffold, Dimmesdale sees a meteor, a material thing, in the shape of the letter A. Like the tombstone with its "light gloomier than the shadow," this image is one of a "dull red light" with a radiance so "powerful . . . that it thoroughly illuminated the dense medium of cloud" (pp. 112-13). This metaphorical meteor offers further power, not just to provide a vision, but to suggest an interpretation: "It showed the familiar scene of the street, with the distinctness of mid-day, but also with the awfulness that is always imparted to familiar objects by an unaccustomed light. . . . all were visible, but with a singularity of

aspect that seemed to give another moral interpretation to the things of this world than they had ever borne before. . . . They stood in the noon of that strange and solemn splendor, as if it were the light that is to reveal all secrets, and the daybreak that shall unite all who belong to one another" (p. 112). Unlike the special lighting effects which Hawthorne contrived in his moonlit study to stimulate his imagination, this vision is a spontaneous flash of revelation which, like the Day of Judgment promised by Reverend Hooper, "reveals all secrets" in terms of a "moral interpretation." That truth, for Dimmesdale, is that the letter on his breast, the figure of his guilt, has been revealed to show him his unity with those "who belong to" him. Vision, then, is literally the understanding of metaphor.

At the same time, Dimmesdale has another vision: "if the meteor kindled up the sky, and disclosed the earth, with an awfulness that admonished Hester Prynne and the clergyman of the day of judgment, then might Roger Chillingworth have passed with them for the arch-fiend, standing there . . . to claim his own. So vivid was the expression, or so intense the minister's perception of it, that it seemed still to remain painted on the darkness, after the meteor had vanished, with an effect as if the street and all things else were at once annihilated" (p. 114). Dimmesdale is forced to make such a "moral interpretation" in the face of the identity of this "arch-fiend": "'Who is that man, Hester?' gasped Mr. Dimmesdale, overcome with terror, 'I shiver at him!'" (p. 114). Because she has vowed to conceal Chillingworth's identity, Hester refuses Dimmesdale the knowledge he needs to free himself from Chillingworth's destructive power. And Dimmesdale still lacks the

strength to identify, in public, a "moral interpretation" of his own evil. But he has moved toward this revelation by the visions of this night. Like the Chief of Sinners, he is made more powerful as a "voyce of God" by his experience of evil. His "understanding" of the metaphors of darkness is nonetheless partial if he cannot confess the darkness in himself.

The narrator offers in an analogous way to share the darkness of his readers' understanding. Though he usually shows understanding and acceptance of Puritan metaphor, he here assumes a sarcastic, knowledgeable tone to explain the New England Puritans' propensity to see Providential meaning in natural phenomena:

Nothing was more common, in those days, than to interpret all meteoric appearances, and other natural phenomena, that occurred with less regularity than the rise and set of sun and moon, as so many revelations from a supernatural source. . . . We doubt whether any marked event, for good or evil, ever befell New England . . . of which the inhabitants had not been previously warned by some spectacle of this nature. Not seldom, it had been seen by multitudes. Oftener, however, its credibility rested on the faith of some lonely eyewitness, who beheld the wonder through the colored, magnifying, and distorting medium of his imagination, and shaped it more distinctly in his after-thought. (p. 113)

The narrator appeals to his reader's modern scepticism in mocking the backward custom of these Puritans who base belief in supernatural revelation on the claim of a single person whose imagination alone has shaped the figure. And so, he continues, much more misguided is Dimmesdale's vision: "But what shall we say, when an individual discovers a revelation, addressed to himself alone, on the same vast sheet of record! In such a case, it could only be the symptom of a highly disordered mental state, when a man . . . had extended his egotism over the whole expanse of nature, until the firmament itself should appear no more than a fitting page for his soul's

history and fate. We impute it, therefore, solely to the disease in his own eye and heart, that the minister, looking upward to the zenith, beheld there the appearance of an immense letter,--the letter A" (p. 113). But then, having negated the reality of Dimmesdale's vision as merely a man-made symbol, the narrator immediately presents the "singular circumstance" (p. 113) of Dimmesdale's vision of Chillingworth and goes on to record the power of Dimmesdale's sermon and the sexton's comments which prove that the minister did not alone shape the meteor's light into an A: "But did your reverence hear of the portent that was seen last night? A great red letter in the sky,--the letter A,--which we interpret to stand for Angel" (p. 115). The reader, again, must choose from this popular interpretation of the letter, Dimmesdale's "moral interpretation" of it, and the narrator's denial that the meteor took any shape outside its viewers' imaginations.

Throughout the novel, the narrator shows the same limited interpretative abilities as the narrators of the short stories. The first chapter, "The Prison-Door," does not introduce the characters or begin the plot but, in describing the setting, immediately requires the reader to join the narrator in interpreting metaphors, in seeing analogies and, above all, in qualifying these understandings.⁸ Words and phrases such as "recognized," "aspect," "looked," "Like," "seemed," "in token that"--all offer tentative interpretations, which such phrases as "it may safely be assumed that," "Certain it is, that" and "evidently" (p. 39) reinforce. But such confidence gives way, in the last paragraph, to the simple presentation of two equally possible interpretations: "This rose-bush . . . has been kept alive in history; but whether it had merely survived . . . so long . . . or whether, as there is fair

authority for believing, it had sprung up under the footsteps of the sainted, Ann Hutchinson, as she entered the prison-door,--we shall not take upon us to determine" (p. 40). Similar indecision is again shown early in the novel when, in describing Hester's ordeal on the scaffold, the narrator gives a hypothetical interpretation of the scene in terms of Augustinian mimesis, followed immediately by a Puritan incarnational reading: "Had there been a Papist among the crowd of Puritans, he might have seen . . . an object to remind him of the image of Divine Maternity, which so many illustrious painters have vied with one another to represent; something which should remind him . . . of that sacred image of sinless motherhood, whose infant was to redeem the world. Here, there was the taint of deepest sin in the most sacred quality of human life, working such effect, that the world was only the darker for this woman's beauty, and the more lost for the infant" (p. 45). The latter, more definite, alternative is undercut by the story which follows. This indecisive narrator may be omniscient to the extent that he knows the thoughts and actions of every character and witnesses events and symbols of spiritual power; but he offers lengthy interpretations of his story only to qualify and contradict himself.

Thus the reader, along with the narrator, must make an interpretation of the story in the same way that the characters are drawn to interpret the letter-as-metaphor. Chapter One ends with the narrator offering, metaphorically, a rose from the prison bush for the reader's interpretation: "Finding it so directly on the threshold of our narrative, which is now about to issue from that inauspicious portal,

we could hardly do otherwise than pluck one of its flowers and present it to the reader. It may serve . . . to symbolize some sweet moral blossom, that may be found along the track" (p. 40). The reader enters, through the "threshold" and "portal," on "the track" of the narrative and shares with the narrator the pilgrimage for understanding of Hester's story. This common quest is suggested by frequent references to the narrative persona as "we," as in the above passage. At times, the term "we" posits the reader as the narrator's contemporary: "It was an age when what we call talent had far less consideration than now" (p. 168). But this narrative "we" is ultimately distinct from the reader who has witnessed the narrator's self-contradictions. In the "Conclusion," he refers to the vision of the scarlet letter on Dimmesdale's breast by various spectators around the scaffold and then to their explanations of what they had seen: "The reader may choose among these theories. We have thrown all the light we could acquire upon the portent, and would gladly, now that it has done its office, erase its deep print out of our own brain" (p. 182). The narrator is now seen as a single person, distinct from the reader, and branded by the scarlet letter as are his characters on their quests; he is capable only of offering interpretations, throwing light on his dark subject, in the manner of his central image, "'ON A FIELD, SABLE, THE LETTER A, GULES'" (p. 186). Whereas the ambivalence of the narrators of the short stories suggests Hawthorne's deepening exploration of aesthetic and spiritual powers, the essential humility of this narrator is allied to the humility of his theology which does not prescribe the way to the Celestial City; rather, the reader is forced to make his own way

through the "Word," as does Bunyan's Christian, though the reader alone⁹ is now responsible to be his own Interpreter.

iii

So too are Hawthorne's characters responsible for their identities insofar as they are capable of reading the significance of the scarlet letter in their lives. The letter may only have that power which, in their conflicting perspectives, they assign it. Hester becomes "the figure, the body, the reality of sin" through her adultery with Dimmesdale, itself an act which he says "had a consecration of its own" (p. 140).¹⁰ The irony, that an act can involve both "consecration" and "sin," both good and evil, is perpetuated through the story, reminding us that the one is capable of transformation into the other. The "hatred and love" of Chillingworth and Pearl, "the same thing at bottom" (p. 183), both work to redeem Dimmesdale; they compel him to accept his own evil so that his "burden [is] removed" (p. 181) and he is saved. Likewise, Hester's scarlet letter is both her hellish torment and her salvation. Wearing this image of her guilt, the "burden for her to take up, and bear along with her" (p. 60), she is daily compelled to confront the harsh spiritual knowledge necessary for her redemption. Spiritual growth, then, in these characters always involves the conjunction of good and evil in metaphors, and these metaphors, whether they be actions, people or images, must be understood, identified, and accepted by the characters as their own, in order for the saving power to work.

Hester's pilgrimage, to begin with, must be toward full acceptance

of her letter as a sacred alphabet. Her adultery is consecrated only in so far as it initiates her progress; she cannot live in sin, anymore than Christian can remain in the City of Destruction. When they enter the forest, Pearl repeatedly asks the meaning of the scarlet letter and Hester denies that it means her sin: "'I wear it for the sake of its gold thread!'" In all the seven bygone years, Hester Prynne had never before been false to the symbol on her bosom. It may be that it was the talisman of a stern and severe, but yet a guardian spirit, who now forsook her; as recognizing that, in spite of his strict watch over her heart, some new evil had crept into it, or some old one had never been expelled" (p. 130). Thus forsaken, she further denies the scarlet letter by removing it. When she again loves Dimmesdale in the forest, they share an apparent paradise "as with a sudden smile of heaven, forth burst the sunshine, pouring a very flood into the obscure forest, gladdening each green leaf, transmuting the yellow fallen ones to gold The objects that had made a shadow hitherto, embodied the brightness now. . . . the wood's heart of mystery . . . had become a mystery of joy. Such was the sympathy of Nature--that wild, heathen Nature of the forest, never subjugated by human law, nor illumined by higher truth" (pp. 145-46). Their "bliss" (p. 146) is the best of the natural world. It is not "illumined by higher truth." When they are recalled to their way by Pearl's insistence that Hester resume the torment of the scarlet letter and that Dimmesdale own his family in public, they have to leave the natural world which is, for them, the sin of refusing to pursue their way. The forest, for Hester, "imaged not amiss the moral wilderness in which she had so long been wandering" (p. 132); the natural world, because she

clings to it, becomes for her a wilderness of sin.

When she does wear the scarlet letter, it is her "talisman" guiding her away from the purely natural world of sexual and social bonds into a sphere of spiritual knowledge where the characters are spiritual entities: "She assumed a freedom of speculation thoughts visited her, such as dared to enter no other dwelling in New England; shadowy guests" (p. 119). But spiritual knowledge is as potentially destructive as her reluctance to leave the natural world:

Walking to and fro, with those lonely footsteps, in the little world with which she was outwardly connected, it now and then appeared to Hester . . . that the scarlet letter had endowed her with a new sense. . . . it gave her a sympathetic knowledge of the hidden sin in other hearts. She was terror-stricken by the revelations Could they be other than the insidious whispers of the bad angel . . . that, if truth were everywhere to be shown, a scarlet letter would blaze forth on many a bosom besides Hester Prynne's? Or, must she receive those intimations . . . as truth? . . . the red infamy upon her breast would give a sympathetic throb, as she passed near a venerable minister or magistrate, the model of piety and justice O Fiend, whose talisman was that fatal symbol, wouldst thou leave nothing, whether in youth or age, for this poor sinner to revere?--Such loss of faith is ever one of the saddest results of sin. . . . Hester Prynne yet struggled to believe that no fellow-mortal was guilty like herself. (pp. 66-67).

Hester's error, trying to "revere" someone in the natural world as good, almost leads her to the fate of Young Goodman Brown, to the overwhelming revelation of the evil in everyone; if this were to happen, if the scarlet letter were to prevent her from seeing both good and evil, the "Fiend" would triumph.

In her thoughts on the relationship of men and women in society, she comes to despise her patriarchal world so thoroughly that she sees no point in life in her community: "She discerns . . . the whole system

of society is to be torn down, and built up anew. Then, the very nature of the opposite sex . . . is to be essentially modified, before woman can be allowed . . . a fair and suitable position. . . . A woman never overcomes these problems by any exercise of thought. . . . At times, a fearful doubt strove to possess her soul, whether it were not better to send Pearl at once to heaven, and go herself The scarlet letter had not done its office" (p. 120). "Shame, Despair, Solitude! These had been her teachers,--stern and wild ones,--and they had made her strong, but taught her much amiss" (p. 143). The "revelations" of the scarlet letter and of the characters of her spiritual sphere are thus as dangerous to Hester "walking to and fro" as are the threats to Christian's progress. Yet this dangerous knowledge gives her a wisdom denied the characters who never hazard a spiritual progress. R. W. B. Lewis, in Trials of the Word, reads the novel as a challenge to the Puritans' interpretation of the relation of society, religion and the individual: "Hawthorne permits Hester to share a little in his liberated perspective: she alone envisages the possibility of significant historical change, and she alone is allowed thereby to escape some real distance from the allegorized world of fixed and changeless meanings and conditions and relationships which all other figures in the book inhabit. . . . she arrives at the vision of social and sexual revolution."¹¹ And in the forest, Hester and Dimmesdale momentarily feel what Hester had before only thought: "their entire relationship . . . had had a consecration of its own. . . . It is, indeed, a religious revolution. . . . It would be a religion founded on the doctrine of the

inviolable sanctity of the individual human heart; and one in which the human relation . . . would become the vessel of the sacred."¹²

Unlike the evil powers in The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, the "demonic" scarlet letter can still be a powerful "talisman" for salvation. It is evil when Hester's experience of it leads her to deny or conceal its identity. Its saving power is most evident when Hester challenges Chillingworth's devilish possession of Dimmesdale, "determined to redeem her error" (p. 121) by revealing the older man's identity as her husband and as her lover's tormentor. Hester is not, like Christiana, a woman following her husband's lead. She must make her way alone because she has no husband; her marriage with Chillingworth in the old country was sterile, deadening, and Dimmesdale is too weak to acknowledge their mutual guilt and thus share her way as an equal, let alone as a leader.¹³ When she takes the positive step of revealing Chillingworth's demonic identity, she is the leader and Dimmesdale the follower of the "weaker" sex: "'Think for me, Hester! Thou art strong. Resolve for me!' 'Thou must dwell no longer with this man,' said Hester, slowly and firmly. 'Thy heart must be no longer under his evil eye!' . . . 'Wilt thou die for very weakness?'" (p. 141).

Her advice, that he should deny his name, place and occupation, and flee with her into the wilderness, is, however, as limited as her removal of the scarlet letter. But it at least frees him from demonic possession so that he can find his own progress when she puts it on again; now he too begins to acknowledge his sin. And he helps her resume her

scarlet letter by refusing to flee Boston with her and by taking her up onto the scaffold to reveal to the public their mutual guilt. On that holiday celebrating the new ruler of the community, Hester, though unwilling to relinquish her lover's bond with Dimmesdale, is forced to do so by his dying assertion that they cannot predict their reunion in the hereafter and that such natural bonds are not as important as God's gift of revelation through their agonies.

In the years that follow, she becomes more clearly a savior for other women: "the scarlet letter ceased to be a stigma . . . and became a type of something to be sorrowed over, and looked upon with awe, yet with reverence too. . . . She assured [women] of her firm belief, that . . . a new truth would be revealed, in order to establish the whole relation between man and woman on a surer ground of mutual happiness" (p. 185). The "revelation of the scarlet letter," then, saves both Hester and Dimmesdale, uniting them in a marriage where man and woman help each other to accept their good and evil. Only by spiritual understanding, made possible by metaphors such as the scarlet letter, can the opposites of the natural world be joined and the polarities of good and evil, male and female, be resolved. Hester's letter, which begins as a metaphor of sin, is transformed into a saving power; the colour of passion becomes the "GULES" showing even "ON A FIELD, SABLE." Hawthorne, unlike Bunyan, stops short of the Resurrected Word--the final image is of a tombstone and the colour of Hester's passion is never sacrificial blood--and yet the overall movement of the two books is the same. As Christian

starts with reading and imitating the Word and is gradually transfigured into this Word, Hester moves from an analogy of the Word--the letter as allegorical sign--to a kind of transfigured Word--the letter as saving power. While Hawthorne avoids the whole issue of sacrificial death and resurrection and rests his letter in a field of darkness, the function of the Word, of incarnational metaphor, for him as for Bunyan, is salvation, revelation to the natural world.

Dimmesdale's progress towards this spiritual marriage and the role of savior is in many important respects like Hester's. He too bears on his breast the fruit of their consecrated sin, the scarlet letter. For him, as well, it is both talisman and torment, an image of his own evil which he must fully and publicly recognize. He also shares with Hester the other fruit of their union, Pearl who, because "she is the scarlet letter, only capable of being loved," demands, along with the letter, that he accept her. When he does join Pearl and Hester on the scaffold, true marriage is made possible in the completion of the family and he becomes fully a stigmatized saviour, upheld before the multitude for his own, but also for their common sin. The fundamental similarities of their pilgrimages again suggest that for Hawthorne, as for Bunyan, the story of salvation can take new forms and be the old story still.

But Dimmesdale's character is developed in more detail than is Hester's. Hawthorne uses his progress to explore the experience of a person who, because of his sex, is not forced to acknowledge his guilt; Hester's pilgrimage is, in a sense, made easier by her sex--pregnancy

necessitates public interpretation. Dimmesdale's social role also contrives to delay his progress; as a minister "retaining . . . a zeal for God's glory and man's welfare" (p. 98), he thinks that he would undermine the good he can do in the community by tarnishing his reputation.¹⁴

Sexual and social bonds hamper spiritual growth, though Hester, unlike Christian, is not saved by her separation from the world; her isolation merely serves as a catalyst for growth, for a renewed, if changed role as interpreter within the group.

As an interpreter, Dimmesdale is further hampered by his personal weaknesses. His name suggests that he would hide in a dim, comfortable, natural place whereas Hester has the saving power of the biblical Esther. Progress is much more strenuous for the weaker, "dimmer," minister. In many ways afraid of life, Dimmesdale has "a half-frightened look,--as of a being who felt himself quite astray and at a loss in the pathway of human existence, and could only be at ease in some seclusion of his own. . . . he trode in the shadowy by-paths, and thus kept himself simple and childlike" (p. 52). He struggles to avoid progress and to preserve Edenic immaturity in his "dewy purity of thought" and "speech of an angel" (p. 53) and, despite his sexual experience, "by the fasts and vigils of which he made a frequent practice, [he tries] to keep the grossness of this earthly state from clogging and obscuring his spiritual

lamp" (p. 89). These exercises show a distrust of the natural world and a denial of the incarnational assumptions of his religious tradition:

"It was his custom, too, as it has been that of many other pious Puritans, to fast,--not, however, like them, in order to purify the body and render it the fitter medium of celestial illumination,--but rigorously . . . as an act of penance" (p. 106). If his physical emaciation shows his neglect of natural life, so does the Platonic tendency of his ontological musings: "It was his genuine impulse to adore the truth, and to reckon all things shadow-like, and utterly devoid of weight or value, that had not its divine essence as the life within their life. Then, what was he?--a substance?--or the dimmest of all shadows?" (p. 105). He can only despise himself as a natural man and as a sinner.¹⁵

So preoccupied is Dimmesdale with his weaknesses, and especially with his hidden, sexual sin, that he cannot recognize the great power for goodness in his life as a minister. He tells Hester: "As concerns the good which I may appear to do, I have no faith in it. It must needs be a delusion. What can a ruined soul, like mine, effect towards the redemption of other souls? . . . I must stand up in my pulpit, and meet so many eyes turned upward to my face, as if the light of heaven were beaming from it!--must see my flock . . . listening to my words as if a tongue of Pentecost were speaking!--and then look inward, and discern the black reality of what they idolize? I have laughed . . . at the contrast between what I seem and what I am! And Satan laughs at it!" (pp. 137-38). Refusing to admit his own evil, he is close to being possessed by it,

showing in his satanic laughter a preoccupation with abstract evil which comes close to that of Ethan Brand's and Young Goodman Brown's.

His struggles also bring to him a hidden, saving power, although he does not know it:

His intellectual gifts, his moral perceptions, his power of experiencing and communicating emotion, were kept in a state of preternatural activity by the prick and anguish of his daily life. . . . There were . . . true saintly fathers [who] . . . lacked . . . the gift that descended upon the chosen disciples, at Pentecost, in tongues of flame; symbolizing, it would seem, . . . the power . . . of addressing the whole human brotherhood in the heart's native language. These fathers . . . lacked . . . the Tongue of Flame. They would have vainly sought--had they ever dreamed of seeking--to express the highest truths through the humblest medium of familiar words and images. Their voices came down . . . from the upper heights it was to this . . . class of men that Mr. Dimmesdale . . . naturally belonged. To their high mountain-peaks of faith and sanctity he would have climbed, had not the tendency been thwarted by the burden It kept him down, on a level with the lowest But this very burden it was, that gave him sympathies so intimate with the sinful brotherhood of mankind; so that his heart . . . sent its own throb of pain . . . in gushes of sad, persuasive eloquence. Oftenest persuasive, but sometimes terrible! The people knew not the power that moved them thus. (pp. 103-04).

In spite of his conscious efforts to attain the heights of goodness, his "burden" of guilt pulls him back to that experience of evil which gives his words "terrible" and "persuasive" "power," inasmuch as his secret pain speaks in secret to the hidden pain of others.

Dimmesdale's theological insistence on a Platonic separation of good and evil, as well as of spiritual and natural worlds, nonetheless causes him to see even his greatest sermons as evil. When he tells his congregation that he is the greatest of sinners, they "heard it all, and did but reverence him the more. . . . He had spoken the very truth, and transformed it into the veriest falsehood. . . . he

loathed his miserable self!" (p. 106). His refusal to identify his sin compounds his hatred of his natural self. He likewise undervalues his visions of devils, angels, ancestors, Hester and Pearl: "they were, in one sense, the truest and most substantial things which the poor minister now dealt with. It is the unspeakable misery of a life so false as his, that it steals the pith and substance out of whatever realities there are To the untrue man, the whole universe is false And he himself, in so far as he shows himself in a false light, becomes a shadow, or, indeed, ceases to exist. The only truth, that continued to give Mr. Dimmesdale a real existence on this earth, was the anguish in his inmost soul, and the undissembled expression of it in his aspect" (p. 107). His theology and his self-hatred lead him to a blindness to the visions which could teach and save him from his despair.

Dimmesdale's blindness to the spiritual powers in his life again comes close to damning him when he is unable to recognize the devil in Chillingworth who, like the visions, is a force pressing Dimmesdale to spiritual knowledge. The leech attempts to tell his patient that ugly graveyard weeds, the raw material of his healing medicine, grow from the heart of a sinner and "typify, it may be, some hideous secret . . . which he had done better to confess during his lifetime" (p. 97). Dimmesdale denies the possibility of such metaphorical revelations in this world: "There can be, if I forebode aright, no power, short of the Divine mercy, to disclose, whether by uttered words, or by type of emblem, the secrets that may be buried with a human heart. The heart . . . must

perforce hold them, until the day when all hidden things shall be revealed" (p. 97). But Chillingworth, using his intuitive suspicion, looks under Dimmesdale's vestment and finds just such an emblem of guilt. This revelation, occurring "during [Dimmesdale's] lifetime," has the effect of Judgment Day on his life and progress:

Providence [was] using the avenger and his victim for its own purposes A revelation . . . had been granted to [Chillingworth] . . . By its aid . . . the very inmost soul of [Dimmesdale] . . . seemed to be brought out before his eyes, so that he could see and comprehend its every movement. He became, thenceforth, not a spectator only, but a chief actor, in the poor minister's interior world. . . . As at the waving of a magician's wand uprose a grisly phantom . . . in many shapes, of death, or more awful shame, all flocking round about the clergyman, and pointing with their fingers at his breast! (p. 103)

Revelation gives Chillingworth greater knowledge and brings Dimmesdale closer to spiritual powers without his understanding his potential danger: "the minister, though he had constantly a dim perception of some evil influence watching over him, could never gain a knowledge of its actual nature" (p. 103). And again the preacher's distrust of metaphor compounds his ignorance; Chillingworth's "gestures . . . the very fashion of his garments, were odious in the clergyman's sight; a token, implicitly to be relied on, of a deeper antipathy . . . than he was willing to acknowledge . . . so Mr. Dimmesdale . . . disregarded the lesson that he should have drawn" (p. 103). When Hester finally reveals Chillingworth's identity, Dimmesdale exclaims: "I did know it! . . . Why did I not understand?" (p. 139). So his refusal to interpret metaphors blinds him to the demonic, as well as to the holy, in his life.

In the forest when Dimmesdale learns the identity of the evil in Chillingworth, he is prodded by Pearl to acknowledge his own. As on the scaffold on the night of the meteoric revelation, where, typically, he saw but did not accept the token of his evil in the sky and the revelation of the devil in Chillingworth's face, he is required by Pearl to take the metaphorical action of walking hand in hand with her and Hester in the daylight social world. When he can act out this powerful metaphor publicly, he not only makes manifest his personal guilt but also acknowledges the presence of the spiritual fact of evil in the natural world. And this monistic "reading" has, in turn, the power to save him.

Dimmesdale is given the power to make this metaphorical gesture by another form of incarnational metaphor, wherein the word is made Word--the Election Sermon which reveals his own election as a "voyce of God." Returning from the forest, his agreement to flee Boston is a "deadly sin" (p. 158) which intensifies his demonic vision. As an innocent maiden of the church approaches, "the arch-fiend whispered him to . . . drop into her tender bosom a germ of evil Such was his sense of power over this virgin soul . . . that the minister felt potent to blight all the field of innocence with but one wicked look" (p. 156). Only "with a mightier struggle than he had yet sustained" (p. 157) does he resist this temptation. He is finally transformed by his knowledge of his own deeper evil: "Another man had returned out of the forest; a wiser one; with a knowledge of hidden mysteries which the simplicity of the former never could have reached. A bitter kind of knowledge that!" (p. 159).

Now the knowledge of evil is used for divine purpose in Dimmesdale's creation of the Election Sermon: "he wrote with such an impulsive flow of thought and emotion, that he fancied himself inspired; and only wondered that Heaven should see fit to transmit the grand and solemn music of its oracles through so foul an organ-pipe as he. However, leaving that mystery to solve itself, or go unsolved for ever, he drove his task onward, with earnest haste and ecstasy. Thus the night fled away, as if it were a winged steed, and he careering on it; morning came There he was . . . a vast, immeasurable tract of written space behind him!" (p. 160). Distrust of his sinful nature, found in his concern that he is too foul for this role, is swept away by the force of the inspiration which carries him into a realm where man, time, place and the written word become one.

When Dimmesdale gives this sermon, he is, more fully than ever before in his career, the "organ-pipe" of Heaven's "oracles." In "The Procession" to the church, he "exhibited such energy," "not of the body," but "spiritual" (p. 169), as his people had never seen in him before. His mind is "Far and deep in its own region, busying itself, with preternatural activity, to marshal a procession of stately thoughts that were soon to issue thence" (p. 169); again, the progress or procession is of thoughts, knowledge, within his physical approach to the church. Hester, looking for a "glance of recognition" from him of their love, "hardly knew him now! . . . she could scarcely forgive him . . . for being able so completely to withdraw himself from their mutual world" (p. 170). Pearl,

too, questions his new identity: "was that the same minister that kissed me by the brook?" (p. 170). Only Mistress Hibbins is not amazed, although she, with her obsessively demonic interpretative power, sees only the evil in his spirituality.

But the sermon is one of great "sweetness and power," "awe and solemn grandeur" (p. 172) and its influence on the congregation is holy:

the auditors, released from the high spell that had transported them into the region of another's mind, were returning into themselves, with all their awe and wonder they needed other breath, more fit to support the gross and earthly life into which they relapsed, than that atmosphere which the preacher had converted into words of flame nor had inspiration ever breathed through mortal lips more evidently than it did through his. Its influence could be seen, as it were, descending upon him, and possessing him, and continually lifting him out of the written discourse that lay before him, and filling him with ideas
(pp. 175-76)

As Hester foresees the "new truth" of a "whole relation between man and woman" (p. 185), Dimmesdale too has the gift of prophecy, foretelling "a high and glorious destiny for the newly gathered people of the Lord" (p. 176). His sermon overcomes the divisions of society, loosing upon the people "the universal impulse which makes . . . one vast heart out of the many" (p. 177). The divine power in the Election Sermon saves, unites in the spiritual world, both preacher and people. But this binding of the community in the "voyce of God" is made possible only by Dimmesdale's decision to confess his "letter," to make the Word Flesh.

After the sermon, then, Dimmesdale must continue his pilgrimage: "The energy--or say, rather, the inspiration which had held him up, until he should have delivered the sacred message that brought its own strength

along with it from heaven--was withdrawn He still walked onward" (p. 177). When he reaches the scaffold, the metaphorical powers convene, in the persons of Hester, Pearl and Chillingworth, to assist or prevent his further progress. He wills himself to step into revelation on the scaffold: "Thy strength, Hester; but let it be guided by the will which God hath granted me! This wretched and wronged old man is opposing . . . with all his own might and the fiend's!" (p. 179). Thus enabled to perform the saving metaphorical actions of approaching and ascending the scaffold when supported by Hester's arm and Pearl's hand, he leaves behind the devil. On the scaffold he steps forward from his spiritual helpers and, showing the scarlet letter on his breast, accepts and reveals his spiritual identity to the congregation. The most powerful actor at this point, he dies after forgiving Chillingworth and releasing Pearl by a kiss from the "spell" of her metonymic role into existence "in" the natural world (p. 181), and directing Hester to further her spiritual growth through meditation on their sin.

Until this release into a natural life where she can marry happily and be accepted as a valued member of society, Pearl lives a metonymic, rather than a metaphorically literal, life as her parents' guide. When Hester emerges from prison bearing the baby and the scarlet letter, she acknowledges that they are, for her, torment and talisman by making them both, through her sewing, show the brilliance, passion and pain of her inner life. Like the embroidered letter, Pearl's dress "seemed an . . . outward manifestation of her character her garb was all of one

idea with her nature. . . . Pearl, who was the gem on her mother's unquiet bosom, betrayed . . . the emotions which none could detect in the marble passiveness of Hester's brow" (p. 162). And Pearl's nature is clearly spiritual: "the warfare of Hester's spirit . . . was perpetuated in Pearl. . . . Hester could not help questioning . . . whether Pearl was a human child. She seemed rather an airy sprite" (p. 69). Pearl's demonic laugh, her refusal to accept the rules of social behavior, and her isolation from the other children of the community all contrive to seclude her from human affections. She is an "imp of evil, emblem and product of sin destiny . . . had drawn an inviolable circle round about her" (p. 70). The only people who can enter this "circle of seclusion from human society" (p. 71) are her parents, because she is their creation. For Hester, and later for Dimmesdale, the sexual-social connection of the parent-child bond embodies the idea of salvation: "she named the infant 'Pearl,' as being of great price,—purchased with all she had God, as a direct consequence of the sin . . . had given her a lovely child . . . to connect her parent for ever with the race and descent of mortals, and to be finally a blessed soul in heaven!" (p. 67).

Pearl goes about her business, which must be completed before the spell binding her to an exclusively spiritual world can be broken, with concentrated energy. She is always prodding her parents to identify and accept metaphorical incarnations so that she can herself become flesh. Even as a baby, the "first object of which Pearl seemed to become aware was . . . the scarlet letter"

(p. 72). As a child, she torments Hester by throwing wild flowers at the image on her mother's bosom while gazing "with that little, laughing image of a fiend" (p. 73) so that her mother "half doubted whether she were not acquainted with the secret spell of her existence, and might not now reveal herself" (p. 73). Hester is slow to accept this revelation and Pearl continues, as she grows older, to throw prickly burrs on Hester's letter, to ask its meaning and her own origins. Making an imitation of the scarlet letter with green eel-grass, she "contemplated this device with strange interest; even as if the one only thing for which she had been sent into the world was to make out its hidden import" (p. 128). Hester wonders if through the child's preoccupation with the scarlet letter the wayward child might learn human warmth and mature understanding. And "The Revelation of the Scarlet Letter" eventually does free Pearl from the exclusively metonymic world. But Hester is too ashamed to explain the sexual origin of the letter and in denying it, on the edge of the forest, she delays not only her own growth, but also that of her daughter who has vainly been "seeking a passage for herself into the sphere of impalpable earth and unattainable sky" (pp. 127-28) reflected in the forest pool. It is as essential to Pearl's progress as it is to her parents' that they accept her natural and bodily identity as the scarlet letter.

As "a spirit-messenger" (p. 130), Pearl embodies redemptive power not only in her appearance and questions, but also in her metaphorical actions. She is frequently shown pointing her parents to meaning, as on the midnight scaffold she points her finger at Chillingworth. Pearl is also characterized as a link in the bond between Hester and Dimmesdale:

"She had been offered to the world, these seven years past, as the living hieroglyphic . . . all written in this symbol . . . had there been a prophet or magician skilled to read the character of flame! And Pearl was the oneness of their being. . . . how could they doubt that their earthly lives and future destinies were conjoined, when they beheld at once the material union, and the spiritual idea, in whom they met" (p. 148).¹⁶ She is also the incarnate link between spiritual and physical worlds; while Hester and Dimmesdale enjoy their natural love and plan their escape from the spiritual torments of Boston, Pearl crosses a brook and becomes, like the Pearl of the medieval poem, a teacher from the spiritual world: "assuming a singular air of authority, Pearl stretched out her hand . . . pointing evidently towards her mother's breast. . . . it seemed as if a hidden multitude were lending her their sympathy and encouragement" (pp. 149-50). Pearl insists that Hester cross the brook to take up and put on the "deadly symbol" (p. 151); only then will the child cross the brook and resume their life together, claiming, "Now thou art my mother indeed!" (p. 151). Because Dimmesdale will not agree to reveal their connection by walking hand in hand with her in the town by daylight, she refuses his merely human connection, using the water of the brook to wash off his kiss. And when he is able to ascend the scaffold with them, Pearl kisses him and "Towards her mother, too, Pearl's errand as a messenger of anguish was all fulfilled" (p. 181).

Hawthorne's characterization of Pearl, then, focusses on her as a metonym become a literal metaphor; her appearance, actions and questions are, like the scarlet letter, important insofar as they further the pilgrimages of her

parents, the book's central characters. Chillingworth has a similar secondary role; like Pearl, his own pilgrimage is treated briefly while his metaphorical agency in Dimmesdale's progress and, to a much lesser extent, in Hester's, is carefully detailed. But while Pearl is a demonic spirit "only capable of being loved," Chillingworth is evil incarnate. By equating the function of such different characters--one young, beautiful, female and loving, and one old, ugly, male and hateful--Hawthorne analyses the way everything in the natural world can be an embodiment of the divine drama. At the same time he posits an understanding of the relationship of good and evil very different from that of seventeenth-century Puritans: hatred and love are shown to be "the same thing at bottom" because "Each . . . supposes a high degree of intimacy and heart-knowledge; each renders one individual dependent for the food of his affections and spiritual life upon another" (p. 183). Great knowledge and deep emotions are the groundwork of the spiritual world in which the people who are loved and hated in the natural world become angels and demons.

Before he enters Boston, Hester's first husband uses his knowledge "faithfully for the advancement of human welfare" (p. 124) and leads a calm, scholarly life. The cause of his downfall is his distortion of natural life which is manifested in his small stature and deformed shoulder, and in his marriage to Hester which, he explains when they meet in the prison, is the first step of his damnation: "I,--a man of thought,--the bookworm of great libraries,--a man already in decay, having given my best years to feed the hungry dream of knowledge,--what had I to do with youth

and beauty like thine own! . . . I might have known then, as I came out of the vast and dismal forest . . . the very first object to meet my eyes would be thyself . . . a statue of ignominy . . . from the moment when we came down the old church-steps together, a married pair, I might have beheld the bale-fire of that scarlet letter blazing at the end of our path!" (pp. 57-58). Already Chillingworth can recognize the spiritual dimensions of symbols and actions and the destructive quality of his abstract intellectual pursuits. The narrator, in his first description of Chillingworth in the market place, likewise notes that he is a scholar, alienated from the natural world: "the stranger had bent his eyes on Hester Prynne. It was carelessly, at first, like a man chiefly accustomed to look inward, and to whom external matters are of little value and import, unless they bear relation to something within his mind. Very soon . . . writhing horror twisted itself across his features, like a snake gliding swiftly over them . . . His face darkened with some powerful emotion, which, nevertheless, he . . . instantaneously controlled by an effort of his will" (p. 48). Not surprisingly, Chillingworth calls his life with the Indians a "captivity" from which he is now being "redeemed" (p. 49) into the civilized world. Chillingworth is appropriately Dimmesdale's devil in that both are drawn, like Ethan Brand and Faust before him, to abstract learning and away from the physical world which might reveal their moral ambivalence.¹⁷

Hawthorne, while presenting Chillingworth as a demonic power in the process whereby Dimmesdale becomes Heaven's "organ-pipe," also shows

Chillingworth's transformation into a devil, perhaps to show the similarities of their quests and the end to which Dimmesdale almost comes. Certainly, Hester's agreement to conceal Dimmesdale's identity is as potentially destructive to both as her concealment from the minister of her husband's identity. One essential difference in the two quests is that Chillingworth is motivated by hatred, the emotion which seeks to deny, to abstract from, human interaction whereas Dimmesdale, while equally drawn to intellectual abstraction, wishes to lead a good life, that is, in Hawthorne's terms, one of interaction with God and fellow human beings. And Chillingworth denies as well his ability to interpret connections.

His vengeful desire to learn the identity of Hester's lover is from the outset a quest for definitive understanding of one aspect of Dimmesdale's experience: "He bears no letter of infamy wrought into his garment . . . but I shall read it on his heart. . . . he shall be mine!" (p. 59).

This approach is futile and thus becomes a self-destructive compulsion; he cannot isolate one element from Dimmesdale's experience as a miner, delving for hidden and valuable ore, might discard irrelevant minerals: "a terrible fascination . . . seized the old man within its gripe, and never set him free again, until he had done all its bidding. He now dug into the poor clergyman's heart, like a miner searching for gold; or, rather, like a sexton delving into a grave, possibly in quest of a jewel . . . but likely to find nothing save mortality and corruption. Alas for his own soul, if these were what he sought!" (p. 95). His monomaniacal abstraction of evidence of Dimmesdale's sin transforms Chillingworth himself into a devil, one isolated from the Word: he is

"a striking evidence of man's faculty of transforming himself into a devil, if he will only, for a reasonable space of time, undertake a devil's office" (pp. 122-23). Seeking Dimmesdale's evil, he can only discover himself trapped by his own.

Dimmesdale escapes such possession, such obsession with his own evil, on his return to town when, with the knowledge of Chillingworth's identity, he reveals his true being. He rejects Chillingworth's warning against the public dishonor of confession: "Ha, tempter! . . . Thy power is not what it was!" (p. 178). With his quest for Dimmesdale's hidden, demonic letter frustrated by its revelation and redemption, Chillingworth "knelt down beside [Dimmesdale,] with a blank, dull countenance, out of which the life seemed to have departed" (p. 180). Abstraction, for Chillingworth as for Ethan Brand, creates a lethal spiritual vacuum; within a year he dies, his quest frustrated but his transformation complete: "All his strength and energy . . . seemed at once to desert him; insomuch that he positively withered up . . . like an uprooted weed that lies wilting in the sun. This unhappy man had made the very principle of his life . . . revenge; and when . . . that evil principle was left with no further material to support it,—when, in short, there was no more devil's work on earth for him to do, it only remained for the unhumanized mortal to betake himself whither his Master would find him tasks" (p. 183). On the other side, Dimmesdale's death is redemptive because of his revelation of the Letter-made-Flesh.

iv

There remain several other character groups in the novel with narrative functions which are more allegorical. First, there are those who are extensions of Pearl's wildness and Chillingworth's evil. The sailors and Indians on the fringes of the market place in the story's last scene belong to the sea and the forest, the natural world outside Boston where Puritan rules cannot reach, even as Pearl, in her mother's home on the outskirts of town, lives beyond the restrictions imposed on other children. The mariners admire Pearl's vitality and an Indian, looking at her, "grew conscious of a nature wilder than his own" (p. 173). Hester and Dimmesdale, through their seven years in the spiritual wilderness, have as their child this "demon offspring" and when they accept their full identities in Boston, Pearl leaves behind her wild nature and enters the bonds of family and social life. At this climactic moment when the pilgrims escape the wilderness, not only do the Indians and sailors disappear from the story, but also Chillingworth loses his power as tempter and Mistress Hibbins, his spiritual double, leaves the story. Hibbins, the only townspeople with a purely allegorical identity,¹⁸ appears at moments of great temptation, for example, after Hester's interview at Bellingham's house and during Dimmesdale's return, "in a maze," from the forest. She attempts to lure them to sign the Black Man's book and thereafter belong to the evil world of the forest. The Black Man, Hibbins' master, is a further extension of the evil which in this story is generalized. The evil one has no particular identity as a person of the

everyday world, but is instead an allegory taken over from popular stories and realized in various degrees in evil individuals such as Mistress Hibbins and Chillingworth. Significantly, both Hester and Pearl (p. 60 and p. 99) recognize Chillingworth as the Black Man although Dimmesdale, with his distrust of signs, cannot at first identify his powerful enemy.

The community leaders, overly rational and concerned with social respectability as they are, prove unable to accept Dimmesdale's leadership as fully as does the more intuitive congregation. They have another function as the extension of Chillingworth's potentially destructive but ultimately helpful intrusiveness into the spiritual wellbeing of the pilgrims. The elders force Hester to mount the scaffold and wear the scarlet letter. In the Governor's mansion, they consider separating her from her child. John Wilson, the senior clergyman, had a "kind and genial spirit" but this "attribute . . . had been less carefully developed than his intellectual gifts" and he had no "right . . . to step forth, as he now did, and meddle with a question of human guilt, passion, and anguish" (p. 51). His rather brutal intrusions into Hester's spiritual life almost drive her to the Black Man but ultimately help her progress; likewise, Chillingworth "violated, in cold blood, the sanctity of a human heart" (p. 140), and yet by his demonic attacks hastens Dimmesdale's redemption. Hawthorne, then, shows Hester and Dimmesdale on a stage which includes allegorical figures as well as incarnate metaphors. Both types of minor characters constitute the forces which must be met with by the pilgrims.

Hawthorne uses places more metaphorically than he uses minor characters--as the settings for the major characters' everyday and spiritual experiences. As metaphors, such settings are much more than backdrops for the action. For instance, the place most central to the novel's plot is the scaffold; there the four major characters confront the meaning of the scarlet letter at the beginning, the middle and the end of the novel.¹⁹ The scaffold is both the physical place and metaphor of the public identification of sin. It is situated in the market place, the middle of town, because spiritual life must be embodied in the everyday world. The narrator explains the function of the place: "the scaffold . . . was a point of view that revealed to Hester Prynne the entire track along which she had been treading" (p. 47). The scaffold has the power of salvation as well as of revelation. When Dimmesdale finally mounts it and overcomes his evil, in the person of Chillingworth, the latter says: "there was no one place so secret,—no high place nor lowly place, where thou couldst have escaped me,—save on this very scaffold!" (p. 179).

If a specific place can be a literal metaphor with spiritual power, and if the spatial metaphor of the pilgrimage is the basis of the novel's plot, the structure of the whole can be seen as a series of stages in which characters recognize themselves in places, as Christian learned to see himself in the Rooms of the Interpreter and thereafter in all the other places along his way. The chapter titles show how central the places are to the major characters as stages of interpretation. Each of the titles specifies a setting ("The Prison-Door," "The Market-Place," "The Governor's Hall," "The Interior of a Heart," "A Forest Walk," "A Flood of Sunshine,"

"The New England Holiday"); or a character ("Hester at Her Needle," "Pearl," "The Elf-child and the Minister," "The Leech," "The Leech and His Patient," "Hester and the Physician," "Hester and Pearl," "The Pastor and His Parishioner"); or a character in setting ("The Child at the Brook-Side," "The Minister in a Maze"); or an act of disclosure ("The Recognition," "The Interview," "Another View of Hester," "The Revelation of the Scarlet Letter"); or a spiritual exercise ("The Minister's Vigil," "The Procession").

If communication is a sharing of worlds, Pearl inhabits an "invulnerable sphere" which isolates her from the common children as Hester "was banished . . . as if she inhabited another sphere She stood apart from mortal interests, yet close beside them, like a ghost that revisits the familiar fireside" (p. 64). Hester can, however, converse with another spiritual being of the same sphere; when she meets Dimmesdale in the forest, they wonder if they are in the same life: "it was like the first encounter, in the world beyond the grave, of two spirits the crisis . . . revealed to each heart its history and experience It was with fear . . . that Arthur Dimmesdale . . . touched the chill hand of Hester Prynne. . . . They now felt themselves, at least, inhabitants of the same sphere" (pp. 136-37).

Characters understand places in terms of their own identities; for example, when Dimmesdale returns to the town, he brings back some of the perspective of "the world beyond the grave": "he took an impression of change from the series of familiar objects This phenomenon . . . indicated no external change, but . . . a change in the spectator It was the same town as heretofore; but the same minister returned not

from the forest" (pp. 154-55). Dimmesdale controls his impulse to remake the town according to his evil image and instead, as "organ-pipe," allows divine power to become incarnate in his sermon, thereby bringing together into one the metonymic spiritual and natural "spheres." Thus Hawthorne encourages his readers to understand the places of his novel as metaphorical extensions of his major characters, while, portraying Dimmesdale and Hester in the process of making this kind of interpretation, he also brings to his exploration of hermeneutics the overriding irony that knowledge and interpretation can only, and at best, be subjective.²⁰

Hawthorne extends the issue of point of view, seen here in terms of the interpretation of metaphorical places, to a more general discussion of the understanding of metaphor and metaphorical art. When Hester and Pearl enter the forest, they study the meaning of the little brook's way:

"All these giant trees and boulders of granite seemed intent on making a mystery of the course of this small brook; fearing, perhaps, that, with its neverceasing loquacity, it should whisper tales out of the heart of the old forest whence it flowed, or mirror its revelations on the smooth surface of a pool. Continually . . . the streamlet kept up a babble . . . 'O brook!' . . . cried Pearl, after listening awhile to its talk. 'Why art thou so sad?' . . . 'If thou hadst a sorrow of thine own, the brook might tell thee of it,' answered her mother, 'even as it is telling me of mine!'" (pp. 134-35).

Hester can understand the "revelations" by interpreting them in terms of her own experience. If Pearl is too inexperienced to "read" this metaphorical brook, the townspeople are too bound to the everyday world to understand the power, which so moves them, in Dimmesdale's final sermon. Hester, though,

standing beside the scaffold with its revelatory power, can "hear" with understanding:

the sermon had throughout a meaning for her, entirely apart from its indistinguishable words. These, perhaps, if more distinctly heard, might have been only a grosser medium, and have clogged the spiritual sense. Now she caught the low undertone, as of the wind . . . [which] seemed to envelop her with an atmosphere of awe and solemn grandeur. And yet . . . there was for ever in it an essential character of plaintiveness. . . . The complaint of a human heart . . . telling its secret . . . to the great heart of mankind It was this profound and continual undertone that gave the clergyman his most appropriate power. (pp. 172-73).

Only the gifted, such as Hester, can identify the powerful "undertone" in the words. Perhaps what has been called the narrator's ambivalence is simply Hawthorne's attempt to convey to the reader both the words of his story and the Word it contains. Certainly the reader of The Scarlet Letter, like the reader of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One, must undertake for himself such a visionary act of interpretation.

v

The interpretation of metaphor is essentially a creative act. Hawthorne, unlike Bunyan, posits this concept by characterizing his heroes as artists.²¹ It has been seen that Hester has the power of interpreting "revelations" in the physical world and in the words of Heaven's "organ-pipe," and also in popular stories—she identifies for Pearl the meaning of the scarlet letter as the central image in the legend of the Black Man. She also "interprets" her spiritual experience in the artistry of her needlework. The embroidered letter and Pearl's dress, are, according to Dimmesdale, another artist gifted with understanding, both "blessing" and "retribution": "Hath she not expressed this thought in the garb of the poor child, so forcibly reminding

us of that red symbol which sears her bosom?" (p. 85). Hester's art has the power of expressing thought "forcibly," of "searing" other hearts than her own. She is an interpreter as a 'reader' in interpreting art, but also as a 'writer' in making her letter; and as a pilgrim, she must finally interpret or accept the full meaning of her letter. The spiritual and the creative experiences, then, are closely akin in that both are interpretative acts.

Dimmesdale, at once the most powerful and the most hesitant artist in the story, shows prior to his Election Sermon a Platonic disbelief that his sinful self can be the "voyce of God." He mistakenly attempts to correct the intuitive recognition of his congregation: "I, in whose daily life you discern the sanctity of Enoch,—I, whose footsteps, as you suppose, leave a gleam along my earthly track, whereby the pilgrims that shall come after me may be guided to the regions of the blest,—I . . . am utterly a pollution and a lie!" (p. 105). Ironically, it is his "lie," along with his knowledge, seen in the "lore of Rabbis, and monkish erudition" of the books and in the tapestries representing David's sin and Nathan's denunciation (p. 93) in his library, which push him beyond his naturally limited knowledge and make him, indeed, the congregation's savior. Thus when he receives, on the midnight scaffold, revelations of his evil and Chillingworth's, his interpretation of both, though incomplete, nevertheless increases his power as a preacher: "The next day . . . he preached a discourse which was held to be the richest and most powerful, and the most replete with heavenly influences, that had ever proceeded from his lips. Souls . . . were brought to the truth by the

efficacy of that sermon" (p. 115). When he finally accepts his sinful identity, "never . . . had inspiration . . . breathed through mortal lips more evidently" (pp. 175-76). And he can perform his final artistic act, the revelation of his scarlet letter.

Chillingworth's art expresses rather the 'chill' intellect and forest savagery which make up his spiritual life; the leech is "a man of skill in all Christian modes of physical science, and likewise familiar with whatever the savage people could teach" (p. 55). From the weeds of the forest and graveyard, things and places naturally shunned by the townspeople, he creates medicines which, though fearful in origin and used for revenge, providentially work for good; his cure of Hester when she is in prison and his extended mistreatment of Dimmesdale facilitate their pilgrimages. Where the lovers' art is both the means and expression of their spiritual growth, Chillingworth's is the vehicle of his self-destruction;²² he seeks revenge and abstract knowledge—the latter seen in his comment, when studying Dimmesdale, "A strange sympathy betwixt soul and body! Were it only for the art's sake, I must search this matter to the bottom!" (p. 101)—and, like Goodman Brown, he becomes what he seeks, evil cut off from human affections; in aesthetic terms, he seeks and finds the allegorical "letter which killeth."

Pearl's witchcraft frequently takes the form of play in which she explores spiritual meaning:

The spell of life went forth from her ever creative spirit, and communicated itself to a thousand objects The unlikeliest materials . . . were the puppets of Pearl's witchcraft, and, without undergoing any outward change, became spiritually adapted to whatever drama occupied the stage of her inner world. . . . The singularity [of her play] lay in the hostile feelings with which the child regarded all these offspring of her own heart and mind. . . . It was inexpressibly sad . . . to observe, in one so young, this constant recognition of an adverse world, and so fierce a training of the energies that were to make good her cause, in the contest that must ensue. (pp. 71-72)

Creativity at least trains Pearl in the understanding which allows her to "make good her cause" in the spiritual warfare she must encounter.

If Dimmesdale uses the metaphor of pilgrimage in sermons which make him the savior of "the pilgrims that shall come after" him, and if Pearl's creation of dramas of military conflict trains her for "the contest that must ensue," the narrator also is telling a story of pilgrim-warriors which, for him in turn, is a means of spiritual wayfaring and warfaring. Certainly he uses such metaphors, as in his description of Dimmesdale: "to this poor pilgrim, on his dreary and desert path . . . there appeared a glimpse of human affection . . . in exchange for the heavy doom which he was now expiating. And be the stern and sad truth spoken, that the breach which guilt has once made into the human soul is never, in this mortal state, repaired. It may be watched and guarded; so that the enemy shall not force his way again into the citadel But there is still the ruined wall, and . . . the foe that would win over again his unforgotten triumph" (p. 144).²³ The narrator discovers and tells the "stern and sad" truths of spiritual life, as his major characters discover themselves in their art. If the hero is artist in The Scarlet Letter, the narrator, as artist, is provisionally the hero of his own

quest and his own struggle for interpretation. He feels the letter burn into his flesh in the Custom-House and, in writing the novel, the letter, made flesh in him, is finally "made word."

The role of the artist, therefore, is central to the theme, structure and characterization of The Scarlet Letter, as well as of "The Custom-House." Bunyan, on the other hand, does not define any coherent poetics. His few introductory comments to The Pilgrim's Progress, Part One are contradictory and he never specifically connects the act of reading to that of dreaming, to the artistic process, or to the hero's progress. If Hawthorne is heir to the Puritan tradition of incarnational metaphor, he transforms his legacy by articulating in his art the poetics implicit in Bunyan's fiction and by introducing to his ancestor's theology the necessity of evil in the progress to salvation. Hawthorne's art is thus more ironic, more self-consciously artistic. Christian's quest is to identify the Word in himself; Hawthorne makes his protagonists, his readers, and himself as artist undertake this same creative identification.

Notes to Chapter Five

¹Marshall Van Deusen, in "Narrative Tone in 'The Custom-House' and The Scarlet Letter," in Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, ed. Sculley Bradley (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1978), 2nd ed. pp. 263-69, argues that "The Custom-House"

"introduces . . . the character and voice of the narrator . . . that voice [is] sometimes querulous, sometimes self-doubting" (p. 265). With this complex voice in mind, the reader of the romance does not simply reject the "moralism" which is the principal tone of its narrator: "if we think of him as integrally related to the narrative through the Hawthorne of the preface, the historical, epistemological, and ethical themes of the whole book will be recognized as more serious and more subtle by virtue of their dramatic relationship to a character of genuinely complex intelligence" (p. 268). There is, of course, a much less viable connection of the artist and his personae in "The Custom-House" and The Scarlet Letter. Edgar A. Dryden, in Nathaniel Hawthorne: The Poetics of Enchantment (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), discovers in Hawthorne's fiction a recurring structural pattern: shadows of fancy are transformed into substances of heart and mind. This process of disenchantment reflects Hawthorne's refusal to face his own inner shadows (p. 21), his fear of introspection of what lies behind the veils of social conventions; like his heroes such as Goodman Brown, Hawthorne is unable to find the Divine in the dreary, godless forest.

²Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, ed. Sculley Bradley (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1978), 2nd ed., p. 26.

³Hugo McPherson, in Hawthorne as Myth-Maker: A Study in Imagination (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), extends Hawthorne's self-analysis not so much into a study of the artistic process but more into a portrait of Hawthorne's personality. Like Dryden, McPherson makes what New Critics would call the biographical fallacy as his basic premise: "the imaginative foundation of a writer's work may well be an inner drama

or 'hidden life' in which his deepest interests and conflicts are transformed into images or characters; and through the symbolic play of these creations, he comes to 'know' the meaning of his experience; the imaginative structure becomes a means of reaching truth" (pp. 4-5). Hawthorne's central myth, then, is his "New England quest" for self-definition as an artist in his time, with its materialism, optimism, and Puritan heritage. The artist must balance, in emotional terms, the conflicting demands of these social, religious and historical forces with his own inner needs: "In Hawthorne's personal vision . . . we have . . . a tableau in which the Heart is central, flanked by two suitors--the empirical, daylight faculty of Reason and the nocturnal, magical power of Imagination" (p. 11). Most of Hawthorne's fiction, according to McPherson, fictionalizes his exploration of the relationship of the individual, especially the artist, with these psychological, social, religious and historical forces. His characters, for example, are empirical or imaginative types. "The Custom-House," which "seems to have no more than a tenuous connection with the romance itself" (p. 171), describes the "combination of warm hearth-light and clear moonlight reflected in a mirror--a blend of the two worlds which is the ideal atmosphere for artistic creation" (p. 216).

⁴ Richard H. Brodhead, in Hawthorne, Melville, and the Novel (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), reads this scene as Hawthorne's courting of the muse, invoking the magic of nature (moonlight) to stimulate the imaginative creation of characters. This Coleridgean process, which leads to the romance elements in his writing, is followed by description of realistic, novelistic, creation. Where my argument is that in this scene Hawthorne moves from Platonic to incarnational poetics, Brodhead sees him describing his two central modes, the romance, which treats psychological and moral issues, and the novel, which presents the social and the historical.

Brodhead reads most of Hawthorne's and Melville's work as a "composite form" (p. 23), always exploring the limits and capacities of different kinds of fiction. The Scarlet Letter is unusual because in it Hawthorne integrates the romance and the novel in a concentrated and consistent form. The scaffold, for instance, is physical object, social creation and figurative image of both Hester's and Dimmesdale's emotions: "the resonance between the object and these images suggests a complex relation between things and inner experience" (p. 52). The resulting "sense of haunted interconnectedness" creates "the quality of overdetermination that Freud ascribes to dreams" (p. 53). Thus Brodhead finds "interconnectedness," "concentration," and "economy" where I see incarnational metaphors.

⁵ Various critics explore the different dimensions of the artist's involvement with society. In "The [Complete] Scarlet Letter," in Bradley, pp. 259-63, Sam S. Baskett studies Hawthorne's self-portrait in "The Custom-House." He "at once expresses his alienation from his contemporaries--from both the transcendentalists who ignore guilt and the materialists who subsist on the subhuman level--and acknowledges his desire to end that alienation" (p. 266). David Stouch, in "The Surveyor of 'The Custom-House,'" in Bradley, pp. 269-79, advances essentially the same argument: "those emotions which are central to the dilemma of each character are emotions which have been experienced first by the Surveyor of the Custom-House, and in each instance they had their source in the Surveyor's sense of isolation from the community" (p. 278). On the other hand, R. W. B. Lewis, in "The Return into Time: Hawthorne," from The American Adam, in Bradley, pp. 342-47, sees in The Scarlet Letter "the tableau of the solitary figure set over against the inimical society" (p. 343). John C. Gerber, in "Form and Content in The Scarlet Letter," in John C. Gerber, ed., Twentieth-Century Interpretations of The Scarlet Letter (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), pp. 105-10, calls the romance "a study of isolation. . . . Isolation, therefore, is a feeling of estrangement from those persons or elements whose

code the individual feels that he has violated" (pp. 105-06). In this article on the patterns of sin, isolation and reunion, Gerber overlooks Hester's and Dimmesdale's estrangement from and discovery of identity with spiritual forces, concentrating as he does on social isolation.

⁶Yvor Winters, in "Maule's Curse, or Hawthorne and the Problem of Allegory," takes an opposing view. The problem with this article is that it fails to recognize both the variety of Puritan modes of interpretation and the different levels of irony with which Hawthorne presents them.

⁷Charles C. Feidelson, Jr., in "[The People of Boston]," from Hawthorne Centenary Essays, ed. Roy Harvey Pearce (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964), in Bradley, pp. 393-97, sees the townspeople's interpretative actions as exclusively allegorical: "They would honor a transcendent God who enters this world mainly as law-giver His incarnation is the impress of his abstract supernatural code, which primarily reveals the evils of flesh and the universality of sin. As administrators of the code . . . they have no perception of the concrete reality of Hester They see only the abstract Adulteress" (p. 394). By contrast, "Hester represents a positive individualism, alien to Puritan society but capable of creating a human community of its own" (p. 395). Feidelson does not concede any growth in the protagonists' interpretative powers or any intuitive interpretative wisdom on the part of the townspeople. In "Hawthorne as Symbolist," from Symbolism and American Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), in Kaul, pp. 64-71, Feidelson argues that Hawthorne, with his analytical personality, is more comfortable with allegory than symbolism and that only in The Scarlet Letter does he attempt the latter method: "On the one hand, the symbol was valuable precisely because it transcended analytic thought; on the other hand, that very transcendence, with its suggestion of the unconventional, the novel, the disorderly, was potentially dangerous. . . . allegory was safe because it preserved the conventional distinction between thought and things" (p. 70). Clearly, Feidelson's definitions of allegory and symbolism derive from Transcendentalist poetics.

⁸Hyatt Howe Waggoner, in "[Three Orders: Natural, Moral, and Symbolic]," from Hawthorne: A Critical Study (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1955), in Bradley, pp. 332-42, also approaches the meaning of the novel through interpretation of the images introduced in Chapter One: "The cemetery, the prison, and the rose, with their associated values and the extensions of suggestion given them by the image patterns that intersect them . . . suggest a symbolic pattern within which nearly everything that is most important in the novel may be placed" (p. 333). Finding more darkness in the book than light, he concludes: "the work is static. On the natural plane, beauty and ugliness, red rose and pigweed, equally exist with indisputable reality. But on the moral plane, only evil and suffering are really vivid and indisputable. . . . The clearest tones in the book are the black of the prison and the weeds and the grave, and the redness of the letter and the rose, suggesting moral and natural evil and natural goodness, but not moral goodness" (p. 341). Like many of Hawthorne's critics who read the romance in terms of human tragedy rather than spiritual salvation, Waggoner finds only metonymic meaning in Hawthorne's metaphors.

⁹Gabriel Josipovici, in "[Letter into Hieroglyph,]" from The World and the Book: A Study of Modern Fiction (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1971), in Bradley, pp. 421-28, also notes that the book requires interpretation; the reader must "account for its peculiarly elusive quality, the sense that there is always a meaning over and above what is said" (p. 421). Josipovici argues, without adequately proving, that the reader, whatever his interpretation, is left with a sense of ambiguity and that this is Hawthorne's purpose because full knowledge of a character is impossible in real life and to seek such definition "is to act like Hester's Puritan accusers" (p. 423).

¹⁰Ernest Sandeen, in "The Scarlet Letter as a Love Story," in Bradley, pp. 372-83, rejects the critical assumption that sin is a central theme of the novel and argues that the conflict is between the Puritan God and the god of romantic love. Dimmesdale is the central character because he is the only one "to bring together the two antagonistic moral worlds represented by the color imagery: the somberly attired Puritan crowd, and those set apart from the crowd by their symbolically primitive gaudiness of dress--the Indians, the semi-piratical mariners, Hester, and Pearl" (p. 380). Hester's view of her love with Dimmesdale "is the traditional one of all true lovers, in which the grand passion is its own excuse for being[;] she accedes to Arthur's resolution of their dilemma only with the greatest reluctance. She does not sympathize with him in his anxious concern about their social and religious obligations, nor does she share his elation at having reconciled passion and conscience" (p. 382).

¹¹R. W. B. Lewis, Trials of the Word (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 82.

¹²Lewis, p. 84.

¹³Leslie A. Fiedler, in Love and Death in the American Novel, rev. ed. (New York: Stein and Day, 1960), notes: "in the end his weakness proves stronger than Hester's strength, leading him to repentance and public confession, while she dreams still of flight" (p. 442).

¹⁴Insofar as this novel explores the spiritual dimensions of sexual roles, it is intriguing to note that full liberation is more difficult for the man than for the woman, however disadvantageous the woman's role in social terms.

¹⁵Edward H. Davidson, in "Dimmesdale's Fall," in Gerber, pp. 82-92, makes a somewhat different analysis: Dimmesdale "convinces himself that

the body and the soul are separate . . . [he] can condemn the flesh for sin and guilt of which the spirit is presumably free" (pp. 83-85). But Davidson sees no progress for Dimmesdale: his public confession is "a triumphant display of that egocentric conviction that man builds his universe from within" (p. 90).

¹⁶ Hawthorne's use of the word "hieroglyphic" recalls Frye's but it must also be considered in light of the debates on the relationship of language to meaning occasioned by Champollion's successful interpretation of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics in the 1820s. John T. Irwin, in American Hieroglyphics: The Symbol of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics in the American Renaissance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), finding in The Scarlet Letter many of the motifs such as mirror doubles and multiple perspectives typical of these discussions, argues that Pearl, like the scarlet letter itself, is a hieroglyphic which cannot be understood, that, for Hawthorne and Melville, "hieroglyphics were the linguistic analogue of an enigmatic external world whose shape was various enough to sustain almost any interpretation that man projected on it in the act of knowing" (p. 239). Gabriel Josipovici, studying the relationship of "letter" and "hieroglyphic" in The World and the Book: A Study of Modern Fiction (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), also concludes that Hawthorne leaves his story ultimately ambiguous as a comment on the limited power of language.

¹⁷ Arthur Cleveland Coxe, in "The Nauseous Amour of a Puritan Pastor," in Bradley, pp. 257-58, typifies mid-century reviewers who, seeing The Scarlet Letter as immoral, condemn the evil in Hawthorne's works as totally destructive.

¹⁸ Fiedler argues that Pearl, Chillingworth and Mistress Hibbins are "best understood as the 'daemons' or 'shadows'" of Hester and Dimmesdale (p. 437).

¹⁹Leland Schubert, in Hawthorne, the Artist: Fine-Art Devices in Fiction (1944; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963), charts Hawthorne's carefully structured repetition of numerous motifs such as the letter, the colour red, and Dimmesdale's gesture of his hand over his heart. For example, "[just as the scaffold] literally rises above the market-place, so does it structurally rise out of the novel's plan and attribute pattern to it" (p. 138).

²⁰Richard Harter Fogle, in "[Realms of Being and Dramatic Irony]," from Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark, in Bradley, pp. 325-32, on the other hand, argues that the various kinds of irony (of situation and of hidden meaning) in the novel are, like the ambiguity in Hawthorne's historical accuracy and of the truth in popular superstitions, used by him to counteract the "sense of over-manipulation" created in the reader by the book's concentrated and straight-forward themes and symbols. The "destinies of his chief characters are finally veiled in ambiguity" only because "the last judgment . . . is not for a fellow human to declare" (p. 326). Fogle insists on the absence of irony and ambiguity in Hawthorne's characterization: "the judgment of Hawthorne upon his characters is entirely clear, although deliberately limited in its jurisdiction. But he permits the possibility of other interpretations to appear, so that the consistent clarity of his own emphasis is disguised" (p. 331). John E. Becker's interpretation of Hawthorne's irony in "The Concluding Ritual," from Hawthorne's Historical Allegory: An Examination of the American Conscience (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971), in Bradley, pp. 428-35, is the opposite extreme. Becker notes a failure to find certainty in spiritual values, a hopelessness throughout the novel, for example, in the "ultimate and despairing contradiction" that "'hatred and love are at bottom the same'" (p. 435). He claims, without proving, that the "revelation of the scarlet letter" brings Hester "no fulness of perception" because only "her love for Dimmesdale is important to her" and she thus "remains unfulfilled" (p. 433).

²¹Richard Poirier, in A World Elsewhere: The Place of Style in American Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), presents this observation in the context of a very different argument. American novels, he contends, are typically concerned with building new environments, recreating new selves and new societies in the wilderness, free from the restrictions of old artistic, social and moral conventions. This interpretation of both Hawthorne and his characters works from the premises of Transcendentalist poetics. Joel Porte, in "The Dark Bloom of Romance," from The Romance in America (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), in Bradley, pp. 404-12, also sees Hester and Dimmesdale as artists of the same order as Hawthorne, but he perceives their common art not as spiritual but rather as expressive of the psycho-sexual truths of traditional romance: the "scarlet letter . . . becomes Hawthorne's 'mystic symbol'—Hester's art of the needle turned art of the romance. . . . As a sinner Hester is set off from the rest of the world precisely as is the artist, and Hawthorne describes her in terms he often used for describing himself The scarlet letter, symbol and embodiment of both her sin and her art 'endowed her with . . . , a sympathetic knowledge of the hidden sin in other hearts'" (pp. 404-05). Dimmesdale experiences the failure of salvation and demonstrates, especially in his final sermon and revelation of what Porte calls "the final sign of his utter damnation," the "romance truth" of the "sin, suffering, and ineluctable human tragedy" (p. 412). The power in such art is not of heaven but of human nature.

²²William Bysshe Stein, in Hawthorne's Faust: A Study of the Devil Archetype (University of Florida, 1953), shows how Hawthorne was one of the many New England writers who read and discussed Goethe's Faust after its popularization in America in the 1820s. Stein's Jungian interpretation of the Faustian myth in Hawthorne's fiction sees the devil as an archetype, an internal power (p. 8) which the individual must recognize in himself, as well as in society (p. 10). Turning in pride from God to the things of the flesh, or consciousness, selling their souls along with Faust and

Eve, the characters perform the necessary "archetypal ritual" (p. 10) which leads to their discovery of the devil within. But when these protagonists "perceive that [evil] lies within as well as without, they attain to the knowledge of a god but not to his ability to circumvent evil" (p. 11). Ethan Brand is such a New England Faust who "discovers that evil is the natural outcome of man's tragic intellectual and emotional inadequacies. . . . it is . . . an unavoidable portion of human destiny" (p. 98). Thus "it is the unalterable condition of human existence that man will clear a path to truth and knowledge through the jungle of sin and sorrow" (p. 101). Stein's reading of The Scarlet Letter is less convincing. Certainly Chillingworth derives from Goethe's Faust and Marlowe's Mephistopheles. But he overlooks important dimensions of the book when he claims that Pearl is, simply, devilish, that all the supernatural powers derive from the traditions of Marlowe, Goethe and the gothic romances.

²³ Frederick C. Crews, in "The Ruined Wall," from The Sins of the Fathers: Hawthorne's Psychological Themes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), in Bradley, pp. 383-93, approaches this metaphor and the book as a whole as an expression of frustrated sexual desires. This subtle and complex psychological approach sees the external enemy of Dimmesdale's "citadel" (his ego's desire for goodness) as his libidinal impulse and the internal destructive force as his masochistic guilt. Reading Dimmesdale's final moments on the scaffold as a "pathological" (p. 391) "egocentric confession" (p. 392), Crews denies the possibility of spiritual or emotional progress and recognizes that the "question ultimately amounts to a matter of critical method: whether we are to take the action of The Scarlet Letter in natural or supernatural terms" (p. 390). He cannot accept that Hawthorne could, in the final pages, have "abandoned his usual irony and lost himself in religious transport" as the "redemption-minded critics love to discover" (pp. 390-91).

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