

Biblical and Calvinist Allegorical Substructures

in John Bunyan's

The Holy War

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ABSTRACT

BIBLICAL AND CALVINIST ALLEGORICAL SUBSTRUCTURES
IN JOHN BUNYAN'S THE HOLY WAR

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This is a study of the structure and function of Biblical and Calvinist allegory in John Bunyan's The Holy War Made by Shaddai upon Diabolus for the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World (1682). Drawing upon many of Bunyan's lesser known treatises, the Bible, Calvin's Institutes, as well as Puritan and modern theologians, it separates the work's various contrapuntal levels of meaning and explicates its private religious language of mystical symbols and Biblical themes. Besides the introduction, there are four parallel chapters, each of which analyzes one of the strata of Bunyan's allegory: The first orients the reader by determining what the author meant by the concept "holy war." The second examines Bunyan's personal theodicy as expressed through his construction of the character, Diabolus. Bunyan's allegorization of the Calvinist paradigm of conversion and progressive sanctification is discussed in the third chapter, while the fourth analyzes how his allegorical distillation of the Scriptural portrayal of human history parallels the branch of theological inquiry called Salvation History. The conclusion discusses The Holy War in relation to The Pilgrim's Progress, to other authors' works on similar themes, and looks at the allegory's rhetorical structure in relation to the Puritan genre of the sermon-treatise.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BUNYAN'S WORKS CITED IN THIS STUDY : (Offor Edition, 1875)

Title:

Abbreviation:

The Acceptable Sacrifice (op. posth.; pub. 1692)

TAS

The Barren Fig Tree (1682)

BFT

Christ a Complete Saviour (op. posth.; pub. 1692)

CCS

Christian Behaviour (ca. 1674)

CB

Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ (1681)

CWTJC

A Confession of My Faith, and a Reason
of My Practice (1677)

ACOMF

The Desire of the Righteous Granted
(op. posth.; pub. 1692)

TDOTRG

A Discourse upon the Pharisee and the Publican (1685)

ADTP

The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded (1659)

LGU

An Exposition on the First Ten Chapters of
Genesis (op. posth.; pub. 1692)

Exp. Gen.

Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners (1666)

Gr.Ab

The Holy City (1665)

HC

The Holy War Made by Shāddai upon Diabolus, for the
Regaining of the Metropolis of the World (1682)

HW

The Jerusalem Sinner Saved (1688)

JSS

The Life and Death of Mr. Badman (1680)

BM

Light for Them that Sit in Darkness (1674)

Light

Of Antichrist and His Ruin (op. posth.; pub. 1692)

Antichrist

The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That
Which is to Come (1678)

P.Pr.

Reprobation Asserted (ca. 1674)

RA

The Saint's Knowledge of Christian Love
(op. posth.; pub. 1692)

SKCL

Saved by Grace (1675)

SBG

A Treatise on the Fear of God (1679)

ATFG

The Work of Jesus Christ as Advocate (1688)

Advocate

OTHER AUTHOR S'WORKS

W.R. Bowie, et al., eds., The Interpreter's Bible.
12 vols. New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1951.

IB

E.M. Bucke, et al., eds., The Interpreter's Dictionary of the
Bible. 4 vols. New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.

IDB

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to examine and to discuss the structure and function of Biblical and Calvinist allegory in John Bunyan's The Holy War Made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, For the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World (1682), by separating the work's various contrapuntal levels of meaning, as well as by explicating its private theological language of mystical symbols and Biblical themes. Indeed, so dependent upon Scripture is The Holy War, that in this study the Bible will be considered as virtually an integral part of the work.

The approach in this study is two-fold: on the one hand, it attempts to understand The Holy War in late seventeenth-century terms; on the other hand, it attempts to interpret the work in parallel late twentieth-century terms, as well. In the first case, this study endeavours to view the work as much as possible in the manner in which a late seventeenth-century reader from Bunyan's intended audience would have been expected to understand it. This involves situating the work within its historical context, necessitating occasional references to Puritan concerns, to Calvinist doctrine, and to current events of Bunyan's day, because The Holy War alludes to many now-forgotten topical, sectarian, political dogmas and controversies, obvious to Bunyan's contemporaries, but obscure and puzzling to us. However, The Holy War will not be studied as merely a religious sectarian tract, but rather as a literary work and thus as a self-contained text with its own claim on our attention. So, in discussing the many questions of doctrine it nevertheless contains (eg. grace, justification, intercession), it will be more relevant to the interests of this study to consider Bunyan's own interpretation of these concepts before going outside his complete works to consult other theologians and apologists of Calvinist Protestantism. This explains my choice of edition of The Holy War and

the many other works by Bunyan which are cited in this study: George Offor's three volume standard edition of Bunyan's Complete Works (London: Blackie and Sons, 1875). This nineteenth century collection, which includes many devotional and allegorical treatises which are otherwise generally unavailable, has been carefully edited by Offor, a knowledgeable and sympathetic Baptist scholar, interested, however, as much in the works' devotional content as in their literary idiosyncracies. Offor's edition contains many nuances in its copious annotations of many aspects of the works' theological implications which are glossed over by more recent editors. Moreover, while Offor has modernized Bunyan's spelling and punctuation somewhat, particularly in excising his lavish use of initial capitals, his edition of The Holy War follows the text of the first edition of 1682 very closely, as comparison with Roger Sharrock and James F. Forrest's careful editing (1980) of the 1682 edition shows. Mention ought also to be made that Biblical quotations, unless otherwise noted, are from the Authorized Version.

In the second case, this study seeks sometimes to view The Holy War in those twentieth-century terms which are approximately equivalent to Bunyan's. Often Bunyan's allegory is concerned with issues, especially in the areas of late seventeenth-century eschatology and Calvinist doctrine, for which there are few immediate modern parallels and which are consequently remote and difficult of access for the modern reader. So, at times, in analyzing some concepts found in The Holy War, it is practical to proceed from the ideas of a twentieth-century thinker, say, trace them back to Calvin and his Puritan developers and commentators, and thus arrive at the less familiar thought of Bunyan in The Holy War. An instance of this is the use which this study makes of several modern Fundamentalist classics: the Scofield and Dake annotated Bibles, the theological writings of Berkhof and Nee. It is necessary to emphasize that the views of these

modern Fundamentalist thinkers are presented in the course of this study as modern parallels of Puritan Calvinistic thought which are closest in spirit and zeal, if not always in their ideological content, to the thought of Bunyan's work. The same can be said of the way in which this study makes use of help from non-Fundamentalist theologians and critics as well: to provide analogical stepping stones to the understanding of Bunyan's most obscure concepts and attitudes.

This study is organized in four parallel chapters, each of which analyzes, fairly independently of the other three, one of the strata of the allegory. This means that often in a given chapter the same passage from The Holy War is interpreted in a way quite different from the way it is understood in other chapters, which is, of course, intentional. In addition, the chapters are conceived as two complementary pairs. The first pair deals with Bunyan's depiction of Good and Evil; the second deals with his portrayal of Mansoul as microcosm and as macrocosm.

Briefly, each of the four chapters sets out to study The Holy War as follows:

The first chapter, which is concerned with finding out what Bunyan and indeed the whole allegory means by the concept "holy war," is also a chapter designed to orient the modern reader of The Holy War. It begins with a look at the external features of warfare and its setting in Bunyan's allegory, then analyzes what holiness, and its capacity of self-expression through war, implies in the work, as shown in the action of the Creator to His creation, and in the response of creation to its Creator. As well, the chief weapon of God, the Word, and the spiritual armour of mankind, as portrayed in The Holy War, are discussed and explained. The chapter's last section is concerned with investigating the global meaning of "holy war" as a term in religious language, and with seeing what affinities The Holy War has with Biblical parable structures.

The second chapter examines Bunyan's personal theodicy as expressed through his construction of the character, Diabolus, a sort of distillation of everything evil. The chapter attempts to pin down what Diabolus is, by looking at his personal attributes, his history as given in The Holy War and in Scripture, as well as in traditional seventeenth-century demonology. As well, the chapter draws upon Bunyan's own lifelong cataloguing of reflections on satanic techniques of tempting and tormenting the Faithful, in addition to considering particular literary problems posed him by his kind of Calvinism. Finally, the chapter discusses Bunyan's theodicy under the twin aspects of "counterfeit reality" and "inversion" to determine the nature of Bunyan's answer to the challenge of the fact of evil to his faith.

The third chapter analyzes the Calvinist paradigm of the process of conversion followed by progressive sanctification, showing how Bunyan has turned this archetypal pattern and its soteriology into allegory, while situating this use of the conversion process within its historical and social context. In doing this, attention is paid to the evangelical Puritan ideal of the Christian life, the concern in Bunyan's time with the careful shaping and moulding of the self, with spiritual autobiographies such as Bunyan's own Grace Abounding Unto the Chief of Sinners (1666), and with the sense of spiritual progress and social responsibility for others. In addition to thus studying the importance of self-analysis and self-discipline on the stratum of The Holy War, this chapter also brings out the significance of the structure of the Puritan sermon, as well as of meditation, to the application of the conversion paradigm. The various steps of the paradigm (election, calling, conversion, justification, adoption, sanctification) are illustrated from The Holy War, with helpful commentary on various aspects of doctrine and its application in

Christian living from several theologians, with the analysis proceeding, for the reasons given above, from modern thinkers to Calvin and the Puritans.

The fourth and final chapter studies the stratum of The Holy War which is concerned with conveying the panorama of human history in basically Scriptural terms. In many ways, as the chapter shows, Bunyan's portrayal of mankind's history in The Holy War parallels the discipline which modern theologians call "Salvation History" (Heilsgeschichte). Puritans such as Bunyan saw mankind's history also as a set of periods, or dispensations, hinged on Christ, somewhat in the way some modern Fundamentalist groups do. This chapter situates the allegory of The Holy War in the context of late seventeenth-century Puritan Biblical historiography, so as to bring out some of the subtleties of their somewhat different views of human history. Bunyan's exegeses of Scripture illustrate such nuances, and the chapter makes use of his way of reading the Bible for deeper meanings. This approach is dramatic in a religious sense, and the chapter shows how Bunyan builds up to a climax of great power in Emmanuel's closing oration before the town of Mansoul.

The study concludes with thoughts regarding The Holy War in relation to similar works by other authors, as well as to The Pilgrim's Progress, and also to the sermon-treatise. The work's rhetorical structure is briefly discussed in relation to the latter neglected genre. Reasons are suggested for The Holy War's being one day included in the canon of English Literature.

This way of studying The Holy War has been found to be necessary for several reasons. For one thing, this work of Bunyan's, once considered as important as The Pilgrim's Progress, has been allowed by modern critics to fall into obscurity. The reason for this neglect is that the once-familiar Calvinist and Scriptural framework of the allegory is felt to be quite alien to modern students of late seventeenth-

6.

century literature. They simply do not know how to go about reading such a complex work; the art has largely been lost.

Also, while all the standard books about Bunyan mention The Holy War, the work is always placed in the shadow of The Pilgrim's Progress, a work about which one can have much to say without feeling any need of a key derived from Calvinist theology and its severe attitudes toward living. The Holy War is cast in the form of a text more advanced spiritually than is the more domesticated work, and if one takes the trouble to decipher its complexities and obscurities, one finds the work to provide much insight into how Puritan literature of meditation functioned, into how it might have been read and experienced and into the nature of a Puritan aesthetic. In many ways, dissecting the Biblical allegories of The Holy War is hard going, for its Calvinist thought world is thorny, stony desert ground, yet the mystical vision which much of the work unfolds, when one finds out where and how to look for it, is rich and profound, and is a unique and important contribution to Protestant religious literature.

During the course of reading this study, the reader perhaps may wonder why few works specifically about The Holy War have been cited. Lamentably, criticism of Bunyan's neglected allegory is sparse and, except for a chapter in William York Tindall's flawed John Bunyan: Mechanick Preacher (1934), what little of it that has appeared since is for the most part quite superficial and of little use to this study. This is true even in the case of the "standard" biographies and studies of Bunyan by Brown, Furlong, Sharrock and Talon. Published criticism regarding The Holy War is lazily repetitious; rather than ferret out new insights, it is content unthinkingly to echo the misconceptions of earlier scholars. For example, much of what James F. Forrest says in his preface to his modern spelling edition (1967) of The Holy War is little more than a summary of the hazy views of the above-mentioned authors.

Regretably, very few new discoveries have found their way into the preface of Forrest and Sharrock's otherwise admirable edition (1980) of The Holy War.

A stumbling block to critics of Bunyan's work is that it is evangelistically didactic. Transparent is Bunyan's desire, that of the dedicated preacher, to make known to his audience, as clearly and persuasively as he can, the body of Calvinistic doctrine in which he trusts and believes. However, "distaste for a creed outworn," as Forrest succinctly puts it¹ hampers critics of The Holy War from viewing the doctrinal foundation of the work objectively. For personal reasons, strange as this may appear, they apparently refuse to be bothered to learn about the intricate theological system upon which The Holy War is based, so their criticism of Bunyan's work is myopic, selective, and evasive, frittering away its energy on secondary matters, such as "Bunyan's style," his "pithy vocabulary," his use of folksy proverbs. Thus they avoid coming to terms with the fundamental issues which Bunyan as well as his intended audience considered to be the raison d'être of the allegory. This attitude of reluctance has caused The Holy War to be represented as obscure and muddled. Disgracefully, there has been no serious effort made to study The Holy War in the way it was intended to be read, from the standpoint of the Scriptural and Calvinist concerns which the work illustrates and upon which it is built.

In researching the Biblical and Calvinist doctrinal structures which underlie The Holy War, in estimating the audience's expectations of the work, as well as in

¹ James F. Forrest, ed., The Holy War by Shaddai upon Diabolus for the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World or the Losing and Taking Again of the Town of Mansoul, by John Bunyan (New York: New York University Press, and Toronto: Copp Clark, 1967), vii.

working out plausible strategies for reading the various levels of the Biblical allegories contained within the work, this study breaks new ground and provides much new information likely to be useful to students of Bunyan's allegories and similar Puritan works (for example, it disproves Forrest and Sharrock's misconception² that Bunyan was unable to sustain several allegorical levels simultaneously). Above all, it is the aim of this study to persuade the reader to acquaint himself further with the intricacies, profundities, and beauties of The Holy War.

²James F. Forrest and Roger Sharrock, eds., The Holy War Made by Shaddai upon Diabolus for the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World or the Losing and Taking Again of the Town of Mansoul, by John Bunyan (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), xii.

CHAPTER I HOLY WAR

In this chapter, the aim is to investigate the main theme of Bunyan's allegory, namely, "holy war." This will be accomplished first by examining how the author has depicted holy warfare, next by reflecting on Scriptural and theological implications of Bunyan's method of portraying holy war, and lastly by investigating the concept "holy war" as conveyed by Bunyan in The Holy War, in terms of specifically religious language. Unlike the other three chapters, the aim of this chapter is to orient the reader of The Holy War: to attempt a general overview of a concept, rather than a point-by-point analysis of a procedure. To begin with, let us look at the way Bunyan depicts spiritual warfare in The Holy War. (The barest references to items in the allegory will suffice at this point, since here the intention in our analysis is to provide merely an overview, undistracted by details and quotations). In turn we will discuss weapons, armour, methods of warfare and deployment of forces as well as their allegorical significance.

In considering the weapons used in The Holy War, one notes that the side of Good makes use of the sword (HW.3.257,277), slings (HW.3.292), battering rams (HW.3.257.277). Allegorically, these weapons are all out in the open, in the light. To quote from John 3:20-21: "For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God." In addition, each of these methods of killing the enemy evolves a type of Christ. David and Joshua come to mind with respect to the above examples of weapons. In contrast, the Diabolians are distinguished only in the use of guns, clearly a non-Biblical kind of weapon, one which is fitting for surprise, ambush;

hidden warfare, dishonest fighting.

The armour worn by the side of Good can be taken to be "the whole armour of God," described in Ephesians 6:11-18 (HW.3.268, 269, 285, 307). Not surprisingly, the Diabolians' armour parodies the whole armour of God by inverting its features. Later on in this chapter there will be a fuller discussion of the allegorical significance of this matter.

Methods of waging war used by the side of Good are few. The siege is the favorite technique, in fact (Cf. HW.3.258,277,292,295,358,359, etc.). Again, the approach is one which is both straightforward and visible. The side of Good counts on a dazzling display of superior soldiery, bright, inspiring colours, and the patient wearing down of the enemy's morale by the persistent show of superior force. Not unexpectedly, the Diabolians' methods of waging war are all underhanded, varied: forays (HW.3.348), sneak attacks, and ambushes (HW.3.258,330,333,341), psychological warfare (the drum - HW.3.331,342,344). But guerrilla warfare and hidden subterfuge characterize the mentality of darkness, after all.

Each side has three distinct armies, which parallel each other inversely. Shaddai's army of Law (true teaching) is paralleled by Diabolus' invisible army (false teaching). Emmanuel's army of Grace is paralleled by its counterfeit and opposite, Diabolus' army of Doubters (ie. of Grace). Emmanuel's army of Judgment is paralleled by Diabolus' army of Bloodmen (Persecution as wrong judgment, the taking of the law into one's own hands).

Now, in the very slight resemblance which Bunyan's portrayal of war bears to seventeenth-century techniques of warfare, one should see method rather than oversight. That the work was never taken by Bunyan's audience to have anything to do with actual techniques of modern warfare is shown in the frontispiece illustration to the 1682 edition, which shows the slings mentioned in the text, to be

about two and one half feet high. The reason I mention this point is that I disagree with the nineteenth-century critics who stressed the "realism" of Bunyan's writings. His descriptions of battle owe much more to the Bible than to the Civil War.

Some spatial aspects of The Holy War provide a framework to the story within which the critical reader can orient himself. One might think of this complex of features as the "theatre of war" of Bunyan's allegory. The story of holy warfare is set around and within a walled town that in itself might be Biblical, but which has seventeenth-century political sources. However, the physical setting is at the same time psychospiritual, with geographical and topographical features having been given names corresponding to, for example, the five senses, and the soul, or to terms adapted from anglo-calvinist theology. These seem disconcertingly sketchy, at first glance, and the investigator with his heart set on finding a set of exact correlations of topographical with spiritual features in order to draw up a map of the allegory will receive a scanty reward for his efforts. Nevertheless, as a coherent way of arranging the features of the setting, or theatre of war, of The Holy War, it will be helpful loosely to group the main ones of these under the headings of the Biblical model of human psychology: body, soul, spirit.

As Watchman Nee explains:

The ordinary concept of the constitution of human beings is dualistic - soul and body. According to this concept soul is the invisible inner spiritual part, while body is the visible outer corporal part. Though there is some truth to this, it is nevertheless inaccurate. Such an opinion comes from fallen man, not from God; apart from God's revelation, no concept is dependable. That the body is man's outward sheath is undoubtedly correct, but the Bible never confuses spirit and soul as though they are the same. Not only are they different in terms; their very natures differ from each other.

.....
 The Word of God does not divide man into the two parts of soul and body. It treats man, rather, as tripartite - spirit, soul, and body. Thessalonians 5.23 reads: 'May the God of peace himself sanctify you wholly; and may your spirit and soul and body be kept sound and blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Of these three elements the spirit is the noblest for it joins with God. The body is the lowest for it contacts with

matter. The soul lying between them joins the two together and also takes their character to be its own. The soul makes it possible for the spirit and the body to communicate and to cooperate. The work of the Soul is to keep these two in their proper order so that they may not lose their right relationship - namely, that the lowest, the body, may be subjected to the spirit, and that the highest, the spirit, may govern the body through the soul. Man's prime factor is definitely the soul. It looks to the spirit to give what the latter has received from the Holy Spirit in order that the soul, after it has been perfected, may transmit what it has obtained to the body; then the body too may share in the perfection of the Holy Spirit and so become a spiritual body.¹

Furthermore, while The Holy War concerns itself with events in and around Mansoul, Bunyan's choice of many of the place names shows that the allegory is about what Nee has called "the whole person." Again, in this introductory part of the chapter, the aim is a comprehensive overview, so detailed allegoresis will be left until further along in the discussion.

The walls and gates of the town of Mansoul appear to correspond to the body. We read that:

The wall of the town was well built, yea, so fast and firm was it built and compact together, that had it not been for the townsmen themselves, they could not have been shaken, or broken forever. For here lay the excellent wisdom of him that built Mansoul, that the walls could never be broken down, nor hurt, by the most mighty adverse potentate, unless the townsmen gave consent thereto.

HW.3.256)

The walls of Mansoul have five gates corresponding to the five senses, as well as a sally-port in the frequently poorly guarded rear of the town (HW.3.277).

Concerning the latter, one of the the Diabolians, Apollyon, suggests to the Diabolian council that a good place to plan an ambush would be at a slight distance outside the sally-port (HW.3.355). Over Eargate, the most important of the gates, Diabolus had a gun tower installed, which Shaddai's first army quickly disabled (HW.3.278). As well, it was by way of Mansoul's voluntary opening of Eargate that

¹Watchman Nee, The Spiritual Man (1968; rpt. New York: Christian Fellowship Publications, 1971), 21-22, 27.

Diabolus and his army managed to enter the town in the first place (HW.3.265). In addition to this, when Shaddai's generals issue ultimatums to Mansoul, this is done before Eargate. The other senses do not play an important part in The Holy War, although they are occasionally alluded to.

Let us permit ourselves some preliminary speculation about the meaning of these features as seen in the light of the Biblical model of human psychology. An interesting fact about the walls of the town of Mansoul is that they "could never be broken down. . . unless the townsmen gave consent thereto" (HW.3.256). The reference to free choice implicit here shows why Mansoul voluntarily became corrupt by inviting in Diabolus instead of Shaddai's Son. Here we have insight into Bunyan's attitude in The Holy War to the problem of the existence of evil in a world created and governed by God. In the words of Mark Pontifex: "As a whole, we can only see that God permits it, because the nature of the act is wholly due to the creature's failure, and is contrary to God's will. God's causality is deflected, so to speak, by the failure initiated by the creature."² The existence of the sally-port, so vulnerable to surprise attack, seems to imply that the reader needs to be reminded that spiritual vigilance includes being mindful of hidden matters.

Certainly, Emmanuel's closing speech to the town in the final pages of the work stresses how important it is to be watchful. Eargate is the most important of all the gates because of the Biblical stress on spiritual ears and hearing. According to R.C. Dentan:

The ear is frequently mentioned in the Bible in its literal, physical sense, but its figurative use as a symbol of the complete process of hearing and, by extension, of understanding and obedience is far more significant. The concrete term 'ear' is often employed where our own modes of thought would

²Mark Pontifex, "The Question of Evil," in Prospect for Metaphysics: Essays of Metaphysical Exploration, Ian T. Ramsey, ed. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1961), 113.

lead us to use a more abstract word such as 'hearing' or 'attention' For the apprehension of the divine word, the possession of physical ears received with comprehension and a spirit of willing obedience In the Bible, the key word for man's response to God is 'hearing' rather than 'seeing.'³

One can generalize from these observations. It would appear that the gates while they parallel the five senses are faculties of spiritual understanding, rather than merely organs of sense. Tentatively put, Eargate depicts the faculty of obedience, Eyegate depicts the will,⁴ Mouthgate depicts the faculty of prophesying (in the sense of "speaking forth the divine truth"), and Feelgate depicts the fear of God. So, when Mansoul backslides, then the chief gates depict, respectively: unbelief, defiance, blasphemy, and fearful doubting. Furthermore, the polarity of the gates changes according to the state of the heart. Thus, when Heart Castle is occupied by Emmanuel, or prepared for his occupancy, then the gates are simultaneously closed against evil influences and open to divine truths and blessings. The opposite is true when Diabolus occupies the Castle.

Let us move on now to the features of the setting, or theatre of war, which correspond to the soul in the Biblical model of human psychology. To borrow from Watchman Nee once more, while the body is "that part which gives us world-consciousness, the soul comprises the intellect which aids us in the present state of existence and the emotions which proceed from the senses. Since the soul belongs to man's own self and reveals his personality, it is termed the part of self-consciousness."⁵ With the exception of the Castle, the soul corresponds to the

³R.C. Dentan, "Ear (Hearing)," IDB, vol.2, 1.

⁴R.C. Dentan, "Eye," IDB, vol. 3, 201-202.

⁵Nee, 26; author's italics.

structures inside the town walls. As usual in The Holy War, physical details are sketchy. However, Bunyan does emphasize two of Mansoul's buildings; the houses of both the Recorder and the Lord Mayor. While he also stresses such structures in the town as the statues, the tower, the cross and the fountain, these have little allegorical significance as far as the level of holy warfare is concerned.

First, let us look at the matter of the house of the Recorder. At the beginning of Diabolus' take-over of Mansoul, one of his most difficult tasks was taking the Recorder's house. This was the house of old Mr. Conscience: "His house was as strong as a castle, and stood hard to a stronghold of the town. Moreover, if at any time any of the crew or rabble attempted to make him away, he could pull up his sluices, and let in such floods as would drown all about him" (HW.3.262). Later, long before the entire town of Mansoul is retaken, Emmanuel's captains of his army retake the Recorder's house. "The Recorder's house," says the narrator, "was a place of much convenience for Emmanuel, not only because it was near to the castle, and strong, but also because it was large, and fronted the castle, the den where now Diabolus was; for he was afraid to come out of his hold" (HW. 3.294). The Recorder's house, that of the conscience, is the first stage, after the penetrating of the gates, necessary to the gaining of Mansoul.

Secondly, let us turn to the matter of the house of the Lord Mayor, before reflecting hypothetically on the significance of the two buildings in the allegorical web of correspondences and meanings on this level of The Holy War. The Lord Mayor's house has importance because its windows reflect light for the town. This fact displeases Diabolus, as well as his deputy, Lord Mayor Will-be-will, who could not bear even the light of a candle (HW.3.263; cf. Jn. 3:20). Diabolus remedies this situation "by building of a strong tower, just between the sun's reflections and the windows of my lord's palace . . . by which means his house and all, and the whole of

his habitation was made as dark as darkness itself" (HW.3.261). Next after the Recorder's house, that of the Mayor is of crucial importance to the total control of the town of Mansoul.

What characterizes these two structures is that they are fortified houses, entrance to which is unattainable except by the owner's consent. Once again, Bunyan parallels the individual's freedom to choose or to reject Christ. One recalls Christ's words in Rev. 3:20, "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me," as an illustration from Scripture of this point of doctrine. Both the conscience and the will must voluntarily submit either to Christ or to Antichrist, to Emmanuel or to Diabolus.

The last of the main features of the setting, or theatre of war, corresponds to the spirit in the Biblical model of human psychology. To draw upon Watchman Nee once more, "The spirit is that part by which we commune with God and by which alone we are able to apprehend and worship Him. Because it tells us of our relationship with God, the spirit is called the element of God-consciousness. God dwells in the spirit, self dwells in the soul, while senses dwell in the body."⁶

The structure which corresponds to the spirit is Heart Castle, the town's most imposing edifice and its centre of government. Its description figures in a number of passages in The Holy War. Here is how it is first described:

There was reared up in the midst of this town a most famous and stately palace. For strength, it might be called a castle; for pleasantness, a paradise; for largeness, a place so copious as to contain all the world This place the King Shaddai intended but for himself alone, and, not another with him; partly because of his own delights, and partly because he would not that the terror of strangers should be upon the town. This place Shaddai made also a garrison, but committed the keeping of it to the men of the town.

(HW.3.255-56)

⁶Nee, 26; author's italics.

However, when Diabolus takes over the Castle, by invitation of Mansoul, its fortifications are felt by the usurper to be insufficient or the wrong kind. "Now having got possession of this stately palace or castle, what doth he but make it a garrison for himself, and strengthens and fortifies it with all sorts of provision against the King Shaddai, or those that should endeavour the regaining of it to him and his obedience again" (HW.3.260). That this has been done with Mansoul's initial consent enables Diabolus to hold out so long against eviction by Emmanuel.

Let us allow ourselves a moment for preliminary reflection on the significance of the name of the castle: Heart Castle, the heart of man, his core (coeur), his essence, built to be the temple of the Holy Spirit, according to Scripture (Cf. 1 Cor. 3:16). Christian tradition, as well, holds that man is complete only when Christ's Spirit indwells his heart. Hence it is the best of times in The Holy War when Emmanuel occupies Heart Castle. Recalling the moment of his conversion to Christianity, C.S. Lewis observed, "I had hoped that the heart of reality might be of such a kind that we can best symbolize it as a place; instead, I found it to be a Person."⁷ In the language of the Fundamentalist evangelists, it is at the moment of conversion that the invited Christ enters to dwell within the heart of the new believer. To improvise on Lewis' term, the combination of "the heart of reality" with both place and Person is an old one, one which figures often in Renaissance emblem books⁸ with which Bunyan's readers were expertly

⁷C.S. Lewis, Surprised by Joy: The Shape of My Early Life (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1955), 217.

⁸Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University press, 1979), 187.

familiar.⁹

There is one further point to add at this stage in our discussion of the chief features of the theatre of war setting of The Holy War: the paradox of self-sacrifice. The Castle of the Heart must be offered in sacrifice by yielding it up to Emmanuel. In Scripture, the heart gains in value by being broken in voluntary sacrifice. For instance, note in Psalm 51:17, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart . . ." This is paralleled in Psalm 34:18, "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart; and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit." In his posthumously published imaginative treatise, The Acceptable Sacrifice; or The Excellency of a Broken Heart, Bunyan emphasizes this need for a heart broken on God's altar:

But, soul, be sure thou hast this broken heart. All hearts are not broken hearts, nor is every heart that seems to have a wound, a heart that is truly broken. A man may be cut to, yet not into the heart; a man may have another, yet not a broken heart. (TAS.1.715)

This point is important in understanding the paradoxical nuances of a holy war in which Mansoul emerges victorious by surrendering.

Now, before going on to discuss deeper levels of meaning in this strand of the allegory of The Holy War, it is wise to take stock of the predominant features of the way Bunyan has depicted holy warfare in the work. Concerning the waging of war, there are two peculiarities: first, that the battles in the book are rare, and in all of them Mansoul quickly surrenders new territory; second, there is almost no actual fighting, despite a continual bombardment of the town by the slings, but to make up for this lack, there is a lot of elaborate speechmaking, at times almost

⁹As Rosemary Freeman has shown, Bunyan relied heavily on his readers' traditional "emblematic habits of thought" in composing The Holy War. Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948), 207.

what would appear to be preaching. The war is mostly a series of voluntary surrenders by Mansoul. Concerning the territory over which the wars of The Holy War are fought, in looking for an appropriate analogy to represent this aspect of the mystical structure of the work, one might for a moment consider a set of nested boxes or spheres, each corresponding to the various psychological levels to be conquered spiritually: Conscience, Will and Spirit. Each sphere contains the next smaller; the innermost sphere. Man's spirit shares with his choice of either the Spirit of Christ or the spirit of Antichrist. By using this analogy, it is possible to see how The Holy War parallels The Pilgrim's Progress in its theme of pilgrimage or quest: the former depicts a siege and a journey into the inner life, or soul of man; the latter depicts a journey outward bound through the spiritual stages of the Christian life-experience.

Having scrutinized the external features of Bunyan's depiction of war in The Holy War, it is now necessary to begin excavating for levels of meaning. A good place to start is the contemplation of the term "holiness:" what is it and what does it involve? Let us look at J. Muilenburg's explanation of the concept:

Holiness is the 'given' undergirding and pervading of all religion; the distinctive mark and signature of the divine. More than any other term, 'holiness' gives expression to the essential nature of the 'sacred.' It is therefore to be understood, not as one attribute among other attributes, but as the innermost reality to which all others are related. Even the sum of all the attributes and activities of 'the holy' is insufficient to exhaust its meaning, for to the one who has experienced its presence there is always a plus, a 'something more,' which resists formulation or definition. As connotations are as diverse as the cultures which seek to describe its mysterious nature, but common to all is an awareness of an undefined and uncanny energy, a sense of the numinous (Cf. Latin numen), of the imponderable and incomprehensible, an inarticulate feeling of an inviolable potency outside and beyond, removed and distant, yet at the same time near and 'fascinating,' invading the everyday world of normal experience - what Rudolf Otto has described as the Mysterium tremendum. Primitive societies seek to do justice to the maleficent and benevolent powers of 'the holy' in such words as 'mana' and 'taboo,' but these positive and negative forces are present whenever the 'holy' is present. Holiness thus extends into every area of existence.

In the Bible 'holiness' is related, e.g., to the world of nature and of history, to the realm of human experience and conduct, to the election-convenant life of Israel, to the psychophysical life of the individual and even to the destiny of nations. There it is the revelation of the holy presence which gives rise to the impulse to worship; where the Holy One manifests himself in the hieros logos as in the theophanies, altars and sanctuaries are erected to bring the event and word to holy immediacy and realization. Wherever God's presence is felt, there men encounter the wonder and mystery of holiness. It is therefore, the religious word katexochèn. While it often denotes a state or condition, it is for ancient Israel primarily an activity and a speaking which eventuate in relationship.¹⁰

In the setting of the warfare of The Holy War we have already noted how Bunyan builds upon psychophysical concepts. In addition, Mullenburg's terms "Activity" and "speaking" provide useful focal points of insight into how holiness functions in The Holy War. Moreover, the concept of holiness, as depicted in Bunyan's allegory, being multileveled in meaning, corresponds as well in several ways to the various New Testament Greek terms translated by the English word "holiness" and its derivatives: According to W.E. Vine, the first of its meanings, corresponding to agiasmos, signifies "(a) separation to God" and "(b) the resultant state, the conduct befitting those so separated." The second, corresponding to agiosune, "denotes the manifestation of the quality of holiness in personal conduct . . . believers are to be 'perfecting holiness in the fear of God' 2 Cor. 7:1 . . ." the third meaning corresponds to agiotès, "sanctity, the abstract quality of holiness . . . used of God." The fourth of the meanings corresponds to osiotès, "denoting that quality of holiness which is manifested in those who have regard equally to grace and truth; it involves a right relation to God."¹¹

¹⁰ J. Mullenburg, "Holiness," IDB, vol. 2, 616-617.

¹¹ W.E. Vine, An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words (Nashville - New York: Thomas Nelson, 1939), 355-56.

The reader should have a clear grasp of the contrasting concepts of "holy" and "profane," as well, since Bunyan makes richly varied use of them in The Holy War. Several elemental meanings based on the Semitic root qdš, of "holiness" are suggested by Muilenburg: first, the meaning "separation" is paramount; second, there is the meaning "clear shining brightness". Related terms are hérem, "devoted to Yahweh," and another root meaning "to dedicate, consecrate, or separate." Particularly interesting is Muilenburg's observation that "Especially in the holy war the hérem plays an important role, for all the spoil is Yahweh's; it must therefore be "devoted" to him by being destroyed. When Achan violates the hérem, he and his blood relatives are exterminated, and the Israelites must sanctify themselves . . . before they may again engage in holy encounter, Yahweh claims what belongs to him (Josh. 6:17-18; 7:1,10-13).¹² The concept of "profanation" L.E. Toombs defines thus: "To treat a holy person, place, or institution as if it were not holy (Lev. 19:8; Ezek 36:20-23; 1 Tim. 1:9) - i.e., as if it were common. This implies several things - idolatry, social immorality, bringing a holy thing into contact with uncleanness - for, Toombs explains, "Since the holy God commands his people to be holy, profanation in Israel is really an assault on the holiness of God, a profanation of his holy name (Lev. 21:6; Ezek. 22:26; Amos 2:7)."¹³

The reader is asked to bear all this information in mind as we now move on to investigate how holiness motivates holy war. There are a number of Scriptural factors, for example, which make the solution of holy warfare inevitable in many instances. However, in order to present the matter clearly, the topic will be examined under two headings: Creator versus creature, and, inversely, creature

¹²Muilenburg, 617.

¹³L.E. Toombs, "Profane," IDB, vol. 3, 893.

versus Creator. The term "creature" is better than merely "man," since it includes Diabolus and the Diabolians. Weaponry will be discussed during the first of these sections. Spiritual armour will be discussed in the course of the second section. More general implications of the theme of holy war in the allegory will be reserved for later on in the chapter.

To begin our discussion of the aspects of holiness which motivate and initiate holy war, which I have labeled "Creator versus creature," it seems that the attribute of divine jealousy, as one of the components of holiness, is the catalyst which precipitates holy war, either as salvation and sanctification upon the Elect, or as wrath and judgment upon the Reprobate. It is assumed, moreover, that Shaddai and Emmanuel, being types of the heavenly Father and Son respectively, are co-equal in all respects, as that is Scripturally consistent (Cf. Jn.10:30-38). Holiness and jealousy are related, for "Jealous" is one of the divine names. The following passage¹⁴ which invokes the name, also evokes a picture of a people similar to Mansoul under Diabolus' rule:

For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God. When thou shalt beget children, and children's children, and ye shall have remained long in the land, and shall corrupt yourselves, and make a graven image, or the likeness of any thing, and shall do evil in the sight of the Lord thy God, to provoke him to anger: I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land whereunto ye go over Jordan to possess it; ye shall not prolong your days upon it, but shall utterly be destroyed. (Deut 4:24-26)

As can be seen in this very typical passage, God demands exclusive worship (Cf. Josh. 24:19; Exod. 20:3, 5), and cannot tolerate any kind of worship which defies His essential and innermost nature. Of such a case, Isaiah 63:6 quotes God as saying, "And I will tread down the people in mine anger, and make them drunk in

¹⁴Cf. Exod 34:14; 4:24-26; Deut. 6:15; Ezek. 39:25.

my fury, and I will bring down their strength to the earth."

Bunyan illustrates the divine requirement of exclusive worship in The Holy War in the fascinating exchange between Emmanuel and Mr. Loth-to-stoop, the Diabolians' negotiator of a surrender on Diabolian terms. First, the Diabolians desire to surrender only one half of Mansoul. To this, Emmanuel replies, "The whole is mine by gift and purchase, wherefore I will never lose one-half." Then, the Diabolians would consent to surrendering all but one small part. Emmanuel answers, "The whole is mine really; not in name and word only: wherefore I will be the sole Lord and possessor of all, or of none at all of Mansoul." Perhaps all could be surrendered if Lord Diabolus were given a place to live in the town. The Prince retorts, "All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me; and of all that he hath given me I will lose nothing, no, not a hoof, nor a hair, I will not therefore grant him, no, not the least corner in Mansoul to dwell in, I will have all to myself" (HW.3.290). The exchange continues in this vein for a while longer, with Emmanuel's increasingly precise demands of exclusive ownership of Mansoul progressively revealing his divinity. (In the mouth of a merely human character, his words sound disconcertingly selfish and unwilling to compromise in a political situation).

One notes that Shaddai had made a covenant with Mansoul at the beginning of The Holy War. Mansoul's part was to keep true to Shaddai (HW.3.256), and, as he sees this covenant gradually broken by Mansoul under Diabolus, the perceptive reader in Bunyan's intended audience would expect such wilful departures from the covenant to precipitate Shaddai's swift and destructive judgment, for, says E.M. Good, "covenantal jealousy demands totality of obedience."¹⁵

¹⁵E.M. Good, "Jealousy," IDB, vol. 2, 807.

The many ways in which divine jealousy has been provoked by Mansoul under Diabolus' misrule are stated by Emmanuel in his scornful condemnation to the archfiend. "Thou deceiving one," Emmanuel starts off, "I have in my Father's name, in mine own name, and on behalf and for the good of this wretched town of Mansoul, somewhat to say to thee." He condemns Diabolus for usurping his Father's place "by the exercise of deceit and guile," for "perverting, knowingly, the right purport and intent of the law . . . by promising them happiness in their transgressions" against Shaddai's law, while fully aware that his false teachings would lead the town to its ruin. Moreover by "his lies and fraudulent carriage" he has "set them against their own deliverance." So far, Diabolus is charged with being a liar, an usurper and a false prophet. He then comes straight to the point:

I am therefore come to avenge the wrong that thou hast done to my Father, and to deal with thee for the blasphemies wherewith thou hast made poor Mansoul blaspheme his name. Yea, upon thy head, thou prince of the infernal cave, will I require it.

(HW.3.287-88)

It is possible in this opening section of Emmanuel's speech to Diabolus to see the operation of divine jealousy flashing out in holy fury. Diabolus has broken many commandments, perhaps the most serious of which parallels "the abomination of desolation"¹⁶ in Diabolus' occupation of Heart Castle, for "this palace the king Shaddai intended but for himself alone, and not another with him" (HW.3.255).

But one must not forget that holy war was also part of a "glorious design . . . between the King and his Son . . . for the miserable town of Mansoul" (HW.3.266). This refers, of course, to the divine plan of salvation. Note how Bunyan parallels these familiar verses from the Gospel of John:

¹⁶Cf: Mt 24:15; Dan. 9:27; 11:40-45; 12:1,7; 2 Th. 2:4; Rev. 11:1-2; 12:1-17; 13:1-18.

For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world: but that the world, through him might be saved.

(Jn. 3:16-17)

First, we learn of a divine agreement given in response to Diabolus' seizure of Mansoul:

The purport of which agreement was this: to wit, That at a certain time prefixed by both, the King's Son should take a journey into the country of Universe; and there, in a way of justice and equity, by making of amends for the follies of Mansoul, he should lay a foundation of her perfect deliverance from Diabolus and from his tyranny.

(HW.3.266)

Second, we see that divine love, rather than divine jealousy, is the motivation for the covenant of salvation, and the consequent war to awaken the sleeping Elect to repentance and salvation:

Let all men know who are concerned, that the Son of Shaddai, the great King, is engaged, by covenant to his Father, to bring his Mansoul to him again; yea, and to put Mansoul, too, through the power of his matchless love, into a far better, and more happy condition than it was before it was taken by Diabolus.

(HW.3.266)

In contrast to holy warfare against the reprobate Mansoulians, which ends in divine wrath and judgment of their wickedness,¹⁷ holy warfare waged against the elect Mansoulians is simply the dissolving of the resistances of the natural man by the power of the Word through preaching. The attitude of Shaddai and Emmanuel is quite different in the case of the Elect. Emmanuel speaks compassionately to those who are capable of hearing and heeding him, but to the unregenerate he is

¹⁷Cf. Mt. 16:27; 27:31-46. Bunyan parallels the first and second coming of Christ: first, Emmanuel conquers Mansoul to save it from Diabolus; second, he reconquers it to judge the reprobate Mansoulians and to reward the regenerate Mansoulians.

harsh indeed:

Poor Mansoul! What shall I do unto thee? Shall I save thee? Shall I destroy thee? What shall I do unto thee? Shall I fall upon thee and grind thee to powder, or make thee a monument of the richest grace? What shall I do unto thee? Hearken, therefore, thou town of Mansoul, hearken to my work, and thou shalt live. I am merciful, Mansoul, and thou shalt find me so; shut me not out of thy gates.

O Mansoul, neither is my commission, nor inclination, at all to do thee any hurt; why fliest thou so fast from thy friend, and stickest so close to thine enemy? Indeed, I would I have thee, because it becomes thee, to be sorry for thy sin; but do not despair of life, this great force is not to hurt thee, but to deliver thee from thy bondage, and to reduce thee to thy obedience.

(HW.3.289)

After this brief sketching out of the factors in the divine character which motivate the waging of holy war, we now turn to examine how the chief weapon of holy warfare functions. The real weapon in The Holy War is the Word. Bunyan exploits the complex meanings of the Scriptural expression "The Word of God." Briefly, this term refers, on the one hand, to the revelation from God through the words of the Bible (the Puritan term is an "opening"), and, by extension, through inspired ("anointed") preaching, and, on the other hand, the term refers to Christ in the Person of the Logos, or incarnated Word. "For this cause also thank we God without ceasing," Paul wrote to the Thessalonians, "because, when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectively worketh also in you that believe" (1 Thess. 2:13). What is implicit here is not merely intellectual agreement, but the opening up of one's spirit to receive divine revelation. That the word of God is not merely words about God but the substance of their presence as a saving Person is stressed in many places in Scripture, such as this passage:

Unto us was the gospel preached, as well as unto them; but the word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it . . . The word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.

(Heb. 4:2;12)

In this passage, as well, one notes how the Word of God is described as the most efficacious of weapons. In the illustrations from The Holy War to be given shortly, we will see how Bunyan makes all of the weaponry of his allegory symbolize the Word in one of its aspects or another. Indeed, if one looks into the use of the expression "The Word of God," he will perhaps be surprised at the richness with which it is given metaphorical and psychic extension in the Scriptures. For instance, by "tasting the Word of God," one receives the powers of the world to come (Heb. 6:5). Then, "the milk of the word" suckles babes in Christ (1 Pet. 2:2). Also, the Word cleanses its hearers (Jn 15:3). Moreover, Christians are transformed into Christ's likeness by the renewing of their minds by the Word of God (Rom. 12:2). Above all, as Person, the Word of God indwells believers "richly, in all wisdom" (Col. 3:16), in His role of uttering, in unveiling the divine Word to which the words of Scripture point. The Word in this way opens up to the believer what Paul Tillich has called "ultimate reality expressed in symbols whose material is taken from finite reality."¹⁸

For example, in The Holy War, the parallel with Scripture and the proclaiming of the Gospel is shown in the numerous sermonlike speeches pronounced before the town of Mansoul (chiefly before Eargate) and in the many summonses by those of Emmanuel's party to those of the other side to mend their backsliding, apostate ways.

Preaching, the largest enclosing genre of The Holy War, is given added rhetorical force through appeals to the visualizing imagination carried out "visually" by means of the complicated heraldic symbolism of the banners and

¹⁸Paul Tillich, "The Meaning and Justification of Religious Symbols," in Religious Experience and Truth: A Symposium, Sidney Hook, ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 4.

shields of Emmanuel's army. To illustrate, here is how one of Emanuel's five captains is described: ". . . that famous captain, the noble Captain Credence. His were the red colours, and Mr. Promise bore them, and for a scutcheon he had the holy lamb and golden shield. And he had ten thousand men at his feet" (HW, 3.285). This use of standards as a way of proclaiming the Word is built on Scriptural figures and practices.¹⁹ Similarly derived is Emmanuel's expressing himself by having various flags hung out for the enemy's consideration:

Then he commanded, and they set out the red flag upon that mount called Mount Justice. It was the red flag of Captain Judgment, whose scutcheon was the burning fiery furnace, and this also stood waving before them in the wind for several days altogether. But look how they carried it under the white flag when that was hanged out, so they did also when the red one was, and yet he took no advantage of them.

(HW.3.268)

Moreover, as a type of Christ, Emmanuel guarantees success and well-being by his presence. It is when he gradually withdraws from Heart Castle that trouble begins again, just as it had flared up after Shaddai had departed from Mansoul. In contrast to Emmanuel, who is the living Word and who speaks the living Word, there is Diabolus, who is the counterfeit Word or Spirit of Antichrist. Diabolus utters words instead of the Word; instead of the Word, he has reduced "the rhetoric of religion," to borrow Kenneth Burke's phrase, to manipulative jargon.

Now, let us look at some of the motivating causes of holy war from the direction of "creature versus Creator." While it might appear paradoxical that the regenerate among the Creator's creatures could ever be against Him, the problem is an old one, that of being the Lord's worst enemy, despite one's having the best of intentions. In addition to discussing this spiritual condition of the righteous Mansoulans, the roots of spiritual rebellion will be touched upon as well, in the

¹⁹ Cf. Pss. 20:5; 60:4; S. of S. 2:4; 6:4; Isa. 13:2.

second part of this section of our discussion which will be about spiritual armour in The Holy War.

While the first part of The Holy War is concerned with the awakening to salvation and repentance of the Elect among the populace of Mansoul, the second part of the allegory deals with their struggling at the process of sanctification. Soon after Emmanuel arrives to "new model" the town (HW.3.322), he advises the town to "watch and be sober, and suffer not thyself to be betrayed" (HW.3.322). Mansoul very soon after grieves Emmanuel to the degree that he cannot bear to remain in the town any longer: "Thus they walked contrary to him, and he again by way of retaliation, walked contrary to them" (HW.3.326). Almost all of the remaining pages of The Holy War relate how the elect of Mansoul bunglingly strive to regain Emmanuel's favour and have him return to Mansoul. Their record is a sorry one, indeed: they neglectfully allow the garments given them by Emmanuel to become soiled and tattered (HW.3.328); they fail to pursue the Prince's warrant to rid themselves of Diabolian agents provocateurs left lurking in the secret places of the town, and so become overrun by them (HW.3.330); they grow too interested in making money to watch over their spiritual needs (HW.3.333); they neglect reformation (HW.3.339). Indeed, it is a long time until they manage by the repentant state of their hearts to win Emmanuel back to them (HW.3.340).

This is Bunyan's allegorical parallel of the Christian's perpetual war against the flesh. Because of the flesh, he continually offends God. The Puritans documented the agony of their war against the flesh - Michael Wigglesworth is perhaps the most zealous example, but Bunyan, in Grace Abounding unto the Chief of Sinners, with page after page filled with the account of his struggle, is a close second. The tradition behind this struggle derives from Paul, in a sense the first

Puritan. As S.V. McCasland explains:

Paul views the self as having three elements: reason, which is the seat of God's law; the flesh, out of which lawless desire rises; and the ego or "I" in control of the will, which must choose between the law of God and the lawless desires of the flesh . . . According to Paul, man is in bondage to the flesh, from which he can be delivered only by the grace of God through Christ. . . ²⁰

A passage crucial to understanding Paul's, and the Puritans' understanding of the concept of the warfare of flesh against spirit, is Romans 7:14-25:

For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I allow not: for that which I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I. If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good. Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me, I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! I thank God through Jesus Christ Our Lord, so then with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.

Karl Barth's commentary on this passage from Romans is most relevant to the purposes of our investigation, since it defines the intensity of the same spiritual conflict about which Bunyan struggled and suffered both in his spiritual autobiography, and as later it was transformed in his three allegories. Barth writes:

Religion, when it attacks vigorously, when it is fraught with disturbance, when it is non-aesthetic, non-rhetorical, non-pious, when it is the religion of the 39th Psalm, of Job, and of Luther, and of Kierkegaard, when it is the religion of Paul, bitterly protests against every attempt to make of its grim earnestness some trivial and harmless thing. Religion is aware that it is in no wise the crown and fulfilment of true humanity; it knows itself rather to be a questionable, disturbing, dangerous thing. It closes the circle of humanity completely; so completely that it completely opens it - covertly! Religion confronts every human competence, every concrete happening in this world, as a thing incomprehensible, which cannot be tolerated or accepted. Religion, so far from being the place where the healthy harmony of human life is lauded, is instead the place where it appears diseased, discordant, and disrupted. Religion is not the sure ground upon which human culture safely

²⁰S.V. McCasland, "Flesh in the NT," *IDB*, vol. 2, 277. This is, of course, not to be confused with the triad discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

rests; it is the place where civilization and its partner, barbarism, are rendered fundamentally questionable. . .

Religion must beware lest it tone down in any degree the unconverted man's judgment. Conflict and distress, sin and death, the devil and hell, make up the reality of religion. So far from releasing man from guilt and destiny, it brings men under their sway. Religion possesses no solution of the problem of life; rather it makes of the problem a wholly insoluble enigma. Religion neither discovers the problem nor solves it: what it does is to disclose the truth that it cannot be solved. Religion is neither a thing to be enjoyed nor a thing to be celebrated: it must be borne as a yoke which cannot be removed. Religion is not a thing to be desired or extolled: it is a misfortune which takes fatal hold upon some men, and is by them passed on to others; it is the misfortune which assailed John the Baptist in the desert, and drove him out to preach repentance and judgment; which caused the writing of that long-drawn out, harassed groan, which is the Second Epistle to the Corinthians; which laid upon Calvin's face that look which he bore at the end of his life. Religion is the misfortune which every human being has to endure, though it is, in the majority of cases, a hidden suffering.²¹

Holy warfare waged by "creature against Creator," in the case of the unregenerate Mansoulans, and totally unredeemably fiendish Diabolians, is traceable both to a counterfeiting and an inverting of the spiritual values and gifts of the side of Good. While this matter is examined in depth in the subsequent chapter on Diabolus, one important example, that of spiritual armour, will be discussed here, in order to shed light on the methods used by the opposition in the holy war.

Spiritual armour has been chosen because of the analysis Bunyan gives Diabolus' use of it, in the Archfiend's parody of the spiritual armour of the Regenerate - "the whole armour of God," described by Paul in Ephesians 6:11-18:

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

²¹ Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Romans, translated from the sixth edition by Edwyn C. Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 257-59. This passage, which attacks our term "rhetoric," points to Bunyan's plainness.

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: Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints.

In this passage, Francis W. Beare²² says of the expression "the whole armour of God," that "The Christian warrior is invited to employ the spiritual armour in which God himself is clothed when he goes forth to overthrow his enemies. The genitive is therefore to be taken in the first instance as possessive, but it is also subjective - 'the armour which God supplies.'"²² The Regenerate Mansoulia by analogy can thus ally themselves with Shaddai, and fight the Diabolians on the side of Shaddai, using Shaddai's methods. Obedience to Shaddai's way guarantees success.

Diabolus' way of countering Shaddai is to supply his own followers with the Diabolian armour, which parodies the panoply of God by inverting its values. Diabolus explains his armour and its purpose in the following fiery, yet faintly comical speech, as he prepares his legions to do battle against Shaddai's troops:

Pray be concerned, I hear he is coming up; and stand to your arms, that now while you have any leisure, I may learn you some feats of war. Armour for you I have, and by me it is; yea, and it is sufficient for Mansoul from top to toe; nor can you be hurt by what his force can do, if you shall keep it well girt and fastened about you. Come therefore to my castle, and welcome, and harness yourselves for the war. There is helmet, breastplate, sword, and shield, and what not, that will make you fight like men.

1. My helmet, otherwise called an head-piece, is hope of doing well at last, what lives soever you live. This is that which they had, who said, that they should have peace though they walked in the wickedness of their heart, 'to add drunkenness to thirst.'... A piece of approved armour this is, and whoever has it and can hold, so long no arrow, dart, sword, or shield can hurt him; this therefore keep on, and thou will keep off many a blow, my Mansoul.

²²Francis W. Beare, "Exegesis of 'The Epistle to the Ephesians,'" IB, vol. 10, 736-37.

2. My breastplate is a breastplate of iron; I had it forged in mine own country, and all my soldiers are armed therewith; in plain language it is an hard heart, an heart as hard as iron, and as much past feeling as a stone; the which if you get, and keep, neither mercy shall win you, nor judgment fright you . . . This, therefore, is a piece of armour most necessary for all to put on that hate Shaddai, and that would fight against him under my banner.

3. My sword is a tongue that is set on fire of hell, . . . and that can bend itself to speak evil of Shaddai, his Son, his ways, and people . . . Use this; it has been tried a thousand times twice fold; whoever hath it, keeps it, and makes that use of it as I would have him, can never be conquered by mine enemy. . .

4. My shield is unbelief, or calling into question the truth of the Word, or all the sayings that speak of the judgment that Shaddai has appointed for wicked men. Use this shield . . . Many attempts he has made upon it, and sometimes, it is true, it has been bruised . . . But they that have writ of the ways of Emmanuel against my servants, have testified that he could do no mighty work there because of their unbelief . . . Now, to handle this weapon of mine aright, it is not to believe things because they are true, of what sort or by whomsoever asserted. If he speak of judgment, care not for it; if he promise, if he swear that he would do to Mansoul, if it turn, no hurt but good, regard not what is said; question the truth of all; for this is to wield the shield of unbelief aright, and as my servants ought and do; and he that doth otherwise loves me not, nor do I count him but an enemy to me.

5. 'Another part or piece,' said Diabolus, 'of mine excellent armour is a dumb and prayerless spirit - a spirit that scorns to cry for mercy; wherefore be you, my Mansoul, sure that you make use of this. What! cry for quarter, never do that if you would be mine; I know you are stout men, and am sure that I have clad you with that which is armour of proof: wherefore to cry to Shaddai for mercy, let that be far from you. Besides all this, I have a maul, fire brands, arrows and death, all good hand-weapons, and such as will do execution.

(HW.3.268-69)

In this excerpt, one marvels at Bunyan's virtuosity as both satirist and stylist.

In the speech, the author manages to convey a number of parallel streams of meaning. The speech is for Diabolus, the actor of a thousand roles, cast in the part of the blustery general giving the troops a pep-talk before battle. The speech makes ingenious allusions to Scripture, but a shade ineptly, as though in this respect Diabolus were not really speaking his true spiritual language. Heavily ironical is Diabolus' reference to love: "he that doth otherwise loves me not. . . never do that if you would be mine." Everything is turned inside out and upside down, spiritually speaking, in Diabolus' absurd speech, the irony of which Bunyan's

intended audience would have enjoyed - Diabolus' speech has a grim humour, however, like that of a grinning death's head, because of the eternal consequences of its worldly parallels.

The holy war is resisted, as Diabolus has outlined, by blinding the mind with ambition, by closing off access to the heart, by preferring deafness and destruction to enlightenment. Time and again, Diabolus compels his converts to lock their doors tight and block their ears. However, while the enlightened Mansouliaus seek to be vessels, channels, open to the outpouring of the Word, the followers of Diabolus huddle in their self-inflicted darkness, hoping and scheming to put out the great Light.

Concerning the Biblical concept of holy war, L.E. Toombs states that, "The apocalyptists saw in war a testing of faith and a sign of the end of the age. They held also that the final end of peace would be preceded by a massive holy war."²³ Bunyan's thinking in The Holy War to a degree shows affinities with the attitudes of the apocalyptists. Compare these features with their parallels in his allegory:

The apocalyptists considered the present world order to be under the control of demonic powers, who, using the godless rulers of world-empires as their instruments, were leading it toward destruction. The wars engaged in by such rulers are, thus, demonic things, spawned by supernatural powers and carried out by their human servants, or originating in an insensate lust for power on the part of the human ruler himself.²⁴

Considering that The Holy War is about war on a massive scale between a prince of devils, his vast army of demons, and a city-state of humans, located in the centre of the continent of Universe, a city-state which is the property of God

²³William Roy Mackenzie, The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory (New York: Gordian Press, 1967), 57-58.

²⁴McCasland, loc. cit.

Himself, it is hard for a critic to escape the feeling that there is an apocalyptic message underlying The Holy War. Pinning the specific message down is a problem, however. Not necessarily is Bunyan's allegory a prophesying of coming apocalyptic revolution for England, or for Christendom. For, as we noted in Paul, throughout the course of a Christian's life, he wrestles "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" (Eph. 6:12). Moreover, in the Puritan's view, every breath, every movement, every word and thought in a Christian's life had repercussions for eternity. To restrict the import of the allegory to a merely temporal historical dimension, rather than to eternity, is greatly to undervalue the significance of the work in the tradition of Protestant meditation.

Bunyan's metaphor "The Holy War" asks the questions and poses the problems to be answered and solved on different levels of his allegory. To understand the principal metaphor of the allegory, then, is to ensure that one is on the right track in probing the dark corners of the maze. To help in this, we will apply some of Max Black's insights:

Bunyan's allegory springs from a metaphor of such vast extent that it is, in fact, a complex of "specially constructed systems of implications, as well as . . . accepted commonplaces, " to use what Max Black calls "the interaction view" of metaphor. In this view, Bunyan's term, "holy war" is seen to be a metaphorical statement having two distinct subjects, with "holiness/holy" as the "principal" subject, and "war/warfare" as the "subsidiary" subject. However, in Black's words, "These subjects are often best regarded as 'systems of things' rather than 'things.'" We see the metaphor work from Bunyan's applying to "holiness/holy," the principal subject, a system of "associated implications" which are characteristic of "war/warfare," the subsidiary subject. These implications consist both of

"commonplaces" about chiefly Old Testament warfare, and, occasionally, of theological implications established from Calvinist doctrine. "Holy War," the metaphor, "selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features" of "holiness and the holy," its principal subject, "by implying statements about it that normally apply to the subsidiary subject, "war and warfare." Bunyan has, to be sure, an ancient tradition of Scriptural precedent for this. Max Black also adds, "This involves shifts in meaning of words belonging to the same family or system as the metaphorical system; and some of these shifts, though not all, may be metaphorical transfers (The subordinate metaphors are, however, to be read less 'emphatically')." ²⁵ This helps explain the fecundity of Bunyan's ground-metaphor.

One asks what is the purpose of building a work upon a metaphor such as "holy war." Perhaps here are to be found clues which will together open up the central meaning of The Holy War. For instance, Kenneth Burke suggests that metaphor provides a "perspective," a device for seeing something in terms of something else: "To consider A from the point of view of B is, of course, to use B as a perspective upon A." ²⁶ So, Bunyan leads us to insight into the nature of holiness from the perspective of war. But Bedell Stanford, who describes metaphor as "the stereoscope of ideas" because it achieves an "integration of diversities," the

²⁵Max Black, Models and Metaphors: Studies in Language and Philosophy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), 43-45.

²⁶Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives (New York: Prentice Hall, 1945), 503-504.

two ideas being perceived as fused together into one whole,²⁷ also suggests how a metaphor such as holy war heightens our understanding. However, the process of allegory, which we have been thinking of as "extended or sustained metaphor," Angus Fletcher calls, "essentially a means of structuring language so as to produce continually linked series of double or multiple meanings"²⁸ Then, the ground-metaphor "holy war" could be viewed as the principle of linking in The Holy War of the work's disparate concepts, images, and layers of meaning. (Of course, this is not to deny that other ground-metaphors are possible, e.g. Shepherd, Lord, Saviour, etc.).

But there is more to the problem than pinning down the metaphor, "holy war." This is because The Holy War is written in religious language, which uses integrator words and tends towards what Ian T. Ramsey calls, "disclosure situations in which we are aware of more than observables."²⁹ To an extent, it is in a private language for spiritual initiates, as Bunyan's verse preface to The Holy War warns the unsuspecting 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 well, and will feed the eyes
With those, which if a Christian, thou wilt see
Not small, but things of greatest moment be.

(HW.3.254)

²⁷ Bedell Stanford, Greek Metaphor (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936), 101, 105.

²⁸ Angus Fletcher, "Allegory in Literary History," Dictionary of the History of Ideas, ed. Philip P. Wiener, 5 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), vol. 1, 41.

²⁹ Ian T. Ramsey, "On the Possibility and Purpose of Metaphysical Theology," in Prospect for Metaphysics, 177; 174.

It would appear that the splendours of Bunyan's vision of holy war are conditional ("if a Christian, thou wilt see"). This exclusiveness is an important characteristic of the language of The Holy War. It is as though Bunyan has set a special seal on the Calvinist vision he is proclaiming to spiritual insiders. Religious language is a form of private language,³⁰ and, to a degree, the metaphor "holy war" is a mystical term not fully capable of being translated.

As a global metaphor, The Holy War is a lot like a Biblical parable with only one focal point, God's invincibility. As in a Biblical parable, to quote W.R. Bowie, "the whole comparison focuses on that point, and everything else in the description of the story is subordinate to that. To be distracted from the main point and possessed instead by a passion of clever speculation about details is to lose the essential meaning of the parable."³¹ The reader will recall that precisely this was the problem I experienced in an earlier stage in this analysis, when I attempted to treat the setting of The Holy War isomorphically, as though the work were an analogue model,³² forcing every detail to correspond somehow to some other thing.

However, "a story becomes a parable," Ian T. Ramsey explains, "when it elaborates a pattern by which the story teller intends to generate a cosmic

³⁰William F. Zuurdeeg, An Analytical Philosophy of Religion (London: Allen and Unwin, 1959), 198.

³¹Walter Russell Bowie; "The Teaching of Jesus. III. The Parables", IB, vol. 7, 173.

³²Black, 222.

disclosure. In one way or other, a parable continues to point to something; it does not just picture a stage of affairs."³³ The Holy War, in one sense, consists of a series of events in which Shaddai's holy warfare is either experienced or tested. Each of these situations, to paraphrase Ramsey, provides a single pattern, a single model for the understanding of God's holiness as a living, active, furious force. The idea behind this linked structure is to allow the different situational patterns to converge so as together to generate a cosmic disclosure. The parable is in this sense directional, and the phrase "the holy war" is posited as the limit to which each of The Holy War's individual encounters with Shaddai and Emmanuel's warring might tends, "the limiting phrase by which to name the cosmic disclosure," Ramsey explains, adding, "Why cosmic? Because and insofar as the stories repeat a structure and pattern of universal significance."³⁴

In closing the chapter, let us look back over what we have found out concerning the theme of holy war in Bunyan's allegory.

Beginning with exterior details of the war and its setting, we were surprised at how impressionistically the whole machinery and theatre of war was depicted. Indeed, warfare in The Holy War, closer to Old Testament practices than to late seventeenth-century methods, was found to be curious in several ways. For instance, the work had more oratory and preaching than actual physical fighting - one could say it had preaching instead of fighting. Also, while the town of Mansoul continually surrendered almost without any fight to Shaddai and Emmanuel's army,

³³ Ian T. Ramsey, Christian Discourse: Some Logical Explorations (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 7.

³⁴ Loc. cit.

it never appeared to have suffered any defeat in so doing. As well, the war occurred simultaneously on two levels: around and within the walled town of Mansoul, and, also, inside the human complex of body, soul, and spirit.

A number of answers came to questions suggested by these curiosities after having looked into the web of senses of the concept, "holiness." Discussion of holy war was grouped around two headings. Under the first of these, "Creator versus creature," it was shown how, in several aspects, it is in the nature of divine holiness to precipitate war on mankind, both on those who fail to live up to the divine standard set for them, and on those who must be brought up to the divine standard appointed for them. Under the second heading, "Creature versus Creator," it was pointed out how divine holiness is resisted by mankind. In the case of the "Elect," this is largely the fault of "the flesh," against which the Elect wage an endless battle. In the case of the "Reprobate," the battle is against the Creator Himself, and is related to a number of factors, chief of which is unbelief, or spiritual disobedience. In addition to these theological considerations, discussion of Bunyan's allegorizing of warfare dealt with the chief divine weapon, the Word, in several of the senses of the term, such as Logos, in the case of the first heading, "Creator versus Creature." Under the second heading, "Creature versus Creator," spiritual armour, the chief weapon of resistance, from the opposing points of view of both the Elect and the Reprobate among mankind, was discussed.

Having mapped this area, an attempt was made to stand back a bit from our research into the theme of "holy war" in Bunyan's allegory to formulate some generalizations about the topic as he had handled it. After situating the concept within the context of the tradition of apocalyptic thought, we treated the concept "holy war" as a metaphor relating "holy/holiness and war/warfare," and dissected it psycholinguistically. Further considerations of "holy war" as a global metaphor led

us to consider questions of religious language, which proved quite fruitful, as they pointed us in the direction of seeing how The Holy War has affinities with Biblical parables, at least in its intentional structure, rather than pointing us in the false direction of trying to interpret the global metaphor of The Holy War isomorphically as an analogue model of some other topic, such as political, social, or even religious criticism. This was most helpful in orienting ourselves to study The Holy War in greater depth in other chapters, as it places Bunyan's allegory within the framework of a meditative or mystical tradition founded upon Scripture, rather than within a framework of social criticism, or apocalyptic revolutionary theoretizing.

CHAPTER II
DIABOLUS AND THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

"A theodicy (from theos, god, and dike, justice)," in John Hick's definition, is an attempt to reconcile the unlimited goodness of an all-powerful God with the reality of Evil."¹ As his writings show, Bunyan was greatly intrigued by this problem. It could be said that he wove his personal theodicy into the fabric of The Holy War; in fact, while fragments and hints of this theodicy surface here and there throughout his devotional treatises and allegorical works, it is The Holy War which is its most far-reaching expression.

The critic's problem is how best to separate the single strand of Bunyan's theodicy from the fabric of the allegory of The Holy War. One way of obtaining insight into this aspect of the allegory's solution is to be found through examining how Bunyan has constructed the character Diabolus.

On the surface, nothing could be simpler. At first glance, as his classical name would transparently seem to indicate, Diabolus ("The Traducer") would appear merely to be Bunyan's portrait of the devil, Satan. The other pieces of the puzzle, the Diabolians, would then fall into place by being equated with Satan's janissaries, comprised both of demons and of demonically corrupted human beings.

In fact, however, Bunyan's portrait of Diabolus is a great deal more subtle

¹ John Hick, "The Problem of Evil," in The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Paul Edwards, ed., 12 vols. (New York: The MacMillan Co. and the Free Press, and London: Collier-Macmillan, 1967), vol.3, 136.

than that. Therefore, in seeking to understand Bunyan's complex portrait of Diabolus (and his Diabolians), this chapter's aim is to guide the reader step by step to a definition of Bunyan's theodicy as set forth in The Holy War.

Basically, there will be four aspects to this discussion. First, it will be best to begin by trying to pin down what Diabolus is like, by describing his personal attributes and by briefly sketching his history within the larger structure of the work. At the same time, one will be careful to discuss Diabolus' history in relation both to the account in Scripture of Satan's history and to a number of features derived from traditional demonology. Second, it will be fruitful to draw upon Bunyan's devotional treatises, for in them one observes an intensive preoccupation with exhaustively analyzing and classifying the minutiae of the character and modus operandi of the Prince of this World as seen in the lives of ordinary men (in Bunyan's in particular). Third, consideration will be given to the peculiar literary problems posed by Bunyan's particular brand of Calvinism, and bravely faced up to by him in The Holy War. Fourth, having carefully established and discussed this complex background, a literary dissection of Bunyan's treatment of his theodicy under the twin themes of "counterfeit reality" and "inversion" will be critically feasible. Within the light of the work as a whole, it should be possible to draw some meaningful conclusions at the end of the chapter regarding the nature of Bunyan's answer to the challenge of the fact of evil to his faith.

Upon beginning the investigation into Bunyan's allegorical expression of his personal theodicy, one is truly struck by the encyclopedic scale of the author's portrait of incarnate Evil. As expected, Diabolus and his followers are reflections of Scriptural types. But, at the same time, they are distillates of a lifetime of observation of people in all walks of real life, for, as his anecdotal proto-novel, The Life and Death of Mr. Badman (1680), so clearly reveals, Bunyan was a painstaking

student both of folkloric traditions as well as of what is now called "oral history."

The Scriptural background upon which Bunyan based the character of Diabolus will be studied first. This is the logical place to start, for the prime concern of a contemporary of Bunyan in embarking upon a serious reading of the allegory would be to determine how "Scriptural" it was. Should the work contain sufficient allusions to Biblical types and doctrines, Bunyan's hypothetical reader would consider The Holy War both spiritually safe to read and trustworthy as a guide for correct living. Furthermore, should he, like we, be concerned with studying Bunyan's characterization of Diabolus, the hypothetical reader of Bunyan's time would evaluate the portrait's veracity according to the degree of its allegiance to the Biblical depiction of the Devil.

First to be looked at will be Bunyan's appropriation of several of the personality traits ascribed to the Devil by Scripture: bully, liar, hypocrite, rebel, and trickster. Then an overview of the Scriptural account of the Devil's history will be given, with discussion centering on Bunyan's paralleling of certain of its highlights.

The catalogue of the Devil's personality traits upon which Bunyan drew for the broad outlines of his portrait of Diabolus seems to have come from clusters of concordance quotations. Thus, in response to the Scriptural depictions of Satan as "The Enemy" (Mt. 13:28-39) and as "the strong man," Bunyan gives Diabolus the characteristics of a bully, showing Diabolus clapping Lord Understanding into prison and tormenting him there unmercifully (HW.3.282). Echoing very many places in Scripture, Bunyan exposes Diabolus as a heinous sinner, one guilty of "lying wiliness, sinful craft, and all manner of horrible hypocrisy" (HW.3.288). In this, doubtless to the approval of Bunyan's intended audience, the author is carefully alluding to phrases in Matthew's

and John's gospels,² while relying on his vast diagnostician's knowledge of the etiology of sin, obtained during a lifetime of preaching, and self-scouting, to flesh out the stock phrases and epithets. Perhaps, to a modern reader, Bunyan's larding of his characterization with bundles of Scriptural allusions and half-quotations, many at first glance seeming only remotely relevant, seems excessive and tedious. The reader of Bunyan's day, however, valued these Scriptural allusions for the delight they gave as ornament and as insight.

Both the Scriptures and his personal experience and observation provide the foundation and the motivation for Bunyan's depiction of Satan as "a rebellious usurper"³ whose will "engaged against the gospel" (HW.3.267), as "a murderous liar" (Jn. 8:44; cf. HW.3.287-89), and as "jesuitical," as a "Trickster" or "Tempter"⁴ who "tries what he can do upon the sense and the feeling of the Christian" (HW.3. 349). Again, the reader of Bunyan's day would admire the author's ingenuity and commend his "thoroughness" in managing to work into the fabric of his characterization of Diabolus so many Scriptural allusions to the topic of the Devil.

Let us now look at how Bunyan founds his account of the rise and fall of Diabolus' career upon the Scriptural account of Satan's career. We must be careful, however, not to assume that Bunyan intends the reader to equate Diabolus with Satan. For, if this were the case, Bunyan would be merely paraphrasing

² Cf. Mt. 6:13; 13:9; 1 Jn 2:13-14.

³ Cf. Eph 2:2; Jn. 16:11; 2 Cor. 4:4; Mt 10:25, 24-27.

⁴ Mt. 4:3; 1 Thess. 3:5.

Scripture, an exercise of minimal value to his readers. Rather, Bunyan expects the reader to focus his attention upon the parallel lives of Diabolus and Satan, and in so doing to meditate upon the folly of the vice of powerlust as evidenced in the lives of men, political tyrants especially.

The fragments from the Scriptural history of the Devil which Bunyan has chosen to parallel in The Holy War together form a skeleton upon which he can construct a rhetorical structure designed to stimulate and guide his reader in meditation. These fragments are: Satan's creation; his incarnation as a serpent, his seduction of Eve, his reign over the world after the fall of man, the breaking of his power by Christ's resurrection, his one thousand year period of banishment, and his short-lived rebellion just before his being cast into the lake of fire. We will briefly look at the uses to which Bunyan puts these fragments from the Scriptural history of Satan in constructing the portrait of Diabolus in The Holy War.

In the Biblical account, the Devil, in prehistory, appears to have been created one of the Cherubim (Ez 1:5; 28:12). He was given great authority (Ez.28:12-19), which through all-consuming pride led to his fall (Isa. 14:12-14) and expulsion from heaven (Lk. 10:18).

Here is Bunyan's parallel account in which he has marked explicitly some of the threads woven in:

This Diabolus is indeed a great and mighty prince, and yet poor and beggarly. As to his original, he was at first one of the servants of King Shaddai, made, and taken, and put by him into most high and mighty place, yea, was put into such principalities as belonged to the best of his territories and dominions: This Diabolus was made son of the morning, and a brave place he had of it. . . It brought him much glory, and gave him much brightness, and income that might have contented his Luciferian heart, had it not been insatiable, as enlarged as hell itself.

Well, he seeing himself thus exalted to greatness and honour, and raging in his mind for higher state and degree, what doth he but begins to think with himself how he might be set up as Lord over all, and have the sole power under Shaddai! Now that did the King reserve for his Son, yea, and had already bestowed it upon him. Wherefore he first consults with himself what had best be done, and then breaks his mind to some of his companions, to the which they also agreed. So, in fine, they came to this issue, that they should make an attempt upon the King's Son to destroy him, that the inheritance might be theirs. Well, to be short, the treason, as I said, was concluded, the time appointed, the word given, the rebels rendezvoused, and the assault attempted. Now the King and his Son being ALL and always EYE, could not but discern all passages in his dominions; and he having always love for his Son as for himself, could not, at what he saw, but be greatly provoked and offended; wherefore, what does he, but takes them in the very nick; and, first trip that they made towards their design, convicts them of the treason, horrid rebellion and conspiracy that they had devised, and now attempted to put into practice; and casts them altogether out of all place of trust, benefit, honour, and preferment. This done, he banishes them the court; turns them down into the horrible pits, as fast bound in chains, never more to expect the least favour from his hands, but to abide the judgment that he had appointed, and that for ever.

(HW.3.256)

This passage, which occurs just after the introduction of Diabolus in The Holy War, carefully encapsulates the highlights of his Scriptural history. Its purpose is to orient the reader to the significance of the events of Diabolus' life which are to follow. The element of prophesying, in the sense of foreshadowing, is present in this motive, as well.

In his parallel in The Holy War of Satan's incarnation in the form of a serpent (Gen 3:1), Bunyan chooses to present the symbol prophetically, as a type of Antichrist. Thus, in The Holy War, the Biblical serpent becomes a dragon (HW.3.257), or a false lamb (HW.3.258). This sort of typological linking of symbols is a familiar Scriptural technique. Bunyan uses it to harmonize the satanic and antichristian themes in his characterization of Diabolus.

Another example: by trickery the Devil managed to seduce Eve away from God. This brought about Adam's fall, say the Scriptures, thus introducing sin and death into the world (Rom.5:12-14). The parallel to this occurs in The Holy

War with the slaying of Captain Resistance, which happens immediately after Diabolus, by tricky oratory, séduces Mansoul into apostasy (HW.3.259).

A further example: Notice how Bunyan embroiders, in the parallel passage in The Holy War, upon the following excerpt from Scripture.

And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her and he did eat. (Gen.3:6)

What do the rest of the towns-folk, but as men that had found a fool's paradise, they presently, as afore was hinted, fall to prove the truth of the giant's words; and first they did as Illpause had taught them, they looked, they considered, they were taken with the forbidden fruit, they took thereof, and did eat; and having eaten, they became immediately drunken therewith; so they opened the gates, both Eargate and Eyegate and let in Diabolus with all his bands, quite forgetting their good Shaddai, his law and the judgment that he had annexed with solem threatening to the breach thereof.

(HW.3.260)

This excerpt is one of many obligatory parallels. By such allusions, Bunyan carefully establishes his spiritual credentials; he demonstrates his prophetic "annointing" to his readers. It would appear that the greater the number of transparent allusions to Scripture there are, the more trustworthy a spiritual guide The Holy War is taken to be. This, one feels, is a point which it is important to make, since a modern reader would not ordinarily choose such criteria for evaluating a literary work.

A few pages back, it was mentioned that an aim of the elaborately drawn parallel between Satan and Diabolus was to inspire the reader to meditate upon the foolishness of a life dedicated to following evil. Having convinced himself of the solid existance of a Scriptural foundation to the ideas suggested by The Holy War in this respect, the reader is then free to meditate, looking outward from the text to the world for examples from life. The purpose is not confirmation, for that would

imply acting out of doubt; but rather, it is affirmation, which implies acting in faith.

As the head of vast army of demons (Mt.7:22), the Devil is the prince or ruler⁵ of this present system (Rev.13:8) based on four determinants: force, greed, ambition, and sinful enjoyment; in fact, these same four appear in Satan's temptation of Christ (Mt.4:8-9). In The Holy War Bunyan builds upon these criteria in creating the Diabolians, allegorizing them into fine gradations. The names of both the Diabolians and those Mansoulions whom they succeed in corrupting read like the headings and subheadings of a treatise on the psychology of sin. The Diabolians, however, are simple, while Diabolus is complex. In a sense, they function in the work as a prismatic gloss on Diabolus, splitting his absolute darkness into many negative hues.

A Scriptural background is incomplete in the case of The Holy War, however, for it makes Satan and his legions sound merely like a hypothesis. This was not so for Bunyan's time, as we will now observe as we turn to the influence of traditions of demonology in the folklore of that period on (for Bunyan and many of his contemporaries take the primordial darkness of Gen.1:2 to be an allusion to Satan). We will discuss in turn attitudes, traditional features, and themes.

Very important to bear in mind is how real demonic forces seemed to the people of Bunyan's time. "The Devil, the great Enemy of Mankind," K.M. Briggs tells us, "was constantly present in man's thoughts in the seventeenth century."⁶

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Cf. Jn.14:30;16:11; 2Cor.4:4; Eph.2:2

⁶
K.M. Briggs, Pale Hecate's Team: An Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and His Immediate Successors (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), 151.

Demonology, a hybrid of folklore and theology, was contained in that aspect of the curricula of universities which was part of their medieval legacy.⁷

Documentation of the nocturnal crimes of Satan, his spiritual emissaries and his human collaborators, the witches, formed part of scientific research at that time:

Increase Mather's meticulously detailed An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences (1684) is but one example of a major preoccupation of the period.

Thus, in Bunyan's time, demonology had become a most complex affair. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Devil had become, in Cotton Mather's words, "a

noun of multitude."⁸ Indeed, from allusions found throughout the New Testament,

a complex hierarchy of devils and demons had evolved. Here is how Thomas

Spaulding describes the state of the tradition at the opening of the seventeenth century:

There was one rough but popular classification into greater and lesser devils. The former branch was subdivided into classes of various grades of power, the members of which passed under the titles of kings, dukes, marquises, lords, captains, and other dignitaries. Each of these was supposed to have a certain number of regions of the latter class under his command. These were the evil spirits who appeared most frequently on earth as the emissaries of the greater fiends, to carry out their evil designs. The more important class kept for the most part in a mystical seclusion, and only appeared most frequently upon earth in cases of the greatest emergency, or when compelled to do so by conjuration.

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Herbert Leventhal, In the Shadow of the Enlightenment: Occultism and Renaissance Science in Eighteenth Century America (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 248.

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Briggs, 151; cf. Mk. 5:9; Lk.8:30.

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Thomas Alfred Spaulding, Elizabethan Demonology: An Essay Illustration of the Belief in the Existence of Devils, and the Powers Possessed by them, as it was Generally Held During the Period of the Reformation, and the Times Immediately Succeeding; with Special Reference to Shakespeare and His Works (London: Chatto and Windus, 1880), 34-35

How unlike Dante's Hell, in which Satan is little more than a cog in the machine of God's justice, is this image of a centralized monarchy! Different from Dante's conception also is Bunyan's concept of warring kingdoms and a proselytizing Hell. Yet Bunyan's demonology in The Holy War in many features is easily traceable to Hebraic, Patristic, and medieval origins, besides those of popular folklore and superstition.¹⁰ One may note here how a political hierarchy supplanted a medieval form of differentiation based on inversion of the angelic orders. Both can be found in Milton. However, far from being esoteric, in Bunyan's time this information was in the air, and easily retrievable by an alert student of people.

Two themes or attitudes are inherited from this tradition by Bunyan's Diabolus: the ape of God, and the equation of Satan and Chaos. The first, in a sense, domesticates evil by diminution. The devil is exhibited like a carnival freak for an audience without sympathy to jeer at. He is thus rendered harmless enough for dispassionate scrutiny - Diabolus here traces his ancestry directly to the morality plays.

Hans Vatter, in his study, The Devil in English Literature, remarks that the Devil seeks to usurp God's power by imitating Him while ridiculing or caricaturing Him: "When dogma dooms him to constant failure in the attempt," Vatter observes, "he deteriorates to the comic type."¹¹ This lends valuable insight into the nature of Bunyan's characterization of Diabolus. In usurping the kingship over Mansoul,

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Henri Charles Lea, Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft, Arthur C. Howland, ed., 3 vols (New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1957), vol.1, 1- 105 passim.

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Hans Vatter, The Devil in English Literature (Berne: Francke, 1978), 65.

Diabolus achieves his goal by caricaturing Shaddai by distorting or inverting Shaddai's values and institutions. In addition to this, Diabolus begins to deteriorate as soon as Emmanuel informs Shaddai that he agrees to lead an attacking force against Diabolus (HW.3.284). Aware of the similarities between Emmanuel and the avenging Christ of Revelation, Bunyan's Scripturally enlightened readers realize that Emmanuel is foretelling the parallel to the Battle of Armageddon and Diabolus' consequent doom. Since there is no way that Diabolus can win against Shaddai, his struggles have a certain pathetic absurdity. So, with each new move of Emmanuel, Diabolus amuses Bunyan's readers with his raging, shivering and quaking. Their amusement is likely to increase as Emmanuel draws ever nearer to victory, causing Diabolus to entrench himself ever deeper into his den. Finally, Diabolus is found to be a total laughing-stock: "But you cannot think unless you had been there as I was," Bunyan's narrator chuckles, "what a shout there was in Emmanuel's camp when they saw the tyrant bound by the hand of their noble Prince, and tied to his chariot wheels. And they said, He hath spoiled principalities and powers; Diabolus is subjected to the power of his sword, and made the object of derision" (HW.3.297).

One ought not to be surprised at this fate. "That the devil should be tolerated," says Herbert Wallace Schneider, "was, of course, ridiculous. The devil existed to be combatted."¹² Indeed, this tradition of the devil losing face is present in Christ's exorcisms in the Gospels; the demons flee Him in panic-stricken confusion. Moreover, the tradition is typified in the ironically comic yet sinister

¹² Herbert Wallace Schneider, The Puritan Mind (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958), 51.

¹³ Vatter, 99-100.

figures of the Devil and Vices in medieval dramatic literature.¹³

The second theme within the tradition is the equation of the diabolical with the chaotic. This theme is of considerable concern to Bunyan. For example, consider the case of Pilgrim's Progress, Roland Mushat Frye writes that, "When the devil appears in Pilgrim's Progress, it is usually in a form indicating his self-achieved fall from coherence to chaos, his denial of created being, and his compulsive enmity to all creation in its normative forms."¹⁴

In The Holy War, the theme of chaos is clearly in evidence in a passage such as the following: "Well, once upon a time there was one Diabolus, a mighty giant, made an assault upon this famous town of Mansoul. This giant was King of the blacks or negroes, and a most raving prince he was" (HW.3.256). Let us reflect first upon the concept of size and then upon the rather startlingly racist character of the passage. First, one recalls that both Dante's and Milton's Satans share the characteristic of immense size. Perhaps Bunyan may have derived his satanic giant by way of the popular romances (and tales, like Beast and the Giant) to which he was addicted before his conversion. As Beatrice White notes, "In the large majority of medieval English romances the principal malefactors and representatives of rampant evil were giants whose very size was a symbol of power."¹⁵ Then there is the Scriptural tradition of giants drowned in the Deluge. Second, concerning "the King of the blacks or negroes," this statement shows that plantation stereotypes

¹⁴ Roland Mushat Frye, God, Man, and Satan: Patterns of Christian Thought and Life in Paradise Lost, Pilgrim's Progress, and the Great Theologians (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), 124.

¹⁵ Beatrice White, "Cain's Kin," in Venetia Newall, ed., The Witch Figure: Folklore Essays by a Group of Scholars in England Honoring the Seventy-fifth Birthday of Katherine M. Briggs (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 189.

were already firmly established (as people have also observed of Defoe). What Bunyan appears to intend by this detail implying chaos (or feared chaos) is that his readers reflect on the structure of surrounding society, and then harmonize this with their reading of Scriptural society (with the fiction as the meeting point).¹⁶

In Scriptural terms, chaos results from rebellion, ie: disobedience to the law of God. The divine law acts as an impenetrable hedge against the attacks of evil. A clear example of this occurs in Exodus when the camp of the Israelites seems to have an invisible force-field surrounding it, which serves to keep out all of the plagues the rest of Egypt undergoes. Rebellion causes openings in the hedge through which evil insinuates itself. The image is of chaos entering Mansoul from without, by infiltration.

Hence, as Bunyan shows clearly in the debate among the Archfiends of Hell's parallel in The Holy War, a disguise must be found for Diabolus, "to come upon them in such a guise as is common to, and most familiar among them" (HW.3.257), for the monstrousness of Diabolus' unveiled evil nature would be unpalatable to the Mansoulians. Consequently, Diabolus assumes the form of a dragon, "for that was in those days as familiar with the town of Mansoul as now is the bird with the boy" (HW.3.257). The familiarity referred to here is that of innocence, the blindness of the newborn kitten, contrasted with the blinding darkness of chaos itself. To paraphrase Gilbert Lascaux, the dragon, itself chaos, constructs about itself a world of chaos and disorder, wherein the monstrous becomes a single and aberrant

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The salvation of Blacks as well as the colour of their resurrected bodies were also hotly disputed issues.

standard.¹⁷ This in itself shows Diabolus seeking to usurp Shaddai through caricature, and in this sense one observes how interrelated are the two themes we have been discussing.

There is another aspect to the implications of Diabolus' taking on, or incarnating himself within, the form of a dragon. In addition to representing exterior chaos, the opposite here is equally the case. To Ad de Vries, the dragon represents "the predominance of the baser forces in man, to which his 'finer' side is sacrificed; they are fought by his spiritual side."¹⁸ In this sense, The Holy War may be seen as a theological transformation of chapbook romances about a dragon slaying knight of Bunyan's youth.

At this point in our analysis of Diabolus it is necessary to dig to levels deeper than merely those of Scriptural and folkloric traditions. To savour the personal mysticism of Bunyan's allegorical vision, one must distill from the preacher's rhetoric of his treatises appropriate clues and attitudes, always concentrating on the literary Bunyan's dissection of psychomystical states and feelings. Of course, it is true that Bunyan wrote ex cathedra as an elder of his church (in the widest sense of the term), intending his writings to serve as strong meat (Heb. 5:12 ff) for discerning brethren. Nevertheless, Bunyan's many analyses of satanic temptation derive from his experiences as a seasoned spiritual traveller. One finds that his codification of these states of "spiritual negativity," while Scripturally orthodox, is based primarily on experiential knowledge, and only secondarily on theology.

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Gilbert Lascaux, "Le Diabolique et le Monstrueux," in Entretiens sur l'Homme et le Diable, Max Milner, ed. (Paris: Mouton, 1965), 137.

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Ad de Vries, Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery (Amsterdam and London: North Holland Publishing Co., 1974) 146, 325.

In the next few paragraphs, we will carefully examine Bunyan's lifelong preoccupation with analyzing and illustrating Satan's techniques of ensnaring the human soul. This study will deepen our understanding of the psychological make up which Bunyan has invented for Diabolus. In this subsection of the chapter, engaged in gathering and piecing together material from many of Bunyan's works, there will also be an attempt to sketch how Bunyan's preoccupations with understanding the ways of Satan echo the views of many other people of his time.

"Man is naturally apt and willing to be deceived," Bunyan taught (CS.1. 228), hence the deceptions with which Satan obliged the believer were both extensive and imaginatively varied. Indeed, Perry Miller has observed that, "The Puritan was plagued by repeated discoveries that there is no principle known to man which sinful nature cannot misuse or Satan contrive into a snare."¹⁹ Watchful Puritans consequently hungered after extensive cataloguing of the Tempter's methods by experts capable of thoroughly analyzing all of the Archfiend's subtleties in spiritual warfare.

Let us reflect on how Satan and his legions went about their work: Particularly susceptible to satanic manipulation were the believer's feelings. Not wholly were mere sense data to be trusted, for only in the right emotional colouring could reality be truly known, so reacting appropriately to one's world posed considerable problems of discernment. Curiously, Satan was the prime example of emotionally confused perception. A victim of his own devices, he was himself consumed with embarrassment at Christ the Son who had reported seeing Satan "as lightning fall from heaven" (Lk. 10:18). Darkening into jealousy, this

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Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth-Century (1939; rpt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 55.

emotion had soured into undiluted hatred for everything to do with the Elect. "Deluded persons are ignorant of this," Bunyan explained, "and, therefore, they are so led up and down by the nose as they are" (Jerusalem.1.95).

Thus, inspired by internal hostility, Satan causes emotional misery to believers. This takes the form of essentially two types of subtle traps: on the one hand, he snares them with illusory feelings designed to distort their response to God's truth; on the other, he imprisons them in emotions too debilitating to escape from without spiritual discipline. Satan's advantage is that one doesn't often immediately perceive either the source or the nature of the trap. The realization that Satan is the author of the traps, which Bunyan, called "seeing the paw of the devil in them" (ATFG.1.452), is in fact the beginning of the way to recovery. In Pilgrim's Progress, Christian perceives the fearful lions on either side of his path to be chained (P.Pr.3.106); in defeating death, Christ has chained the devil. In The Holy War the reader knows perfectly well that Diabolus and his task force are similarly permitted only a limited rope. Part of the charm of reading the work consists in watching appreciatively the irony of Diabolus' increasingly frantic busyness as his appointed time runs out.

Born in fear, the seventeenth-century Puritan's constant preoccupation with "the great Enemy of mankind" was nourished by a healthy respect for the Adversary's treacherous skilfulness. At every step and at every turn, a believer's life was beset with temptations in the form of diabolical ambushes set by the Enemy and his minions. "For without cause," one perceived through the eyes of the Psalmist, "have they hid for me their net in a pit, which without cause they have digged for my soul" (Ps. 35:7).

Here's how in one work Bunyan reflected upon this predicament:²⁰

The fly in the spider's web is an emblem of the soul in such a condition - the fly is entangled in the web; at this the spider shows himself; if the fly stir again, down comes the spider to her, and claps a foot upon her; if yet the fly makes a noise, then with poisoned mouth the spider lays hold upon her; if the fly struggle still, then he poisons her more and more. What shall the fly do now? Why, she dies, if somebody does not quickly release her. This is the case of the tempted; they are entangled in the web; if the soul now struggleth, Satan laboureth to hold it down; if it now shall make a noise, then he bites with blasphemous mouth, more poisonous than the gall of a serpent; if it struggle again, then he poisoneth more and more, insomuch that it needs, at last, must die in the net, if the man, the Lord Jesus, help not out.

(Light.1.435)

Most distressfully, temptation was a type of satanic entrapment "entered into" (Mt. 26:41) by a single, inadvertently soul-betraying gesture. The tiniest hesitation along the web's strands and it was all over. A good example of this occurs in The Life and Death of Mr. Badman: One Ned's incessant cursing of his barely amused father, wishing him "plagues and destructions many," incited the devil to enter into his father, possessing him, torturing him, "and so would rent and tear him, and make him roar till he died away," Bunyan recalls, adding, "I told you before that I was an ear and eye witness of what I here say; and so I was" (BM.3.605: how much more trustful toward the innocent is Chaucer's "Friar's Tale").

More than once Bunyan perceived himself being possessed by the devil (Gr.Ab. 1.18), who had entered him, apparently during a momentary lapse in vigilance over his thoughts, to launch such a flotilla of agonizing accusations as nearly to sink him: "These suggestions, with many other which at this time I may not, nor dare utter, neither by work of pen, did make such a seizure upon my spirit, and did so overweigh my heart, both with their number, continuance and fiery force, that I felt as if there were nothing else but these from morning to night

within me; and though, indeed, there could be room for nothing else; and also concluded, that God had, in very wrath to my soul, given me up unto them, to be carried away with them, as with a mighty whirlwind" (Gr.Ab. 1.18).

Such spiritual warfare was to be expected as a matter of course, Bunyan taught his readers; for, "when souls begin to seek after the Lord Jesus then Satan begins to afflict and distress" (Light. 1.435). Diagnosed by Bunyan as a normal phenomenon as well, is the Judas-like Self which labours with the Adversary for the believer's undoing (Advocate.1.175). Indeed, likening the effects of the warfare to spiritually infected wounds, and generalizing upon his own experience, Bunyan explains that, "there are three things that usually afflict the soul that is earnestly looking after Jesus Christ. First. Dreadful accusations from Satan. Second. Grievous defiling and infectious thoughts. Third. A strange readiness in our nature to fall in with both" (Light.1. 434). For finally, "these things are either suddenly injected by the devil, or else are the fruits of the body of sin and death that yet dwells within" (CWTJC.1.250-51). The picture is far from pretty: one's spirit becomes noxious either from direct sabotage by the devil or as a result of the rotting corpse of "the Old Man"²¹ of which every saint needs to rid himself.

Curiously, in all of his devotional treatises, Bunyan provides few spiritual antidotes to Satan's poison. This is true as well of The Holy War; Lords Self-denial and Will-be-will never quite succeed in totally ridding the town of Mansoul of lurking Diabolians, although they do manage vigilantly to keep them at bay (HW.3: 370). Thus, when Bunyan lists rules for successfully talking back to the devil in The Law and Grace Unfolded (1.543), one feels this to be a real occasion. Bunyan's

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Rom. 6:6; Eph. 4:22; Col. 3:9.

other solution appears deceptively conventional: "Let him now look to Jesus Christ crucified; . . . this sight destroys the power of the first temptation, purifies the heart and inclines all good things" (Light.1.435). However, whereas the solution of rules is one of doing, appealing to works, requiring the self to commit only its surface, that of meditating on Christ crucified is the solution of grace, one of being, appealing to faith, requiring metanoia of the self, a complete about-facing to the light. For repentance, to Bunyan, is the goal of introspection; after all, to be morbidly preoccupied with one's secret faults (Ps. 19:12) is to remain trapped in one's own shadow, with one's back to the light.

One arrives now at the third step in our quest of a definition of Bunyan's theodicy, an examination of two themes in The Holy War: counterfeit reality and inversion. They represent Bunyan's response to both literary and spiritual questions posed by his age's particular brand of Calvinism.

One ought to realize that an attitude of outward conformity to social expectations was the rule in a society dominated by "Calvinisms" similar to Bunyan's. Perry Miller said of the Puritans that "in their plan a religious heart inevitably translated itself into the formulae of theology; to them the conception of private experience was real, but not of private expression"²² (the Quakers of course did express themselves, but thereby lacked proper subordination to "God's Minister"). Such emphasis on outward profession invited hypocrisy, as, indeed, Christ had warned in the parable of the Wheat and the Tares (Mt. 13:24-30). To the serious-minded Christian, this was disconcerting.

In Bunyan's case, the Devil's virtuosity at spiritual deception caused Bunyan

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Perry Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (1953; rpt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 69.

to worry constantly. "He hath an art to metamorphose all things," Bunyan warned his fellow evangelicals (SKCL.2.28). Said he, they faced considerable danger, for, out of insurmountably "deceitful" and "desperately wicked" hearts (Jer. 17:9), he saw them continually preferring Satan's false spirituality to being pleasing to God. They were in serious trouble according to Hebrews 10:26, for, having sinned wilfully after having received knowledge of the truth, there remained "no more sacrifice for sins," so this behaviour was little short of spiritual insanity, to Bunyan's way of thinking.

By way of illustration, one notes that this sort of reasoning lies behind Bunyan's bitterly satirical account (HW.3.277-78) of Mr. Tradition, Mr. Human-wisdom, and Mr. Man's-invention, "three young fellows that had a mind to go for soldiers" (probably a passing reference to his own ill-spent youth), who after being taken prisoner by Diabolus' forces, consent to serve Diabolus instead of Shaddai's captains. "They then told him that they did not so much live by religion, as by the fates of fortune; and that since his lordship was willing to entertain them, they would be willing to serve him" (HW.3.277). One can picture Bunyan, as the seventeenth-century Moses, bemoaning the backslidden Israelites, gone off whoring after strange gods, in this obvious lashing out at the Established Churches.

For, above all, the deception with which Satan "hath attempted to entangle and bewitch" unwatchful Christians (Exp. Gen.2.436) was pharasaism, a form of external spirituality, which throughout the gospels of Matthew and Luke²³ Christ had scorned as particularly odious hypocrisy. Bunyan reminded his readers that, "the devil is wondrous subtle and crafty, in suffering people to practice the

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Cf. Mt. 6:2-8; 16-18; 15:1-9; 16:1-12; 21:33-4:6; 23:2-33; Lk. 11:14-54; 12:1; 15:1-9.

ordinances and commands of the gospel, if they but do them in a legal spirit" (LGU: 1.516-17). What if one's zeal were merely a subtle satanic counterfeit? What if one be somehow tricked into becoming a false prophet?

This chain of reasoning may be somewhat difficult to follow for a modern reader, who doesn't see how zeal and pharasaism can be the same, or who cannot see how anyone who proclaims the gospel can suspect that he is a false prophet. However, it was a matter of principle to Calvinists like Bunyan thoroughly to distrust the self; even though all evidence indicated the contrary, there must be sin lurking somewhere, for the heart was desperately wicked.

This seems to be the case when, in a sort of parallel to the withdrawal by God of His Shekinah from the Temple (Ex 10:18), Emmanuel, grieved by the carnal security of backslidden Mansoul, withdraws from the town. (The modern reader must be cautioned against adopting preconceived notions of both carnal security and backsliddenness. Extremely self-critical in all spiritual matters, Bunyan probably used these labels to categorize "sins" which would go unnoticed among today's Christians). So, when Mr. Godly-fear perceives that the Prince has gone, he acts as one who blames himself, although, since he is one of a godly remnant, he is atypical of Mansoulians. "For Mr. Godly-fear sat like a stranger, and did neither eat, nor was merry" (HW.3.326).

Certainly, the danger of backsliding into legalism, i.e. worship which was less than heartfelt, was perplexing to evangelicals like Bunyan, with "their constant preoccupation with absolute conformity to the rules set forth by God for their lives, thoughts and feelings."²⁴ Horribly, the secret terror was that excessive zeal

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Philip Greven, The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 141.

for God's ways unknowingly performed in the wrong spirit might camouflage the way to one's destruction. For instance, what if "this love of Christ that we think is such, is indeed none of the love of Christ, but a false image thereof, set before our eyes?" Bunyan worriedly speculated, adding, "A man through unbelief²⁵ may think that Christ hath no love for him and yet Christ may love him with a love that passeth knowledge" (SKCL.2.32). How was reality to be recognizable? Indeed, in The Pilgrim's Progress, Bunyan relates that Christian at times "was so confounded, that he did not know his own voice" (P.Pr.3.115).

What we see here is a two-fold division in Bunyan's analysis of what we have chosen to call counterfeit reality. The first, pharasaism, is counterfeit Christianity, the religion of "The Barren Fig Tree or . . . the Fruitless Professor" (the title of Bunyan's detailed allegorical exegesis of 1688 of Luke 13:6-9). Counterfeit Christianity is represented best in The Holy War by the Diabolian, Mr. Carnal-Security, the representative of Antichrist. For, as Christopher Hill observes, "The emergence in the seventeenth century of doctrines of the divine right of kings and of bishops provoked fundamental questions. For the opposite of antichristian rule is not royal or episcopal government but the rule of Christ. If king and bishops claim a divine right to rule against Christ and his people, this shows that they are antichristian."²⁶ Pomp and circumstance epitomize spiritual complacency, an antichristian virtue.

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I.e: less than total obedience to God's will. Cf. Vine, 1177.

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Christopher Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 157.

Deeper is the crime of Diabolus who usurps divine right to rule Mansoul. He is the bishop-king who changes the rules to suit himself. Carnal security is perhaps guilty of making a king of self; Emmanuel withdraws to the degree that he finds himself ignored. This is perhaps one reason for the curious insistence that Emmanuel makes that he receive the entire allegiance of Mansoul, not one which is shared with another ruler (Cf. HW.3.289-91).

The second aspect of this part of the discussion concerns Satan's counterfeiting of the reality given by one's sense of perception. Man's fallen nature made everyone a Judas to himself. "One's sense and reason," one would think Bunyan almost wept to realize, "should not fall in with the devil against ourselves, and yet nothing more common, more natural, than for our own sense and reason to turn the unnatural, and war both against our God for us" (CCS.2.210).

In the treatises, Bunyan exposes Satan's distortion of four emotions, which together form a retrogression into spiritual negativity: guilt, despair, doubt, and fear. Guilt, which Bunyan calls "the mire" (JJS.1.92), is a dreadful pit of spiritual quicksand into which the Devil hurls the unsuspecting believer. The lake of fire which is to be the place of eternal torment of Satan and of the apostatized angels is its likely antitype.²⁷ In The Holy War, despondency occurs in the hearts of the fearful and repentant Mansoulans who dare not expect Emmanuel to forgive them their apostasy. Their fear of not receiving a reprieve seems precariously close to a sinful self-pity, however.

Despair, a "secret conclusion" (Gr Ab.1.19, no. 25), of innate, inner spiritual hopelessness, is a most painful emotion, depicted in Bunyan's Light For Them That

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Rev. 19:20; cf. 20:20.

Sit In Darkness (1674) as a furnace of the heart from which "fire and smoke continually bursteth forth" (Light.1.435), creating the emotional delusion of being hopelessly burnt out. In The Holy War, Bunyan expresses this quality of being spiritually burnt out in terms of sickness. Note how the backslidden Mansoulans, at this point still unrepentant, cry to Emmanuel for help:

They did indeed still send petition after petition to the Prince, but he answered all with silence. They did neglect reformation, and that was as Diabolus would have it, for he knew, if they regarded iniquity in their heart, their King would not hear their prayer; they therefore did still grow weaker and weaker, and were as a rolling thing before the whirlwind . . . Besides, the weakness of Mansoul was the strength of their enemies; and the sins of Mansoul the advantage of the Diabolians . . . Yea, the Diabolians increased and grew, but the town of Mansoul diminished greatly. There was more than eleven thousand men, women, and children that died by the sickness in Mansoul. (HW.3.339)

Diabolus may help us understand Bunyan's strategy: "to regard iniquity in the heart" provokes despair - unless its factionalism is continually exposed.

"Feeding on ashes," was how Bunyan reported the experience of doubt (CCS.1.229). He labelled this delusion the "white devil" (CWJC.1.293), for, as an angel of light (2 Cor. 11:14), Satan could use this snare to "put bitter for sweet, or darkness for light, or evil for good" (CCS.1.231). In The Holy War, Bunyan describes the effect of doubt as a dreadful kind of environmental pollution. So, after the first major battle against the army of Doubters sent against Mansoul by the wily Diabolus, the Lord Mayor orders a massive clean up of the skeletal remnants of fragments of the corpses of Doubters slain in the plains surrounding the town:

And these were their places of employment - some were to make the graves, some to bury the dead, and some were to go to and fro in the plains, and also round about the borders of Mansoul, to see if a skull, or a bone, or a piece of a bone of a Doubter was yet to be seen above ground anywhere near the corporation; and if any were found, it was ordered that the searchers that searched should set up a mark thereby, and a sign, that the name and remembrance of a Diabolian doubter might be blotted out from under Heaven. And that the children and they that were to be born in Mansoul, might not know, if possible, what a skull, or a piece of a bone of a Doubter was. (HW.3.361)

Yet, despite these sanitary precautions (which suggest clean-up operations carried out after an epidemic) all was in vain, for but a few paragraphs later Diabolus is ready to send another strengthened army of Doubters to plague the town again.²⁹

Fear, an unspecific, cumulative anxiety, Bunyan often intensely experienced as "the buffetings of Satan" (JJS.1.80). A spiritual "paranoia," this motiveless terror Bunyan perceived echoing in his mind as "the hideous roarings of the devil" (CWTJC.1.284), and in The Holy War he allegorized it as the persistent death knell of Diabolus' hideous funereal drum (HW.3.342).

Let us now look closely at a technique which Bunyan finds particularly useful in this work, a symbolism of inverted contrasts. The method is somewhat simplistic, but useful for allegorical applications: inversion is taken to be the mirrorlike reversal of values. Thus, evil is seen to be basically the inverse of the good. The world in the mirror exactly duplicates the real world, but reverses everything; although both real world and reflected world appear to be similar, the reflected world is never true. In aping Shaddai, Diabolus reflects him, reversing his Word, as the mirror reverses writing.

Bunyan takes this technique from Scripture. An example is the concept of backsliding, which in the Old Testament is usually conceived of as a turning back to a life of sin and idolatry.³⁰ In the first chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans,

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There is possibly a parody here of the contemplation of skulls, which figured prominently in seventeenth-century spirituality.

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Orville J. Nave, Nave's Topical Bible: A Digest of the Holy Scriptures, revised by S. Maxwell Coder (1904; rpt. Chicago: Moody Press, 1974), 88.

the concept of falling away and of inversion, in the sense of spiritual perversion as a proportionally direct consequence of apostasy, is thoroughly developed. Another important Biblical source is the Johannine, but also intertestamental, concept of the struggle of Light and Darkness, most thoroughly developed in the First Epistle General of John.

For example, in The Holy War perhaps the first instance of Bunyan's technique of inversion is Diabolus' self-incarnation in the form of a dragon (HW.3.257). Contrast this deliberate concealment with the Incarnation, which it parodies; the Incarnation is the clothing of Divinity in human flesh in order to reveal God as He is. This outlandish act of parody sets the tone for Diabolus throughout the work.

In the same vein, as works such as the Compendium Maleficarum (1608) show that parody of Christian theology and worship played an important role in the widely feared "underground conspiracy" of witches and satanists.³¹ Consider the names of the leading devils in The Holy War: Alecto, Apollyon, Beelzebub, Lucifer, Tisiphone, and Cerberus may show Bunyan's knowledge of Vergil or Dante, but they appear in Reginald Scot's "definitive" Discoverie of Witchcraft (1584). A closer look into the meaning of these names in the original languages, information available to Bunyan in his concordance, or in his Bible's marginal notes, would also reveal that these beings are chosen not merely as companions for Diabolus, but also for their function in parodying heaven and divine matters.

This brings us to the question of the degree to which the Diabolian aspect of The Holy War functions as religio-political allegory. The holy warfare with which

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Norman Cohn, "The Myth of Satan and His Human Servants," in Mary Douglas, ed., Witchcraft: Confessions and Accusations (London: Tavistock, 1970), 3.

Bunyan was familiar with various religious denominations. Warfare was waged in sermons and pamphlets. Many church services ended in a brawl, as George Fox's Journal amply testifies. Hence, it will be useful to compare the ways in which Diabolus and his Diabolians may be interpreted as exhibiting characteristics of the age's stereotyping of several of the religious denominations against which the Open Communion Baptists, of whom Bunyan was a spokesman, were aligned. We will look at Diabolus and his Diabolians in terms of Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Ranters. The purpose of this is not to attempt to establish a one to one correspondance (which, in any case, is against the spirit of true allegoresis). Rather, it is to bring out the multivalent way in which The Holy War could have been intended to be read "between the lines."

Not many Puritan Englishmen would be likely to admit to knowing any Roman Catholics personally. Nevertheless, there was widespread worry in the nation about a perpetually impending "Papist threat." The issue was blindly emotional. The twentieth-century parallel is the anti-communist paranoia so rampant in the McCarthy era. To many sixteenth and seventeenth-century Protestants, Roman Catholicism represented the kingdom of Antichrist.³² As Christopher Hill observes, "Antichrist, the Beast, was not merely the Pope as a person, however, but the papacy as an institution which subsumed within itself all the evil, coercive, repressive aspects of the secular Empire. . ."³³

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For example, a note in the index (unpaged) of Samuel Mather's The Figures or Types of the Old Testament (Second ed. 1705), ed. with an introduction by Mason L. Laurence, Jr., (1683; rpt. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1969), "Antichrist, vide Popery."

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Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth Century England, 5.

There are many instances of this kind of bigotry in The Holy War. Puritans of Bunyan's persuasion would note that the chief devils meet in "conventicles" in the work (HW.3.256, 257, 330, 331, 353), like Cardinals to plot strategies for the overthrow of Mansoul (The OED, emphasizes that "conventicle" is a diminutive, and is usually pejorative). As well, Diabolus addresses Emmanuel in a secret language (HW.3.287), perhaps a reference to ecclesiastical Latin. Diabolus, as "king of the blacks" (HW.3.256), a phrase mentioned earlier in this chapter, brings to mind the proverbial "Black Pope" of the Jesuits, one of the more vivid anti-Catholic hallucinations of that time. Much of the conspiratorial plot-hatching that goes on in the chief devils' conventicles has what the seventeenth-century would take to have a jesuitical ring to it. For instance, in one of their sessions, Diabolus composes a letter to his Diabolians in the field, containing advice such as the following:

Do you therefore, our trusty Diabolians, yet more pry into, and endeavour to spy out, the weakness of the town of Mansoul. We also would that you yourselves do attempt to weaken them more and more. Send us word also by what means you think we had best to attempt to regaining thereof; to wit, whether by persuasion to a vain and loose life, or whether by tempting them to doubt and despair, or whether by blowing up of the town by the gunpowder of pride and deceit. Do ye also, O brave Diabolians and true sons of the pit, be ye always in a readiness to make a most hideous assault within, when we shall be ready to storm without.

(HW.3.332)

Note the passing reference to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 which the Jesuits were accused of arranging,³⁴ as they were of most catastrophes. As a further illustration, David Mitchell reminds us of the attitude toward the Jesuits in England at the time of the writing of The Holy War:

³⁴ David Mitchell, The Jesuits: A History (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 8.

Benedictines predominated at the court of Charles II and his Portugese consort, Catherine of Braganza. But the caution shown by Jesuits of the English province, which counted over a hundred missionaries with a novitiate in London, did not prevent Powder Plot memories being revived by any catastrophe, real or imagined. It was rumoured that Jesuits had started the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London. Wildly inflated estimates of Jesuit political activity helped to make plausible the fabrications of Titus Oates, whose Popish Plot scare of 1678 resulted in the execution of eleven Jesuits, including Thomas Whitebread, the provincial Superior. Forty were arrested, eighteen died in prison, some fled abroad.³⁵

Many general reflections of this distrustful attitude are found in Bunyan's massive treatise, Of Antichrist and His Ruin and of the Slaying of the Witnesses (op. posth., 1692), one of his last works. In it Bunyan points to signs of the approach of the downfall of Antichrist; for example, "When Babylon is become the habitation of devils" (Antichrist.2.62), and when "towards the end of her reign, the nations will be made to see her baseness, and to abhor her and her ways" (Antichrist.2.60). In the words of the First Epistle General of John, "Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time." (1 Jn. 1:18).

The parody, by inversion, of Christian love shown in the Diabolians' jesuitical evil-doing finds a parallel in Bunyan's satirical use of rhetoric in The Holy War, his contrasting of stylistic registers. For instance, it is noteworthy that only Diabolus and his agents are elaborate rhetoricians. All the others, above all Emmanuel, are advocates of "the plain style." Perry Miller has written that "By the middle of the century . . . ordinary layman as well as Cambridge Scholars would recognize the partisan sympathies of a minister by the form and technique of his pulpit utterance. Sermon style was not a matter of taste and preference; it was a party

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Mitchell, 165.

badge."³⁶ Thus Bunyan's readers would note in grim glee that Diabolus was an Anglican prelate, in addition to seeming a Jesuit, for the sermons of Anglican divines seemed to scornful Puritans "the carnal eloquence of 'blubber-lipt Ministry.'"³⁷ The Puritans' worst fear that pulpit eloquence was apt to conceal false doctrines would be grimly confirmed in Diabolus' many flowery parodies of Scripture ("very deceivable language" (HW.3.268), says a marginal note - the most shocking to them being most propably his marketplace sermon on the satanic armour, a parody of New Testament passages that we have already discussed. More subtle is the parody implicit in the trial of the Diabolians, Mr. Atheism, Lord Mayor Lustings, My Lord Mayor Incredulity, Mr. Forgetgood, Alderman Hardheart, Alderman Falsepeace, Mr. No-truth, Mr. Pitiless, Mr. Burgess Haughty (HW.3.310-16; the importance of listing these names will be shown presently). Surely the point here is not, as Christopher Hill would have it, that these characters are being tried for having been oppressive aristocrats,³⁸ but, rather, in the words of the court, that each has been "an intruder upon the town of Mansoul," a condemnation which only Falsepeace manages to elude. The concept of evil imposed from without on man's soul is consistent with the Biblical idea of "demon possession" or, unpejoratively, of "daimonism."

Upon reflection, the names of the Diabolians at the trial are inversions of the "Fruits of the Spirit," especially as listed in 2 Pet. 1:5-9:

³⁶ Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century, 333.

³⁷ Ibid, 302.

³⁸ Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution (London: Temple Smith, 1972), 328.

And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity. For if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh those things is blind and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.

The nine Diabolians appearing in this passage correspond in inversion to the eight qualities listed in the passage cited from 2 Peter, plus the ninth allowed a place by the phrase, "And besides this." An exegesis of the context of the word "this," according to Albert E. Barrett, indicates that it "refers to the desirability of taking the very steps required for fulfillment in the experience of individuals of the promises of Christ."³⁹ Humility is a close equivalent of this. Hence, the pairing of the virtues with their Diabolian inverses is as follows: Faith with Incredulity, Virtue with Forget-good, Knowledge with No-truth, Temperance with Lustings, Patience with Falsepeace, Godliness with Atheism, Brotherly Kindness with Pitiless, Charity with Hardheart, and Humility with Haughty.

The Diabolians are really being tried for crimes of antinomianism. The Diabolians do and think as they like, whatever the cost. In this, they resemble the Ranters, whose writings perplexed Bunyan in his youth (Gr Ab.1.11), and whom he fought from the pulpit with all his strength all of his life. In the words of A.L. Morton:

The Ranters formed the extreme left wing of the sects which came into prominence during the English Revolution, both theologically and politically. Theologically those sects lay between the poles of orthodox Calvinism, with its emphasis on the power and justice of God as illustrated in the grand scheme of election and reprobation, with its insistence upon the reality of Hell in its most literal horrors and upon the most verbal and dogmatic acceptance of the Scriptures and of antinomianism with its emphasis upon God's mercy and universality, its rejection of the moral law, and with it, of

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Albert E. Barrett, "Exegesis of 2 Peter," IB, vol.3, 175.

Hell in any but the most figurative sense, and its replacement of the authority of the Scriptures by that of the Inner Light. The Ranters pushed all these beliefs to, and sometimes even a little beyond, their furthest logical conclusions, which, when acted upon,⁴⁰ soon brought them into conflict with law and authority. The conviction that God existed in, and only in, material objects and man led them at once to a pantheistic mysticism and a crudely plebeian materialism, often incongruously combined in the same person. Their rejection of Scriptural literalism led sometimes to an entirely symbolic interpretation of the Bible and at others to blunt and contemptuous rejection. Their belief that the moral law no longer had authority for the people of a new age enjoying the liberty of the sons of God led to a conviction that for them no act was sinful, a conviction that some hastened to put into practice.

Bunyan seemed to feel threatened by the Ranters, for there was more to their rebelliousness than calling the Devil the backside of God.⁴¹ Their antinomianism threatened both authority and order. Christopher Hill notes that:

Bunyan, like Winstanley, Fox and many others, shared the despairs, the temptations, the atheism of the early fifties. His theology developed in controversy with Ranters and Quakers.⁴²

Having examined Bunyan's Diabolus and his Diabolians from a number of different angles and within the context of various traditions, let us now determine to what extent we can pin down the essence of Bunyan's theodicy.

In its treatment of the problem of moral evil, one notes that The Holy War successfully avoids lapsing into some form of other of dualism, a problem of no little magnitude in the seventeenth century, according to K.M. Briggs, who says of Puritan preoccupation with the devil that "he loomed so large in the minds of the

⁴⁰ A.L. Morton, The World of the Ranters: Religious Reform in the English Revolution, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1970), 70.

⁴¹ Morton, 177.

⁴² Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, 45.

Puritans that they were in some danger of dualism and of inadvertently falling into Zoroaster's belief in a good and evil God of equal potency."⁴³ Indeed, it is one of the strengths of Bunyan's portrait of Diabolus that evil is both momentary and finite. He manages to achieve this theological distinction while keeping the battle going from a cosmic perspective. Here again Diabolus differs from Milton's Satan.

Evil in The Holy War is privative. In Augustine's words, "When the will abandons what is above itself, and turns to what is lower, it becomes evil - not because that is evil to which it turns, but because the turning itself is wicked."⁴⁴ Diabolus is portrayed as a counterfeit God, a parody of the Creator. In place of the divine order controlling Mansoul, the inhabitants accept the swindle of the Diabolian World System, run on lust for power, pride, and greed. Milton's Satan also attempted to counterfeit and to parody God. Stella Purce Revard has explained this succinctly:

In revolting from God, Satan step by step is attempting to discredit and dissolve Messiah's kingdom and substitute his own. Intimately involved in his sin, as the theologians have suggested, is his refusal to accept the authority of the Son and his seeking to found his own kingdom elsewhere . . . The selfsame image Satan employs to undermine Messiah's kingdom will be the image by which he will construct and define his own future state. Of course Satan's rationale of kingship is radially different from Messiah's. First of all, he alters the function of kingship; no longer does it 'serve' to unify God's creatures by conveying the love and care of God to all. Satan's kind of kingship exists only to transmit the care and service of others to itself. Thus the king is in a way created by the servitude of those under him, who surrender their wills to his authority, He, lonely and isolated, builds his authority and radiance at the expense of those below him and widens the gap between himself and his subjects.⁴⁵

⁴³ Briggs, Pale Hecate's Team, 151.

⁴⁴ St Augustine, City of God, 12.6, quoted in Hick, 137.

⁴⁵ Stella Purce Revard, The War in Heaven: Paradise Lost and the Tradition of Satan's Rebellion (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980), 82.

Parallel to the Biblical account, Diabolus once was good but became corrupted through pride. Ultimately this prideful corruption decays further to a fanatical paranoia : he hides in his den, preparing propaganda against Shaddai and Emmanuel. It is the turning voluntarily from good that marks the Mansoulians' fall as well, on the microcosmic level.

Another aspect of evil as depicted by Bunyan in The Holy War is its aesthetic purpose. Shaddai is seen to better advantage in contrast to the Diabolian darkness. This is admirably illustrated in the ironic comedy of the scene in which Diabolus, as a trembling, naked and defeated nervous wreck, cowers wretchedly before "the radiant golden Prince" (HW.3.297) Of aesthetic value as well is the freedom to choose sides allowed both Diabolians and Mansoulians.

In this way Diabolus' cosmic struggle is laid bare as a game of strategies and power plays. But God is not diminished by this limited freedom of evil to test human beings; the sin-bearing Diabolians are swiftly judged and quickly punished.

In summary, the final result is to make clear the choice between sides that both Diabolians and Mansoulians are given. In fact, while The Holy War reflects in its side-taking the Calvinistic division of souls into the categories of the Elect and the Reprobate, with consequently no hope for one side of the participants in the cosmic drama, Bunyan does achieve, for the characters who represent the Elect, a sense of progressive transcendence of evil. There are two aspects of this positive functioning of evil in The Holy War: during the first half of the work, when Mansoul is unregenerate, the buffetings of Diabolus serve to bring the elect of Mansoul to a state of repentance; after the possessing of the town by Emmanuel, the buffetings become Shaddai's permitted chastisements, whereby the Elect, the Faithful Remnant, are purified by suffering (a topic well developed in Job as well as in 2 Peter).

CHAPTER III

MAN AS MICROCOSM: A LIFE MADE LUMINOUS

In the fourth of his Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, John Donne reflected that:

It is too little to call man a little world; except God, man is a diminutive to nothing. Man consists of more pieces, more parts, than the world; than the world doth, nay, than the world is. And, if those pieces were extended, and stretched out in man as they are in the world, man would be a giant, and the world the dwarf; the world but the map, and the man the world.¹

Donne's concept of the world as a map for man, which suggests that the human psyche is a dark continent to be explored, provides a useful key to fathoming Bunyan's analysis (also a mapping outward) of spiritual psychology in The Holy War. On one of the work's levels of meaning, the allegory dissects in painstaking fashion an archetypal Christian life. On this level, the work appears to be closely patterned upon the Calvinist paradigm of the twin processes of conversion and sanctification, which was widely known in Bunyan's time, as it was widely advocated in sermons, pamphlets, treatises, and biographies as the ideal against which Christians were to measure their own spiritual progress.² This chapter will examine how in The Holy War Bunyan turns this archetypal pattern, with its accompanying soteriology, into allegory.

¹ John Donne, Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions Together With Death's Duel (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1959), 23.

² Cf. William Perkins' discussion of this paradigm of conversion in his Treatise of the Cases of Conscience, in The Workes of That Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ, in the Universitie of Cambridge Mr. William Perkins, 3 vols. (London: John Legatt, 1612-13), quoted by Ronald A. Bosco, ed., in Cotton Mather, Paterna: The Autobiography of Cotton Mather (1699; Delmar, N.Y.: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1976), 319-320.

The reader might well ask why a chapter dealing with this subject is thought necessary, since it is standard practice among critics who have perused The Holy War to dismiss the work as a sort of smug parable of "the conversion process." William York Tindall, for instance, observes that "Bunyan followed the program of rebirth in the imagery of the millennium,"³ and is content to leave the reader with the misconception that all Bunyan is concerned about in The Holy War is reiterating ornate commonplaces.

Actually, it is far from simple to understand to the fullest what Bunyan intended on this level of the allegory. The pattern of the Christian life which he examines was an integral part of Puritan culture and tradition in his time. It had been thought about very seriously and deeply for years by his audience, who had heard and read countless sermons about it. It is unlikely that Bunyan in The Holy War has only personified the dry as dust chapter subheadings of a theological treatise on conversion, using allegory as a device to sugar coat its unpalatable medicine, as it were.

Perhaps Bunyan found in the language of theology insufficient incandescence in which to express the intensity of the spiritual experience he desired that his readers become aware of. Consequently, he developed his thoughts in terms of an allegorical structure, with its capabilities of both spatially and temporally evoking the concrete realities of the spiritual life. In a sense, he has needed to erect a world model in order to map the workings of the soul of man. (Indeed, we also have Donne's innovation, that a man is more complex than, rather than a reduced product of, the world).

³ William York Tindall, John Bunyan: Mechanick Preacher (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 144.

An insight of Evelyn Underhill's is helpful here:

Thanks to the spatial imagery inseparable from human thinking and human expression, no direct description of spiritual experience is or can be possible to man. It will always be symbolic, allusive, oblique; always suggest, but never tell, the truth; And in this respect there is not much to choose between the fluid and artistic language of vision and the arid technicalities of philosophy. . . The greater the suggestive quality of the symbol used, the more answering emotion it evokes in those to whom it is addressed, the more truth it will convey. A good symbolism, therefore, will be more than a mere diagram or mere allegory: it will use to the utmost the resources of beauty and of passion.

This distinction is important to keep in mind in studying The Holy War, in which the "beauty," on this level, is in the tension and resolution of the plot. One feels, for instance, that Kenneth Burke⁵ ascribes a bit too much importance to Bunyan's diagram, "A Map Showing the Order and Causes of Salvation and Damnation."⁶ "The 'Map' is so intensely rectilinear in the treatment of its terms," Burke remarks, "one might easily overlook the underlying circularity. But basically, of course, it comprises two series of terms, implicit in the ideas of Order and Disorder." But one-to-one correspondence with the map does not consistently follow in The Holy War, because it is against such simplistic schematic generalizations that Bunyan struggles in the work. As Roger Sharrock has pointed out, "Bunyan had to some extent to reconstruct his own sense of human reality."⁷

⁴ Evelyn Underhill, Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness (Cleveland and New York: World, 1955), 126.

⁵ Kenneth Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 243.

⁶ Given by Offor. (HW.3.336); not reproduced in the Baker reprint (1975) of Bunyan's Works, 3 vols., (London: Blackie and Sons, 1875).

⁷ Roger Sharrock, John Bunyan (London: Macmillan, 1968), 119.

He created a superstructure upon the paradigm of an ideal Christian life, expressed in terms of a sort of amalgam of spiritual warfare imagery and that of physical sickness and recovery. Hence, the reconstructed reality of an archetypal life becomes an opening into an apprehension of the underlying deeper spiritual reality; life is seen as allegory. There is a problem implicit in the concept of "the ideal Christian life." It may not be human reality. This is to reintroduce Tindall's objection that The Holy War is deduced downward from the ideal rather than an elucidation of the quotidian (which The Pilgrim's Progress is). But one may also view the movement as bi-directional: quotidian urban life and the order it hypocritically professes meeting in an allegory of reform.

Let us consider Eta Linneman's understanding of "the decisive function of allegory:"

It passes on an evaluation of the reality, so that it can be shared by the listener or readers. It does this by placing a 'picture' in front of the 'reality,' behind which this (apparently) disappears. Strictly speaking, what happens is as if two tracings were laid one over the other, of which the lower one contains the outlines, the upper one the colours: the allegory in its entirety allows the reality with which the author is concerned in the allegorical narrative to show through it. It takes its outline from it; the narrative is modelled on the reality, but gives it its colouring; it gives an evaluation to the situation.⁸

While the greater part of this chapter will be concerned with understanding Bunyan's allegorical treatment of what for now one may casually call "the conversion process," before this analysis can be embarked upon, some background discussion will be necessary, for the importance Bunyan gives to this subject is not easily comprehended without an awareness of its meaning within its historical and cultural context.

⁸ Eta Linneman, Parables of Jesus: Introduction and Exposition (London: S.P.C.K., 1966), 6-7.

Let us begin with the Puritan ideal of the Christian life. Of it, Calvin wrote, "The law of God contains in itself that newness by which his image can be restored in us. But because our slowness needs many goals and helps, it will be profitable to assemble from various passages of Scripture a pattern for the conduct of life in order that those who heartily repent may not err in their zeal."⁹ Bunyan and countless Puritans before him founded their lives¹⁰ upon this pattern for the conduct of life." As well, a whole continuum of Puritan guides for spiritual living was based upon Calvin's formula, from Arthur Dent's Plain Man's Path-way to Heaven (1601), and Richard Bernard's The Isle of Man (1626), a prose allegory about sin, to what David Daiches considers to be their culmination in Bunyan's works in allegorical form.¹¹ Contrary to P.G. Rogers' suggestion, that this kind of literature merely continued the medieval preoccupation with religion as the source and control of all aspects of life,¹² Puritans were concerned in these works with something more than an attitude passed down to them from their forebears. Owen C. Watkins remarks that there was a "Puritan conviction that the highest art a man

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Jean Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion (1559), 2 vols., John T. McNeill, ed., Ford Lewis Battles, trans. (London: S.C.M. Press, 1961), vol. 1, bk.3, ch.6, sect.1, 684.

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George Sampson, The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature, 3rd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 312.

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David Daiches, A Critical History of English Literature, (New York: Ronald Press, 1960; 2nd ed., 1970), 585.

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P.G. Rogers, The Fifth Monarchy Men (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 155.

could practice was the art of living, that the only masterpiece worthy of the name was to be achieved in the most complex and difficult form of creative endeavour: a human life."¹³ This concern with carefully shaping and moulding the self has its parallel in mysticism, for, in a sense, the multi-faceted Puritan movement was from the beginning a community of mystics, with its own symbolic traditions. Applicable to the Puritan writer is Evelyn Underhill's cautious reminder that, "Not self-cultivation aloof on super-human levels, but self-donation in the interests of the All is their vocation. The greatest mystic is not he who keeps his secret to himself, pouring himself out towards God in a single state of enormous intensity but he who must most perfectly realize the ideal of the 'leaven which leaveneth the lump.'"¹⁴ Similarly, spiritual progress in the Puritan experience was both internal perfection and external sharing by example and exhortation; as well, Puritans saw their spiritual growth as a linking of holy lives, of a tradition of passing on, of handing down, a methodology of acquiring conversion to Christ's way and subsequent gradual sanctification of one's life, and that of one's neighbour, whom Christ had commanded to be loved as oneself.

So, with this in mind, in reading Edmund S. Morgan's observation that: "Puritans invited, or rather demanded, active cooperation from every member of society in the eradication of Sin; it was held up as a sign of regeneration that a

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Owen C. Watkins, The Puritan Experience (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 1.

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Evelyn Underhill, The Mystic Way: A Psychological Study in Christian Origins (London and Toronto: J.M. Dent, and New York: E.P. Dutton, 1913), 149.

man should reform his friends and neighbours." ¹⁵ It is important to remember that this concern was to be carried out in the spirit of Christian love, a concern such as is recommended by Jude in his epistle:

But you, dear friends, build yourselves up in your most holy faith and pray in the Holy Spirit. Keep yourselves in God's love as you wait for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ to bring you to eternal life. Be merciful to those who doubt; snatch others from the fire and save them; to others show mercy, mixed with fear - hating even the clothing stained by corrupted flesh (vss.20-23).

One ought to bear in mind also that love was seen by Puritan readers as the motivating factor behind such an unappealing character in The Holy War as Prywell.

Let us pause for a moment to consider the Puritan concern for the spiritual welfare of oneself and one's neighbour. Says Gerald R. Cragg of Bunyan, "What was an epitome of his spiritual history became his settled method of appealing to men." ¹⁶ Of Cotton Mather, Ronald A. Bosco writes, "Through repeated reference (in his autobiography Paterna) to the process of conversion in his own life, Mather is able to indicate to his audience the need carefully to chart the progress of its own spiritual condition through self-examination and meditation." ¹⁷

As Anthony Low sums up, "The seventeenth century was a great age of spiritual autobiography and inward-looking analysis, but the analyses were

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Edmund S. Morgan, ed., The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth (1653-1657): The Conscience of a Puritan (1951; rpt. New York: Harper and Row, 1965), ix.

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Gerald K. Cragg, Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution: 1660-1688 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 204.

¹⁷

Bosco, xlvi.

undergone in order to change and renovate the self, with God's grace, and were published to reach and convert others." ¹⁸

Ideally, this attitude governed everything in the Puritans' lives. Literature, for instance, was valued not for its own sake as art, Owen C. Watkins points out, "but just insofar as it promoted right attitudes and right conduct. . . . But they also believed, with many ancient authorities, that 'examples are more powerful than precepts,' and thus the esteem given to expository works was shared by history and biography, especially the latter." ¹⁹ In The Holy War, the personified abstractions increase the power of Bunyan's theological substance by adding to it the dimension of biography and history, setting into action terms of the Scripturally derived pattern to which all Puritans' lives were ideally expected to conform.

The model for the application of this pattern was the sermon. The sermon's structure was valued as a means to order; for, as Eugene E. White explains, "The sermon must provide the systematic thought development which would enable the listener to make a rational discernment." ²⁰ Thus, the exoskeleton of the sermon must be readily discernable in any and all literary meditation, allegory being no exception, of course. In fact, says Barbara K. Lewalski:

The structural model for deliberate meditation was the sermon. English Protestants constantly identified the two basic parts and purposes of meditation in terms long familiar from sermon theory- the exposition and analysis of a text or doctrine in order to stimulate the affections and the

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Anthony Low, Love's Architecture: Devotional Modes in Seventeenth-Century English Poetry (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 295.

19

Watkins, 1.

20

Eugene E. White, Puritan Rhetoric: The Issue of Emotion in Religion, foreword by David Potter (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), 16.

heart. Given this identity of elements and purposes, the terms sermon and meditation became well-nigh interchangeable in Protestant theory. The sermon was frequently described as the fruit of the preacher's meditation shared with the people.²¹

This is borne out in the case of Cotton Mather's attitude to literary composition. Richard A. Bosco relates that, "Among the methods Mather uses to insure unity and to preserve the appearance of completeness in Paternalia are his use of his conversion experience in order to represent his life as a continuous and dramatic unfolding of experience, his use of the language and style of the Puritan sermon."²² The Puritan attitude to the sermon's language and style by extension could be applied to The Holy War as a means to understanding Bunyan's attitude to the work as literature. Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson have written: "The Puritan ideal might be phrased roughly in this fashion: enough rhetoric to pass through the fancy to the heart, but never so much that the apprehension of the simple or the earnest should be dazzled."²³

This brings us to the last point of this introductory section: the aim of much of the Puritans' literature based on self-analysis was the communication of experienced spiritual discoveries regarding both God and the individual human soul. So, writes Owen C. Watkins:

Spiritual autobiographies with few exceptions, were not written because the writers thought their lives were 'exemplary' ones in this sense, but because, as Thomas Goodwin pointed out, 'That God pardon'd such a Man in such a Condition, is often brought home unto another Man in the same Condition.' They hoped through the record of their own experience to offer experiential proof of some of the eternal truths of Christianity. God was consistent in his

²¹
Lewalski, 152.

²²
Bosco, xlv.

²³
Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., The Puritans (New York: American Book Co., 1938), 67.

dealing with man throughout history, but since he called everyone individually, each saw some aspect of His glory that was hidden from others. Working within an agreed framework of doctrine it was therefore possible to have as many variations as there were believers, and so the conditions were present for the emergence of an accepted literary form.²⁴

The Holy War fits within the framework of the Puritan preoccupation with self-analysis, engaged upon, Lewalski believes, "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."²⁵ "Self examination," Watkins adds, "was both an effective weapon in the fight with evil and a tool in the Puritan's quest for assurance. . . . It was through self-examination also that the warfare of the spirit became fully revealed to the Christian."²⁶ Cotton Mather referred to self-analysis as a "happy way of preaching to myself."²⁷

It is with this background in mind that the reader is asked to consider Bunyan's rendering into allegorical terms the traditional pattern of the Christian life with all of its theological subtleties (comparing this rendition to how he expressed it in autobiographical terms in Grace Abounding). The Holy War will be analyzed within the framework provided by what Lewalski and others simplifyingly call "The Protestant Paradigm of Salvation,"²⁸ which distills the Christian life in

²⁴ Watkins, 2.

²⁵ Lewalski, 150.

²⁶ Watkins, 12.

²⁷ Bosco, xlvi.

²⁸ Lewalski, 131; cf. Perkins, in "Appendix" to Paterna, 319-20.

its entirety into six distinct areas: Election and Calling, Conviction, Conversion, Justification, Adoption, and Sanctification. The area of theology explored by Bunyan on this level of the allegory is, of course, soteriology. As defined by Neo-Calvinist theologian L. Berkhof:

Soteriology deals with the communication of the blessings of salvation to the sinner and his restoration to divine favor and to a life in intimate communion with God. It presupposes knowledge of God as the all-sufficient source of the life, the strength, and the happiness of mankind, and of man's utter dependence on Him for the present and the future. Since it deals with restoration, redemption, and renewal, it can only be understood properly in the light of the original condition of man as created in the image of God, and of the subsequent disturbance of the proper relationship between man and his God by the entrance of sin into the world. Moreover, since it treats of the salvation of the sinner wholly as a work of God, known to Him from all eternity, it naturally carries our thoughts back to the eternal counsel of peace and the covenant of grace, in which provision was made for the redemption of fallen men. It proceeds on the assumption of the completed work of Christ as the Mediator of redemption. . . . In defining the contents of Soteriology, it is better to say that it deals with the application of the work of redemption than to say it treats of the appropriation of salvation. The matter should be studied theologically, rather than anthropologically. The work of God rather than the work of man is definitely in the foreground.

Conrad Pepler describes "a long period of purification in which the character is cleansed of tarnish coming from original and actual sin. As love of God reaches a certain perfection in the soul the infused virtues and gifts begin to predominate, so that the Christian grows more passive under the direct influence of the Spirit. The Christian is thus led to a union with God in which he becomes transformed by the Spirit."³⁰

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L. Berkhof, Systematic Theology, 4th ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1941), 415; author's italics.

30

Conrad Pepler, "Richard Rolle," in English Spiritual Writers, Charles Davis, ed. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960), 19.

In the following analysis of this level of the allegory of The Holy War, each of the above-mentioned six areas will be examined according to the predominant doctrines expressed, comparing their allegorical depiction with parallels in Scripture, in Bunyan's devotional tracts, in his other allegorical works, in his autobiography, Grace Abounding Unto the Chief of Sinners (1666), and in the writings of Jean Calvin and other theologians.

Let us begin with the first of the six areas of the paradigm: Election.

Berkhof defines Election as "that eternal act of God whereby He, in His sovereign good pleasure, and on account of no foreseen merits in them, chooses a certain number of men to be the recipients of special grace and of eternal salvation."³¹ Calvin phrases it as follows:

As Scripture, then, clearly shows, we say that God once established by his eternal and unchangeable plan those whom he long before determined once for all to receive into salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, he would devote to destruction. We assert that, with respect to the elect, this plan was founded upon his freely given mercy, without regard to human worth; but by his just and irreprehensible but incomprehensible judgment he has barred the door of life to those whom he has given over to damnation. Now among the elect we regard the call as a testimony of election. Then we hold justification another sign of its manifestation, until they come into the glory in which the fulfillment of that election lies. But as the Lord seals his elect by call and justification, so, by shutting off the reprobate from knowledge of his name or from the sanctification of his spirit, he, as it were, reveals by these marks what sort of judgment awaits them.³²

What means does Bunyan employ to bring out the concept of Election in his allegorical narrative?

31

Berkhof, 114.

32

Institutes, vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 21, 931.

At the beginning of The Holy War, Mansoul is in a state of innocence which parallels that of Adam and Eve before the Fall. In Mansoul, the narrator states, "There was not a rascal, rogue, or traitorous person then within its walls. They were all true men, and fast joined together; and this, you know, is a great matter. And to all these, it was always - so long as it had the goodness to keep true to Shaddai the King - his countenance, his protection, and it was his delight."

(HW.3.256)

Behind this passage in The Holy War is Ephesians 1:4, a key verse in the doctrine of the Election of grace: "According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love."

In keeping with the doctrine veiled by the allegory, the fall of Mansoul into the evil clutches of Diabolus and his rabble was foreseen long before by Shaddai and Emmanuel, "though they told not everybody thereof" (HW.3.266). The apparent tragedy of the fall of Mansoul was really part of the plan of the King and his Son:

Well, when the King and his Son were retired into the privy-chamber, there they again consulted about what they had designed before, to wit, that as Mansoul should in name be suffered to be lost, so certainly it should be recovered again; recovered I say, in such a way as that both the King and his Son would get themselves eternal fame and glory thereby.

(HW.3.266)

This doctrine is explained by Bunyan as follows in his treatise Saved by Grace (1675): "We may be said to be saved in the purpose of God before the world began. . . . God in this saving may be said to save us by determining to make those means effectual for the blessed completing of our salvation; and hence we are said 'to be chosen in Christ to salvation'" (SBG.1.338).

A difficulty arises concerning the doctrine of Election, in that not all of mankind are predestined to be delivered out of their fallen state. Bunyan explains:

Now as touching the elect, they are by this decree confined to that limited number of persons that must amount to the complete making up of the fulness of the mystical body of Christ; yea, so confined by this eternal purpose, that nothing can be diminished from or added thereunto: and hence it is that they are called his body and members in particular, and the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

(RA.2.341)

The Elect have a plan of escape from the impending destruction, so vividly expressed by Christian at the beginning of Part I of The Pilgrim's Progress:

O my dear wife, said he, and you, the children of my bowels, I, your dear friend, am in myself undone, by reason of a burden that lieth hard upon me; moreover, I am for certain informed that this our city will be burned with fire from heaven; in which fearful overthrow, both myself, with thee, my wife, and you, my sweet babes, shall miserably come to ruin, except (the which yet I see not) some way of escape be found, whereby we may be delivered.

(P.Pr.3.89)

There is a dramatic "side effect" implicit in this doctrine. Because of it, the Elect are magnetized as it were toward the Good, while the Reprobate are drawn in the opposite direction toward Evil. In Grace Abounding, Bunyan writes that even before his conversion he was "in a flame to find the way to heaven and glory, and nothing could beat me off from this" (Gr.Ab.1.13). While, in later life, Bunyan was able to write, "I believe that there is not any impediment attending the election of God that can hinder their conversion and eternal salvation" (ACOMF. 2. 598), before his conversion he was stricken with doubts regarding the certainty of his election: "Therefore, this would still stick with me. How can you tell that you are elected? And what if you should not? How then?" (Gr.Ab. 3. 13).

Shaddai's plan of deliverance for Mansoul is full scale warfare against the forces of evil which hold Mansoul captive:

The Son of Shaddai, a sweet and comely person, and one that had always great affection for those that were in affliction, but one that had mortal enmity in his heart against Diabolus, because he was designed for it, and because he sought his crown and dignity. This Son of Shaddai, I say, having stricken hands with his Father, and promised that he would be his servant to recover his Mansoul again, stood by his resolution, nor would he repent of the same. . .

The purport of which agreement was this: to wit, that at a certain time prefixed by both, the King's Son should take a journey into the country of Universe; and there, in a way of justice and equity, by making of amends for the follies of Mansoul, he should lay a foundation of her perfect deliverance from Diabolus, and from his tyranny.

(HW. 3. 266)

As an illustration of the polarity which is caused by the putting into effect of this plan, consider that as first the forces of Shaddai, and later those of Emmanuel close in Mansoul, the elect Mansoulans are drawn toward proclaiming repentance, while the reprobate Mansoulans entrench themselves ever deeper in their dens of rebelliousness. This becomes most evident as The Holy War progresses.

A problem often troubles the modern reader: In enacting the Holy War, the question is what Shaddai's behaviour implies as a model for that of humans: are the Elect too to cast into the fire the Nonelect? How are they to be kept from taking into their hands God's power? Here it is important to realize that, far from being either bloodthirsty or vindictive, Shaddai's plan is one of love. Note the words of Shaddai's proclamation: "Let all men know who are concerned, that the Son of Shaddai, the great King, is engaged, by covenant to his Father, to bring his Mansoul to him again; yea, and to put Mansoul too, through the power of his matchless love, into a far better, and more happy condition than it was before it was taken by Diabolus." (HW.3.266). This echoes ³ Peter 3:9, "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." The factor of love complicates the doctrine of Election, and prevents The Holy War from being either a dramatized catechism or an incentive to bigotry. The evil

Mansouliahs always have the option to align themselves with the forces of Emmanuel. That few break free from the strangle hold of Diabolus is a psychological problem dealt with at length in The Holy War, based on Bunyan's years of experience of evangelizing the reprobate of England.

Having examined the concept of Election, let us now move on to study how The Holy War treats the concept of Calling. This is the first stage in the process of redemption as revealed in a man's life. It consists of two parts: the awakening and the conviction of the sinner. The process culminates in conversion. Indeed, it is only after this termination of the two stages that a man becomes inwardly as well as outwardly a Christian. In the following Scriptural passage, this bipartite structure is clearly shown: "And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard us: whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul" (Acts 16:14). According to Berkhof, "During the preaching of Paul the Lord opened the heart of Lydia to give heed to the things that were spoken by the apostle. It is clearly intimated that the opening of the heart is preceded by the external, and is followed by the internal calling. The unity of the twofold calling is clearly seen."³³ This dual structure is clearly visible in The Holy War, as well. The awakening of Mansoul is brought about by the encampment in plain view outside the city's walls of Shaddai's forces. A number of summons are proclaimed, and the four captains of Shaddai in effect preach sermons of hell-fire and damnation before the town. To wonder why so much talking and so little actual fighting goes on in The Holy War is

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Berkhof, 454.

to miss the parallel with the stages of Calling, which must have been more obvious to the perceptive members of Bunyan's audience.

There are two stages to the Calling process, as has been pointed out. These are known respectively as the vocatio realis, and vocatio verbalis. These will be examined in turn.

The vocatio realis, Berkhof explains, is:

The external call that comes to man through God's general revelation, a revelation of the law and not of the gospel, to acknowledge, fear, and honour God as their Creator. It comes to them in things (res) rather than in words: in nature and history, in the environment in which they live, and in the experiences and vicissitudes of their lives. . . . This call knows nothing of Christ, and therefore cannot lead to salvation. At the same time it is of the greatest importance in connection with the restraint of sin, the development of the natural life, and the maintenance of good order in society.³⁴

This is clearly shown in The Holy War where the capacity for saving faith is developed by exposing the town of Mansoul to the viewing of Shaddai's army in all of its awesome might and splendour, while in The Pilgrim's Progress the same saving faith is developed in Christian by the combination of his Book, his burden and Evangelist's counsel.

The Word of God spoken with power is described by Bunyan in Grace Abounding Unto the Chief of Sinners, as follows:

Oh! One sentence of the Scriptures did more afflict and terrify my mind, I mean those sentences that stood against me, as sometimes I thought they did, more I say, than an army of forty thousand men that might have come against me. Woe be to him against whom the Scriptures bend themselves.
(Gr Ab. 1. 38)

The names of Shaddai's four captains - Boanerges (= "Sons of Thunder," Mk. 3:17), Conviction, Judgment, and Execution - together form a meaningful series

representing the effect upon a sinner's soul of mighty preaching of God's Word.

Note the same advanced stage in a sinner's awakening to repentance in the following passage from Pilgrim's Progress:

Then said Evangelist, Why not willing to die, since this life is attended with so many evils? The man answered, Because I fear this burden that is upon my back will sink me lower than the grave; and I shall fall into Tophet And, Sir, if I be not fit to go to prison, I am not fit, I am sure; to go to judgment, and from thence to execution; and the thoughts of these things make me cry.
(P.Pr.3.90)

As important to the psychological structure of this level of the allegory as the preaching of Shaddai's captains is, the resistance of reprobate Mansoul is equally so. Thus, to Lord Will-be-will's answer to the summons of the trumpeter, Take-heed-what you hear, is full of "big and ruffling words" (HW.3. 272).

Similarly, Old Incredulity's oration of defiance concludes in this vein:

We dread you not, we fear not, nor will we obey your summons: our gates we keep shut upon you, our place we will keep you out of; nor will we long thus suffer you to sit down before us. Our people must live in quiet; your appearance doth disturb them.

(HW. 3: 276)

The second stage of the calling process, Conviction, corresponds to what theologians often call the "vocatio verbalis," which, Berkhof explains, is "the divine call that comes to man through the preaching of the Word of God."³⁵ The Scriptures present this aspect of the Calling in such a way as to show both the acceptance and rejection of the gospel. This idea is clear in the great commission of Mark 16:15-16: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned." The parable of the marriage feast in Matthew 22:2-14, and that of the great supper in Luke 14:16-24, speak of the rejection of the gospel. The

³⁵
ibid, 438.

sin of unbelief or refusal to obey the calling is outlined in such passages as Matthew 10:15, 11:21-24, John 5:40, 16:8-9, and 1 John 5:10.

Berkhof enumerates a number of features peculiar to this phase of the Calling process: presentation both of the Gospel facts, and of the doctrine of redemption occurs during this stage; an invitation to accept Christ in repentance and faith is given; a promise of forgiveness and salvation is extended. Moreover, it is general in that it is indiscriminately extended to all men; it is a calling which is seriously meant, and which is extended in good faith.³⁶ In describing the effect of this calling, Calvin writes that the hearers are "struck dumb by the first terror and lie in despair; nevertheless, the fact that their consciences are buffeted by such waves serves to show forth the equity of the divine judgment. For the reprobate always freely desire to evade God's judgment. Now, although that judgment is not yet revealed, so routed are they by the testimony of the law and of conscience that they betray in themselves what they have deserved."³⁷ Bunyan echoes these views in his treatise, Christ a Complete Saviour: "By Christ's intercession, I gather that awakened men and women, such as the godly are, dare not, after offense given, come in their own names to make unto God an application for mercy" (CCS.1.205). In Grace Abounding Unto the Chief of Sinners, Bunyan points out the intensity of this act: "Now was the battle won, and down fell I, as a bird that is shot from the top of a tree, into great guilt, and fearful despair" (Gr.Ab.1.23). Thus, in The Holy War, one sees Shaddai intensify the spiritual battle. The Mansouliaus and

³⁶
Ibid, 460-463.

³⁷
Calvin, Institutes, vol. 1, bk 2, ch. 7, sect. 9, 358.

Diabolians lose their tempers as they debate these issues, and Bunyan deliciously depicts this as a knock-about brawl:

And I will assure you he had by some of the Lord Understanding's party his crown soundly cracked to boot. Mr. Anything also, he became a brisk man in the brail, but both sides are against him, because he was true to name. Yet he had for his malapertness one of his legs broken, and he that did it wished it had been his neck.

(HW.3.282)

Among Shaddai's forces; the intensification is depicted in The Holy War by the frequent use of the banner "Ye Must Be Born Again," increasingly intensified summons from the trumpeter, in language which paraphrases the Almighty's in His reply to Job, deploring the rebellious stubbornness of Mansoul (HW.3.282), a demand of unconditional surrender (HW.3.180). Symbolically, a famine occurs in winter, Mansoul's lowest point preceding its conversion. -Against the Diabolians the armies of Shaddai use the weapon of prayer to intensify the effective power of their spiritual assault. This Bunyan expresses as a formal petition to King Shaddai:

Most gracious and glorious King, the Lord of the best word, and the builder of the town of Mansoul: We have, dread Sovereign, at thy commandment, put our lives in jeopardy, and at thy bidding made a war upon the famous town of Mansoul. When we went up against it, we did, according to our commission, first offer conditions of peace unto it. But they, great King, set light by our counsel, and would none of our reproof. . . . They were for shutting of their gates and for keeping us out of the town. They also mounted their guns, they sallied out upon us, and have done us what damage they could; but we pursued them, with alarm upon alarm, requiting of them with such retribution as was meet, and have done some execution upon the town. Diabolus, Incredulity, and Will-be-will are the great doers against us; now we are in our winter quarters, but so as that we do yet with an high hand molest and distress the town. Once, as we think, had we but one substantial friend in the town, such as would but have seconded the sound of our summonses as they ought, the people might have yielded themselves. But there were none but enemies there, nor any to speak in behalf of our Lord to the town; wherefore, though we have done as we could, yet Mansoul abides in a state of rebellion against thee. Now, King of kings, let it please thee to pardon the unsuccessfulness of thy servants who have been no more advantageous in so desirable a work as the conquering of Mansoul is; and send, Lord as we now desire, more forces to Mansoul, that it may be subdued; and a man to lead them, that the town may have both love and fear. We do not thus speak because we are willing to relinquish the wars- for we are for laying of our bones against the place- by that the town of Mansoul may be won for thy Majesty. We also pray thy Majesty for expedition in this matter, that, after their conquest, we

may be at liberty to be sent about other of thy gracious designs. Amen.
(HW.3.284)

There are several places in this long petition which appear to suggest to the modern reader that Shaddai's forces have met with defeat, and that reinforcements against stubborn Mansoul are needed. But, one hastens to add, the readers for whom Bunyan conceived the work would see these petitions for assistance in a more positive way as merely indicative of the Scriptural teaching of the Law's lack of saving power; moreover, they would rejoice in the anticipated victory of Emmanuel, Prince of grace. Rather than in seeing Mansoul's increased requests for a conditional surrender (HW.3.279), as well as its parade of outward reforms (HW.3.270, 278), as the failure of Shaddai's forces to conquer Mansoul, they would recognize in these symptoms the birth-pangs of souls ripe for conversion, for the "repulses to the brave captains put Mansoul into a mutiny" (HW.3.280).

Let us now move on to examine how The Holy War deals with the stage of conversion. Berkhof gives a twofold definition of conversion: "(a) Active conversion is that act of God whereby He causes the regenerated sinner, in His conscious life, to turn to Him in repentance and faith. (b) Passive conversion is the resulting conscious act of the regenerated sinner whereby he, through the grace of God, turns to God in repentance and faith." He goes on to explain that, "Conversion is simply one part of the saving process. But it is naturally closely connected with every other part." In addition, Berkhof notes that since it is a part of an organic process, it naturally closely represents characteristics of the process of conversion (which are visible in The Holy War): First, "conversion belongs to the re-creative rather than to the judicial Acts of God. It does not alter the state but the condition of man:" Secondly, "as the word metanoia clearly indicates, conversion takes place, not in the subconscious, but in the conscious life of the sinner; Thirdly, "in regeneration the sinful principle of the old life is already

replaced by the holy principle of the new life. But, it is only in conversion that this transition penetrates into the conscious life, turning it into a new and Godward direction; "fourthly, "it is a change that takes place once and cannot be repeated. . . . It is the believer's turning to God and holiness again, after he has temporarily lost sight of these. In connection with regeneration we cannot possibly speak of repetition; but in the conscious life of the Christian there are ups and downs, seasons of close communion with God and seasons of estrangement from Him;" fifthly, "while conversion may be . . . in a sharply marked crisis, it may also be a very gradual change;" and, finally, "when we speak of conversion, we have in mind a supernatural work of God, resulting in a religious change."³⁸

Calvin describes conversion as the way in which "departing from ourselves, we turn to God, and having taken off our former mind, we put on a new. On this account, in my judgment, repentance can thus be well-defined: it is the true turning of our life to God, a turning that arises from a pure and earnest fear of him; and it consists in the mortification of our flesh and of the old man, and in the vivification of the spirit."³⁹

Conversion begins in The Holy War with Emmanuel's acceptance of the commission to lead an army against Mansoul:

Then said the King's son, Thy law is within my heart. I delight to do thy will. . . . This is the day that I have longed for, and the work that I have waited for all this while. Grant me, therefore, what force thou shalt in thy wisdom think meet, and I will go, and will deliver from Diabolus, and from his power, thy perishing town of Mansoul. My heart has been often pained within me for the miserable town of Mansoul; but now it is rejoiced, but now it is glad. And with that, he leaped over the mountains for joy; saying, I have not, in my

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Berkhof, 483-485.

39

Calvin, Institutes, vol. 1, bk. 3, ch. 3, sect. 5, 597.

heart; thought anything too dear for Mansoul: the day of vengeance is in mine heart for thee, my Mansoul; and glad am I that thou, my Father, hast made me the Captain of their salvation.

(HW.3.284)

Emmanuel starts out with new weapons, and a new army:

But when they set out for their march, O how the trumpets sounded, their armour glittered, and how the colours waved in the wind! The Prince's armour was all of gold, and it shone like the sun in the firmament. The captains' armour was of proof, and was in appearance like the glittering stars.

(HW.3.285)

Instead of the Law, what now is being offered Mansoul is the gospel of Christ, no longer a religion (a set of rules and conditions), but a Person - Bunyan shows this by having Emmanuel come to Mansoul, to overpower the town by his grace. Paul wrote to the Romans:

I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth; to the Jew first and also to the Greek. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, the just shall live by faith.

(Rom. 1:16-17)

Note the emphasis on "power" and "revelation." Emmanuel's powerful preaching, which unmasks Diabolus' lies, cannot be withstood by Mansoul, now ripe for conversion (HW.3.287-289). Easily, the last-ditch efforts of Loth-to-stoop in proposing a conditional surrender (HW.3.290 ff) show Mansoul's inability to withstand the pressure of internal conviction; for Emmanuel's patience ends abruptly, and:

Then, said the Prince, I must try the power of my sword, for I will not, for all the rebellions and repulses that Mansoul has made against me, raise my siege and depart, but will assuredly take my Mansoul and deliver it from the hand of the enemy.

(HW.3.291)

General slaughter ensues (HW.3.291-292) and territory is won for Emmanuel (HW.3.294-295).

By the time Emmanuel rides in triumph into the town, the inhabitants are very repentant. The narrator gives his eye-witness account as follows:

And this took I special notice of, that the inhabitants, notwithstanding all this, could not; no, they could not, when they see him march through the town, but cringe, bow, bend, and were ready to lick the dust of his feet. They also wished a thousand times over, that he would become their Prince and Captain, and would become their protection.

(HW.3.296)

In Grace Abounding Unto the Chief of Sinners, Bunyan expresses this predicament as follows:

Yet I saw my sin most barbarous, and a filthy crime, and could not but conclude, and that with great shame and astonishment, that I had horribly abused the Son of God; wherefore I felt my soul greatly to love and pity him, and my bowels to yearn towards him: for I saw he was still my friend, and did reward me good for evil; yea, the love and affection that did then burn within to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ did work, at this time, such a strong and hot desire of revengement upon myself for the abuse I had done unto him, that, to speak as then I thought, had I had a thousand gallons of blood within my veins, I could freely 'then' have spilt it all at the command and feet of this my Lord and Saviour.

(Gr.Ab.1.30-31)

We observe that Mansoul has now attained the next stage, that of "Justification," which Berkhof defines as "a judicial act of God, in which He declares, on the basis of the righteousness of Jesus Christ, that all the claims of the law are satisfied with respect to the sinner," adding that "it is unique in the application of the word of redemption in that it is a judicial act of God, a declaration respecting the sinner, and not an act or process of renewal, such as regeneration, conversion, and sanctification. While it has respect for the sinner, it does not change his inner life. It does not affect his condition, but his state, and in that respect differs from all the other principal parts of the order of salvation."⁴⁰ "We explain justification," says Calvin, "simply as the acceptance with which God receives us into his favour as righteous men. And we say that it consists in the

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Berkhof, 513.

remission of sins and the imputation of Christ's righteousness."⁴¹ Bunyan adds that, "It is necessary that this be distinctly laid down. That a man must be righteous first, even before he doth righteousness; the argument is plain from the order of nature: 'For a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit: Wherefore make the tree good, and so his fruit good; or the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt'" (TDOTG.1.750).

In The Holy War, Bunyan builds suspense by holding back Emmanuel's forgiveness of Mansoul. Three increasingly tearful petitions are made to him for forgiveness (HW.3.298-301), before Emmanuel accepts them (HW.3.301). At first, it seems odd to us that Emmanuel, supposedly so desirous to forgive Mansoul, puts off his decision for so long. A passage in Bunyan's Christ a Complete Saviour points to the reason:

Thou must also be made by thy awakenings to see what Christ is. This is of absolute necessity; for how can or shall a man be willing to come to Christ that has not what he is, what God has appointed him to do? He is the Saviour, every man will say so; but to sense, smell, and taste, what saving is, and so to understand the nature of the office and work of the Saviour, is a rare thing, kept close from most, known but by some.

(CCS.1.221)

Repentance slowly incubates in the heart of the sinner. Gradually he becomes aware of the enormity of his crime of rebellion as his spiritual eyes accustom themselves to the brightness of God's holiness. The light dawns on him, so to speak. This is why in the Holy War the effect of Emmanuel's taking his time to answer the petitions certainly produces this very effect in the Mansoulans, a godly sorrow:

The prisoners went down all in mourning; they put ropes upon themselves; they went on smiting of themselves on the breasts, but durst not lift up their eyes to heaven. Thus they went out at the gate of Mansoul, till they came

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Calvin, Institutes, vol. 1, bk. 3, ch. 11, sect. 2, 727.

into the midst of the Prince's army, the sight and glory of which did greatly heighten their affliction. Nor could they no longer forbear, but cry out aloud, O unhappy men! O wretched men of Mansoul!

(HW.3.302)

Emmanuel pronounces his forgiveness of the Mansoulians. Bunyan dramatizes this in terms of a court decision of pardon:

Then the Prince called for the prisoners to come and stand again before him, and they came and stood trembling. And he said unto them, the sins, trespasses, iniquities, that you, with the whole town of Mansoul have from time to time committed against my Father and me, I have power and commandment from my Father to forgive the town of Mansoul; and do forgive you accordingly.

(HW. 3. 302)

Far from being a quaint idiosyncrasy of his story, Bunyan sees the necessity of this detail, in the light of the Old Testament Hebrew term hitsdik "which in the great majority of cases means 'to declare judicially that one's state is in harmony with the demands of law,' cf. Ex. 23:17; Deut. 25:1; Prov. 15:15; Isa. 5:23."⁴²

Salvation is then described through gifts whose effects are joy and praise.

Here's how Bunyan describes it in Grace Abounding Unto the Chief of Sinners:

Great sins do draw out great grace; and where guilt is most terrible and fierce, there the mercy of God in Christ, when shared to the soul, appears most high and mighty . . . I had two or three times . . . such strange apprehensions of the grace of God, that I could hardly bear up under it, it was so out of measure amazing, when I thought it could reach me, that I do think if that sense of it abode long upon me, it would have made me incapable for business.

(GrAb.1.38)

In The Holy War, Bunyan's narrator enthusiastically and prophetically puts the matter this way:

But can you imagine how their hearts were surprised with wonder, especially when they perceived also in what equipage and with what honor they were sent home? They went down to the camp in black, but they came back to the town in white; they went down to the camp in ropes, but they came back in chains of gold; they went down to the camp with their feet in fetters, but came back with their steps enlarged under them; they went also to the camp

looking for death, but they came back from thence with assurance of life; they went down to the camp with heavy hearts, but came back again with pipe and tabor playing before them.

(HW.3.304)

Mansoul has now progressed to the next higher stage, that of Adoption. W.E. Vine explains that in the New Testament, "Adoption is a not term involving the dignity of birth, but a putting into the position of sons."⁴³ Several passages of Scripture provide useful illustrations. Consider John 1:12, 13, "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God," and compare 1 John 3:1, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God." Bunyan discusses the implications of Adoption in his treatise, Saved by Grace:

But behold, the God of all grace leaveth him not in this distress, but comes up now to him closer than ever; he sends his Spirit of adoption, the blessed Comforter, to him, to tell him, 'God is love' and therefore not willing to reject the broken in heart; bids him cry and pray for an evidence of mercy to his soul, and says, 'Peradventure you may be hid in the day of the Lord's anger.' At this the sinner takes some encouragement, yet he can get no more probability, which by the next doubt that ariseth in the heart is blown quite away, and the soul left again in his first plight or worse, where he lamentably bewails his miserable state, and is tormented with a thousand fears of perishing, for he hears not a word from heaven, perhaps for seven weeks altogether.

(SBG.1.352)

In The Holy War, Bunyan appears to correlate with the concept of adoption of believers the installation of Emmanuel as the reigning Lord of Mansoul. A close Scriptural parallel to this event is Christ's statement, "If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him" (Jn. 14:23). The Mansoulans in essence formally request that

Emmanuel, as Lord, adopt them: "Wherefore, we beseech thee, O thou the desire of our eyes and the strength and life of our poor town, accept of this motion that we now have made unto our Lord, and come and dwell in the midst of us, and let us be thy people (HW.3.306).

Emmanuel's answer, "Go, return to your houses in peace. I will willingly in this comply with your desires" (HW. 3. 307), causes general rejoicing. Bunyan dramatizes the new status of Mansoul as Emmanuel's triumphant entry, which parallels Christ's entry into Jerusalem (Matthew 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-10; John 12:12-15):

Then went out the inhabitants of the town of Mansoul with haste to the green trees, and to the meadows, to gather boughs, and flowers, therewith to strew the streets against their Prince, the Son of Shaddai, should come; they also made garlands, and other fine works, to betoken how joyful they were, and should be to receive their Emmanuel to the Castle-gate, the place where the Prince of Mansoul would afford, that they might play before him to the palace, his habitation.

(HW.3.307)

Their new status under Emmanuel is depicted by the elaborate feast given by the Prince for them. At this banquet, there is interesting entertainment provided:

Now after the feast was over, Emmanuel was for entertaining 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.

(HW.3.309)

The experienced reader of Bunyan's time would not miss this detail as a reference to the Holy Spirit, whose duty is to explain or "open" the secrets of Christ, and who is given to believers subsequent to their conversion, to confirm their adoption. The passage clearly points to such passages as the following in the words of Christ:

I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; Even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him; for

he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you . . . But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.

(Jn. 14:16, 17, 26)

Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself: but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.

(Jn. 16:13-14)

Now, at this point, Mansoul is securely established in the Kingdom of God.

Thus the story of Mansoul has reached its midpoint. On this level of the allegory, the rest of the story deals with the process of the sanctification of the life of the believer. This is a most complex affair, involving both the works of grace and those of the believer. Puritans were long used to thinking of the post-salvation part of the Christian life as "the giving of the second grace." Note the explanation given by William Perkins:

The second worke of God-tending to Salvation, is the giving of the second grace: which is nothing else but the continuance of the first grace given . . . so in bringing a man to salvation, God gives the first grace . . . to believe and repent; and then in mercie gives the second, to persevere and continue in faith and repentance to the ende: And this, if we regard man himselfe, is very necessary.

Concerning the process of sanctification, Calvin writes:

It behooves the godly mind to climb still higher, to the height to which Christ calls his disciples: that each must bear his own cross. For whomever the Lord has adopted and deemed worthy of his fellowship ought to prepare themselves for a hard, toilsome, and unquiet life, crammed with many and various kinds of evil. It is the Heavenly Father's will thus to exercise them so as to put his own children to a definite test.

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Perkins, in *Bosco*, 320.

⁴⁵

Calvin, *Institutes*, vol. 1, bk: 3, ch. 7, sect. 1, 702.

Berkhof comments as follows:

The Reformers in speaking of sanctification emphasized the antithesis of sin and redemption rather than that of nature and supernature. They made a clear distinction between justification and sanctification, regarding the former as a legal act of divine grace, affecting the judicial status of man, and the latter, as a moral or re-creative work, changing the inner nature of man. But while they made a careful distinction between the two, they also stressed their inseparable connection. While deeply convinced that man is justified by faith alone, they also understood that the faith which justifies is not alone. Justification is at once followed by sanctification, since God sends out the Spirit of His Son into the Hearts of His own as soon as they are justified, and that Spirit is the Spirit of sanctification. They did not regard the grace of sanctification as a supernatural essence infused in man through the sacraments, but as a supernatural and gracious work of the Holy Spirit, primarily through the Word and secondarily through the sacraments, by which He delivers us more and more from the power of sin and enables us to do good works. Though in no way confounding justification and sanctification, they felt the necessity of preserving the closest possible connection between the former, in which the free and forgiving grace of God is strongly emphasized, and the latter, which calls for⁴⁶ the co-operation of man, in order to avoid the danger of work-righteousness.

In The Holy War, Bunyan distinguishes clearly between the works of grace and the works of the believer. Let us first consider the works of grace. Bunyan emphasizes these in the passage where Emmanuel appoints the new government of the town of Mansoul. After the worst of the Diabolians have been crucified (paralleling Rom. 6:6 "For we know that our old man is crucified with him, that henceforth we should not serve sin"), Emmanuel appoints a captain, "one of themselves," Mr. Experience (HW.3.317), with Mr. Skilful for his lieutenant, and Mr. Memory for his coronet (HW .3.318).

A new charter, that of grace as opposed to law, is granted the Mansoulians (Cf. Rom. 6:14; "For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace."):

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Berkhof, 530.

Emmanuel also at this time appointed them a day wherein he would renew their charter, yea, wherein he would renew and enlarge it, mending several faults therein, that Mansoul's yoke might be yet more easy. And this he did without any desire of theirs, even of his own frankness and noble mind. So, when he had sent for and seen their old one, he laid it by, and said, 'Now that which decayeth and waxeth old, is ready to vanish away: He said, moreover, 'the town of Mansoul shall have another, a better, a new one, more steady and firm by far.

(HW.3.318)

• As Emmanuel proceeds with his changes in government, one perceives that Mansoul is beginning to correspond to the structure of the New Testament Church.

Mr. Conscience, the former Recorder of the town of Mansoul before the Diabolian take-over, is made Minister of Mansoul:

Wherefore, O! Mr. Conscience, although I have made thee a minister and a preacher in the town of Mansoul; yet as to the things which the Lord Secretary knoweth, and shall teach to this people, there thou must be his scholar, and a learner, even as the rest of Mansoul are.

(HW.3.320)

Compare this restriction to 1 John 2:7, "But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him."

Under the direction of the Holy Spirit - Lord Secretary -and Conscience - Preacher-in-Chief-Emmanuel places the town elders under the authority of what the margin note calls "graces picked from common virtues." Of these captains (Boanerges; Conviction, Judgment, Execution, Faith, Hope, Charity, Innocence, Patience) Emmanuel States:

'These captains', said he, 'do love the town of Mansoul, and they are picked men, picked out of abundance, as men that best suit, and that will most faithfully serve in the wars of Shaddai against the Diabolians, for the preservation of the town of Mansoul.

(HW.3.321)

They appear to parallel one of the New Testament passages listing the various "fruits of righteousness" (Phil. 1:11):

And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity; for if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.

(2 Pet. 1:5-9; cf. Gal. 5:22-23; Eph.5:9)

And compare the last verse of this passage with Emmanuel's word of caution:

"Besides if they be weak, the town of Mansoul cannot be strong; if they be strong, then Mansoul cannot be weak; your safety therefore doth lie in their health, and in your countenancing of them" (HW.3.321)

Finally, Emmanuel gives the town spotless white raiment as a kind of uniform. "And now," said he, "I have given you my livery" (HW.3.323). It is interesting to compare this action to that of the three Shining Ones, a sort of figure of the Trinity, in Part I of The Pilgrim's Progress, who clothe Christian in white raiment:

Now, as he stood looking and weeping, 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 thee.' The second stripped him of his rags, and clothed him 'with a change of raiment.' The third also set a mark on his forehead, and gave him a roll with a seal upon it, which he bade him look on as he ran, and that he should give it in at the Celestial Gate.

(P.Pr.3.102-103)

This bring us to the other half of the process of sanctification: the work of the believer. The believer acts in partnership with God. Calvin poses the problem to us this way:

What then? Let that target be set before our eyes at which we are earnestly to aim. Let that goal be appointed toward which we should strive and struggle. For it is not lawful for you to divide things with God in such a manner that you undertake part of those things which are enjoined upon you by his word but must part, according to your own judgment. For in the first

place, he everywhere commands integrity as the chief part of worshipping him. Gen. 17:1; Ps. 41:12, etc. By this word he means a sincere simplicity of mind, free from guile and feigning, the opposite of a double heart. It is as if it were said that the beginning of right living is spiritual, where the inner feeling of the mind is unfeignedly dedicated to God for the cultivation of holiness and righteousness.⁴⁷

In his early treatise, The Law and Grace Unfolded (1659), Bunyan described the work of the believer in this fashion:

They that are in him have their sins forgiven, and they themselves made new creatures, and have the Spirit of the Son, which is a holy, loving, self-denying Spirit. And they that are thus in Jesus Christ are so far off from delighting in sin, that sin is the greatest thing that troubleth them; and O how willingly would they be rid of the very thoughts of it. It is the grief of their souls, when they are in a right frame of spirit, that they can live the more to the honour and glory of God and they do; and in all their prayers to God, the breathings of their souls are as much for sanctifying grace as pardoning grace, that they might live a holy life. They would as willingly live holy here as they would be happy in the world to come; they would as willingly be cleansed from the filth of sin as to have the guilt of it taken away. They would as willingly glorify God here as they would be glorified by him hereafter.

(LGU.1.554)

It will be fruitful at this point in our discussion to examine the ingredients of the works of the believer in the process of sanctification under four headings: finding and fighting sin, faith, prayer, and self-denial. These topics are dealt with at great length in Bunyan's catechism, Instruction for the Ignorant: Being a Salve to Cure that Great Want of Knowledge, which So Much Reigns Both in Young and Old (1675). Our study is grouped around them because Bunyan stressed their basic importance in the catechism, a sort of beginner's guide book to sanctified Christian living, intended for the edification of children in the faith, i.e. of new converts as well as children.

To begin, then, sin must be recognized before it can be dealt with, and in The Holy War, Bunyan stresses the importance of vigilance and persistence, since many

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Calvin, Institutes, vol. 1, bk. 3, ch. 6, sect. 5, 688-689.

sins are ingrown and are consequently difficult to root out:

After this, the captains and elders of Mansoul sought yet to find out more Diabolians, wherever they lurked, whether in dens, caves, vaults, or where else they could, in, or about the wall or town of Mansoul. But though they could plainly see their footing, and so follow them, by their track and smell, to their holds, even to the mouths of their caves and dens, yet take them, hold them, and do justice upon them, they could not, their ways were so crooked, their holds so strong, and they so quick to take sanctuary there. (HW.3.341)

In The Holy War, three classes of sin are scrutinized: spiritual sins, psychological sins, and carnal sins. According to the testimony of his spiritual autobiography, Grace Abounding Unto the Chief of Sinners, Bunyan appears to have been most troubled with the first two classes. Spiritual sins include backsliding, or growing cold. "Thus they walked contrary to him," states the narrator concerning the effect of the leadership of Carnal -Security, "and he again by way of retaliation, walked contrary to them" (HW.3.326); in other words, the Mansoulians grieved the Holy Spirit (Eph. 4:30). Alas, Bunyan notes, in Christian Behaviour (1674) "the heart of a Christian is a heart to bring forth weeds" (CB. 2. 553). The sin of doubt Bunyan dramatizes in terms of the vast army of Doubters twenty thousand strong, "men of war, picked men, from the land of Doubting" (HW.3.338). Of these, the chief doubters were four: Election-doubter, Vocation-doubter, Salvation-doubter, and Grace-doubter (HW.3.365). Another of the spiritual sins dealt with in The Holy War is that of not sufficiently resisting evil. Thus the inhabitants of Mansoul grow too confident, and attempt a rash sortie by night against Diabolus, and they stumble, to their embarrassment (HW.3.384 ff.).

Psychological sins consist in giving in to negative emotions and thoughts: to fear, condemnation, and despair. Bunyan, apparently of a morbid, melancholy disposition, was most prone to these sins. In Grace Abounding Unto the Chief of Sinners, he remembered:

I found it hard work now to pray to God, because despair was swallowing me up; I thought I was, as with a tempest, driven away from God, for always when I cried to God for mercy, this would come in, It is too late, I am lost, God hath let me fall; not to my correction, but condemnation; my sin is unpardonable.

(GrAb.1.25)

Fear is dramatized in The Holy War by the "casting up" of four mountains of evil against the town, by Diabolus (HW.3.343) as well as by the horrible sound of his drum, perhaps suggested by anxious heart-palpitations:

And he commanded that the drum should beat every night, . . . So his drummer did as commanded, he arose and and beat his drum. But when his drum did go, if one looked towards the town of Mansoul, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light was darkened in the heaven thereof. No noise was ever heard upon earth more terrible, except the voice of Shaddai when he speaketh. But how did Mansoul tremble. It now looked for nothing but forthwith to be swallowed up.

(HW.3.343)

Despair is depicted by Diabolus' attempting "to land up Mouthgate with dirt" (HW. 3.346), i.e.: to prevent prayer,⁴⁸ as well as placing his forces at Feelgate, i.e., says Offor, "He would lead the soul to doubt by trusting to his religious frames and feelings, instead of looking only to Jesus."⁴⁹ The sin of succumbing to illusions is shown in the following passage:

For now, thought the Diabolians, within is our time to strive, and make an uproar in the town; what do they therefore but quickly set themselves into a body, and fall forthwith to hurricaning in Mansoul, as if now nothing but whirlwind and tempest should be there.

(HW.3.349)

The carnal sins are dealt with in less detail. The Holy War is concerned with only two: the deification of riches, and carnal security. Concerning the first, Lucifer advises the Diabolians, "Let Mansoul be taken up in much business, and let

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Offor, HW.3.346, n.2.

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Loc. cit., n. 1.

them grow full and rich, and this is the way to get ground of them" (HW.3.356).

And the character of Carnal-Security is dealt with at great length in The Holy War:

But there was a man in the town of Mansoul, and his name was Mr. Carnal-Security. This man did, after all this mercy bestowed on this corporation, bring the town of Mansoul into great and grievous slavery and bondage He was self-conceited, he feared nothing, he was also a very busy man; nothing of news, nothing of doctrine, nothing of alteration, or talk of alteration, could be at any time be on foot in Mansoul, but be sure Mr. Carnal-Security would be at the head or tail of it; but to be sure he would decline those that he deemed the weakest, and stood always with them, in his way of standing, that he supposed was the strongest side When he saw that some of the men of the town were tickled and taken with his discourse, he maketh it his business; and walking from street to street, house to house, and man to man, he at last brought Mansoul to dance after his pipe, and to grow almost as carnally secure as himself.

(HW.3.324-325)

Carnal-Security, after Diabolus, is chief among the work's villains. Because he leads Mansoul into rebellious complacency of spirit, Emmanuel is grieved and withdraws from Mansoul:

Thus they walked contrary to him, and he again by way of retaliation, walked contrary to them. But alas! By the time they were so hardened in their way, and had so drunk in the doctrine of Mr. Carnal-Security, that the departing of their Prince touched them not, nor was he remembered by them when gone; and so, of consequence, his absence was not condoled by them.

(HW.3.326)

The way in which a believer is intended to deal with sin during the process of sanctification is shown first in the resistance of evil, depicted in the many battles and scurmishes with Diabolus. In Scriptural terms, "Submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you" (Jas. 4:7).

The reader may have felt perplexed at times at the number of trials in The Holy War. These represent part of the sanctification process, the trial of one's sins. One of Emmanuel's first acts after taking control of Mansoul is to command the apprehension, trial, and execution of the leading Diabolian rebels: the Lord Mayors Mr. Incredulity and Mr. Lustings, Mr. Forget-good, the Recorder, as well as the burgesses and aldermen, Lord Will-be-will, aldermen Atheism, Hardheart,

Falsepeace, and burgesses No-truth, Pitiless, Haughty (HW.3.309). Incredulity escapes from the authorities and remains at large. Bunyan is reminding his readers that unbelief, the wilful disobedience of God's commandments (cf. Jude5), is the chief cause of a believer's spiritual problems. Moreover the crucifixions that occur in The Holy War (specifically HW.3.317, 346, 366 respectively), refer to the purging of sin from the believer's life. Bunyan's Scriptural basis for this interpretation is found in such passages as Rom. 6:6, "Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin," and Gal. 5:24, "And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts," as well as Gal. 6:14, "But God forbid that I should glory, save on the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." This detail of the crucifixions, rather than pointing to Bunyan's or the Puritan's rather Roman-like cruelty, is merely a bit of amplification, a sort of allegorical footnote culled from a long tradition of Sunday sermons concerned with "crucifying the Old Man," i.e. with submitting one's will to the wishes of God.

The second aspect of the believer's work in the process of sanctification is faith. Faith, as a process or technique of obedience to God's will, is presented very simply in The Holy War. Generally, references to passages of Scripture which treat of faith are transparently contained in the narrative. Thus, because of such Scriptural exhortations as are found in Rom. 10:17, "So then faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God," and 2 Tim. 2:15, "Study to shew thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth," one finds such passages as, "He bid him also, that he should read in the revelation of mysteries all the days of his life, that he might know how to perform his office aright" (HW. 3. 309). (Here the Lord Understanding is being

directed not to read merely the last book of the Bible but rather to read and reread the whole Bible). As well, in order to promote faith, the Scriptures must be remembered. Behind this concept is a passage such as Ps. 119:11, "Thy word have I hid in my heart, that I might not sin against thee." Compare this passage in The Holy War, "And with that, that saying of their Prince came into their minds, which he had bidden them to do to such as were false prophets that should arise to delude the town of Mansoul" (HW. 3. 329). In other words, one needs to study and memorize Scripture so as to know the appropriate Scriptural course to follow when trouble strikes.

The next aspect of faith, as a weapon against evil, is belief in the promises of God. How this functions with respect to the process of sanctification can be seen in 2 Peter 1:4, "Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises: That by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust." Thus, the Lord Mayor can reply triumphantly to Diabolus, the Accuser:

We have sinned indeed, but that shall be no great help to thee, for our Emmanuel hath said it, and that in great faithfulness: 'And him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.' He hath also told us, O our enemy, that all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to the sons of men. Therefore, we dare not despair, but will look for, wait for, and hope for deliverance still.

(HW. 3. 353)

The final aspect of faith is thus faithfulness. Towards the end of The Holy War (HW. 3.354 ff) Emmanuel systematically rewards and commends several of his

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In little preaching asides such as these, Bunyan's Puritan audience would have appreciated the richness of The Holy War. Of secondary importance would have been Bunyan's colourful way of telling his story, because it would have been considered as merely ornamental or surface detail covering the Scriptural truths hidden within the allegory.

most faithful Mansouliaus. The concept is found throughout Scripture, typified by such passages as Rev. 2:10, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

The third area in the work of the believer in the process of sanctification is prayer. Bunyan was the author of a considerable treatise on the subject, A Discourse Touching Prayer (1663), which begins:

Prayer is an ordinance of God, and that to be used both in public and private; yea, such an ordinance as brings those that have the spirit of supplication into great familiarity with God; and is also so prevalent in action, that it getteth of God both for the person that prayeth, and for them that are prayed for, great things. It is the opener of the heart of God, and a means by which the soul, though empty, is filled. By prayer the Christian can open his heart to God, as to a friend, and obtain fresh testimony of God's friendship to him.

(ADTP. 1. 623)

There are many instances of prayer in The Holy War. Usually, they are formal petitions, very carefully and spiritually drawn up. They are sent to Shaddai or to Emmanuel in times of crisis, and always bring results, although not always at once. Prayer must be correct, that is, drawn up by the Holy Spirit (or Lord Secretary):

Well, said the Lord Secretary, I will draw up a petition for you, and will also set my hand thereto. Then, said they, but when shall we call for it at hands of our Lord? But, he answered, yourselves must be present at the doing of it. Yea, you must put your desires to it. The hand and pen shall be mine, but the ink and paper must be yours, else how can you say it is your petition? nor have I need to perform for myself, because I have not offended.

(HW. 3. 352)

The final area of the work of the believer in the process of sanctification is self-denial. Calvin succinctly describes its nature and function as follows:

Let a man depart from himself in order that he may apply the whole force of his ability in the service of the Lord. I call 'service' not only what lies in obedience to God's Word but what turns the mind of man, empty of its own carnal sense, wholly to the bidding of God's Spirit

From this also follows this second point: that we seek not the things that are ours but those which are of the Lord's will and will serve to advance his glory. This is also evidence of great progress. That, almost forgetful of ourselves, surely subordinating our self-concern, we try faithfully to devote our zeal to God and his commandments. For when Scripture bids us leave off self-concern, it not only erases from our minds the yearning to possess, the desire for power, and the favor of men, but it also uproots ambition and all craving for human glory, and other secret plagues. Accordingly, the Christian must surely be so disposed and minded that he feels within himself it is with God he has to deal throughout his life. In this way, as he will refer all he has to God's decision and judgment, so he will refer his whole intention of mind scrupulously to Him. For he who has learned to look to God in all things that he must do, at the same time avoids all vain thoughts. This, then, is that denial of self which Christ enjoins with such great earnestness upon his disciples at the outset of their service.⁵²

Bunyan has Lucifer observe to the council of Diabolians the result of self-indulgence, on which he hopes they will be able to capitalize:

Now when they begin to grow full, they will forget their misery, and if we shall not affright them, they may happen to fall asleep, and so be got to neglect their town-watch, and their castle-watch, as well as their watch at the gates.

Yea, may we not by this means so cumber Mansoul with abundance, that they shall be forced to make of their castle a warehouse instead of a garrison fortified against us and a receptacle for men of war.

(HW. 3. 356)

Toward the end of The Holy War, Mansoul has put Captain Self-Denial to work capturing the most dangerously elusive of hidden Diabolian spies and agents-provocateurs. "But this brave act of Captain Self-Denial came to the Prince's ears, so he sent for him and made him a Lord in Mansoul (HW. 3. 370).

This brings us to the end of our brief analysis of the Calvinist paradigm of conversion and sanctification as allegorically developed in The Holy War. However, we must not be content to rest with a description of features of the work which merely parallel various aspects of Puritan and Calvinist soteriology. As C.H. Peisker has said:

On a philosophical and theoretical level religious language is interpreted in terms of abstractions and concepts relative to a contemporary world view. But this is merely to translate one set of thought forms from one conceptual scheme into those of another. In doing so, care must be taken to avoid losing the original context of the picture, and also the challenge which was an essential feature of the language.

Bunyan, in the soteriological model he makes use of on this level of his allegory, to paraphrase Hrat Husain, combines the visionary powers of mystic and poet so as to employ his art "to unveil Reality."⁵⁴ His goal is to raise to high levels of emotion and feelings the minds of his audience so that they will be able to understand the significance of their experience.⁵⁵

One must remember that one's focus ought to be on the disclosure behind both the theological model and Bunyan's allegorical model. The purpose of both enables the opening of an "inroad into what the disclosure discloses," to borrow Ian T. Ramsey's terminology regarding religious models and meanings. As he observes:

Such an understanding is given by the model because it stands on the one hand in the context of the events, the phenomena, or the language, for which it provides an elucidation and on the other hand, stands in the context of its verification or empirical fit From this tangential meeting between contexts, and as currency for the disclosure which that meeting evokes,

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C.H. Peisker, "Parable, Allegory, Proverb"; in The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, Colin Brown ed., 3 vols. Translated, with additions and revisions, from the German, Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament, Lothar Coenen, Erich Bayreuther, and Hans Biefenhard, eds. (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1976), vol.2, 243.

54

Hrat Husain, The Mystical Element in the Metaphysical Poets of the Seventeenth Century (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1948), 34.

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Ibid, 33.

disclosure is then developed metaphorically when the second language infiltrates into the first in the most selective and subtle way.⁵⁶

In this chapter we have carefully looked at The Holy War in relation to its theological parallel, the Calvinist paradigm of conversion and sanctification. Viewed from this angle, Bunyan's allegory maps or measures itself against the ideal against which Puritans were to measure their own spiritual progress. As The Holy War is not a theological summa like Calvin's Institutes or even a formal work like many of Bunyan's devotional treatises on points of doctrine, it does not propose any new or different alternatives to the life-mould considered as axiomatic by the majority of his intended audience. Rather, it amplifies and illustrates the doctrines contained in the Calvinist paradigm of conversion and sanctification, finding appropriate analogies in contemporary terms drawn from seventeenth-century town life for the various stages in the Puritan life-map. Just as a preacher illustrates and amplifies his Scriptural text never dreaming of adding any doctrinal ideas of his own to it, so The Holy War aims only at vivifying the doctrines of the Puritan summata upon which the allegory is built. While this may seem algebraic to a modern reader, one ought to recall that part of the aesthetic enjoyment which a Puritan reader would experience in reading Bunyan's allegory would come from unearthing and recognizing Bunyan's allusions to the various stages in the paradigm. The effect is similar to recognizing quotations of scraps of folk tunes in a musical score. A parallel to this way of reading is the typological approach to studying the Bible, perhaps the Puritan's favourite method, in which the Old Testament is deciphered as though it were merely an allegory of the New.

Part of the task of the preacher or evangelistic writer was to guide the eyes of his audience to enable them to see the events of their lives and the phenomena of their world in terms of the Scriptural and Calvinist models. As Calvin's Institutes bear witness, rhetoric played an important role in the effectiveness of this task, but the telling was never valued for itself; it was to function toward provoking a recognition of the truth underlying the telling. The Puritan felt spiritually reassured by the action of uncovering parallels and unraveling correspondences.

CHAPTER IV

MAN AS MICROCOSM : THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION

In the opening lines of his verse preface to The Holy War, Bunyan introduces his narrator as a historian:

'Tis strange to me, that they that love to tell
 Things done of old, yea, and that do excel
 Their equals in historiology,
 Speak not of Mansoul's wars, but let them lie
 Dead, like old fables, or such worthless things,
 That to the reader no advantage brings:
When men, let them make what they will their own,
Till they know this, are to themselves unknown.

(HW.3.253 lines 1-8; author's italics)

What is both challenging and intriguing about the preface is the emphasis on The Holy War's being an eye-witness account. Repeatedly, one encounters the refrains, "I saw" and "I heard." Its effect is somewhat similar both in urgency and immediacy to the opening verses of the First Letter of John:

That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life; (for the life was manifested and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested to us;) That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.

(1 Jn.1:1-3.)

The effect of both passages is to suggest that the reader is being linked up in the most direct and pure manner to the historical moments of "revelation." What is Bunyan's purpose? Is he providing spiritual qualifications for his narrator? Is The Holy War to be read as a visionary "prophetic book?" Or does "seeing" merely imply insight into deeper meanings than those which lie on the surface of narrative

events? In what way does Bunyan intend The Holy War to be read as history (not only history but truer history - taking into account the dialectic of the prefatory poem just cited)?

A clue to the solution of this problem occurs toward the end of The Holy War, where Bunyan introduces a sinister people called Bloodmen:

The Bloodmen are a people that have their name derived from the malignity of their nature, and from the fury that is in them to execute it upon the town of Mansoul; their land lieth under the Dog-star and by that they are governed as to their intellectuals.

The name of their country is the Province of Loath-good, the remote parts of it are far distant from the Land of Doubting, yet they do both but and bound upon the Hill called Hell-gate-hill. These people are always in league with the Doubters, for they jointly do make question of the faith and fidelity of the men of Mansoul, and so are both alike qualified for the service of their prince.

(HW.3.262)

What is Bunyan hinting at here? Certainly, in identifying them as being persecutors whose characters are derived from Foxe's Martyrs,¹ George Offor has noted, but has shed little light on, what from the viewpoints of both plot and psychology seems at first patently obscure. However, once one looks at the names of the captains of the Bloodmen taken as a group, much of the obscurity disappears. Captains Cain, Nimrod, Ishmael, Esau, Saul, Absalom, Judas, and Pope: note how the names form a progression. Clearly, then, Bunyan is referring to humanity's history. Psychology is at most a secondary implication - Or is it?

Why this particular set of names? Apparently, Bunyan's intention in choosing these names is to suggest a panorama of the negative consequences of what Fundamentalist theologians call the Biblical Dispensations that mark periods of history: Innocence, Conscience, Human Government, Promise, Law, Grace,

¹ George Offor, HW. 3.264, n.1.

Tribulation, and the Kingdom.² While this can be shown to be one of Bunyan's most direct allusions to Scriptural history, it is by no means unique. For this reason, one of the aims of this chapter is to consider to what extent The Holy War is to be read as a "parable" of the history of mankind. Having advanced Dispensation as a probable hypothesis, one will then proceed to its testing. For some readers of The Holy War one must allow it will at first be difficult to follow the parallels of the dispensations, which at first glance might seem to be a historicizing of what for Bunyan could rather be taken to be a simultaneity. Yet this is an understandable reaction, for periodicity in The Holy War is a problem, because the work seems in places to be an allegory of the human soul.

In Scriptural terms, the concept "dispensation" (Gr. oikonomia - 1 Cor.9:17; Eph.1:10;3:2; Col.1:25), F.J. Dake states, "means an administration, a stewardship, dispensation, or guardianship. It refers to a moral or probationary period in angelic or human history, during which time God deals with angels, or men, according to a particular test or responsibility, under which each is supposed to remain true to his trust of administering affairs for God under this direction."³

However, in many particulars, Bunyan's analysis of human history parallels the system which modern theologians call "Salvation History" (Heilsgeschichte). But, while the latter theological system is a useful source of critical tools, one must be cautious in equating Bunyan's system with the modern one. Frequently, especially in its interpretation of prophecy and its enthusiasm for all-inclusive

² J. Edwin Hartill, Principles of Biblical Hermeneutics (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1947), 13-17.

³ Finis Jennings Dake, ed. Dake's Annotated Reference Bible (Lawrenceville, Georgia: Dake Bible Sales, 1962) OT, 62-63.

typology, the Biblical interpretation of seventeenth-century evangelical Protestants like Bunyan differs considerably even from that of their modern counterparts, certain twentieth century "Fundamentalist" thinkers. In a sense, the problem is one of theological dialects. Then there is R.G. Collingwood's warning to bear in mind as one begins:

The historian, investigating any event in the past, makes a distinction between what may be called the outside and the inside of an event. By the outside of an event I mean everything belonging to it which can be described in terms of bodies and their movements By the inside of the event I mean that in it which can only be described in terms of thought For history, the object to be discovered is not the mere event, but the thought expressed in it.

To discover that thought is already to understand it.⁴

In taking up this challenge, the investigation which follows will examine Bunyan's treatment of history in The Holy War in the following manner: First it will be useful to situate the text within its twin contexts of seventeenth-century historiography and interpretation of Scriptural history. Next, by way of illustration of how Bunyan interpreted history in the light of Scripture, a passage of his Scriptural exegesis will be looked at carefully. After that, it will be fruitful to outline several concepts from the discipline of Salvation History relevant to our analysis of The Holy War. A very detailed study of the dispensational parallels in the work will then follow. Finally, a brief summary of the chief conclusions of the investigation will be given. If this seems like a most elaborate route by which to arrive at this destination, it is because, at the distance in time of three centuries,

⁴ R. G. Collingwood, "Human Nature and Human History." in Ronald H. Nash, ed., Ideas of History, 2 vols. Vol 2. The Critical Philosophy of History (New York: Dutton, 1969), 39-40.

a twentieth-century reader must take care to divest himself of an alien world-view, if he is to comprehend the allegory as Bunyan might have taken for granted that it would be understood.

To begin, then: how was history meaningful to seventeenth-century Puritans?

The Scriptural concept of dispensations played an important part in their thinking. To Puritans, God's hand was as clearly visible in life's events as in the events narrated in Scripture. Oliver Cromwell, for instance, was typical of his age in thinking of eventful occurrences as "dispensations,"⁵ for the events of the present, being part of humanity's history, too, were seen as continuous with history as depicted in Scripture. (The term "dispensation," which appears in the annotated Bibles of Fundamentalists Scofield and Dake, has been chosen as the modern word closest to what Bunyan probably meant. Of course, there is a vast variety of attempts from the Fathers on to divide the periods of Biblical history. The question is what periods actually mattered in The Holy War, and what sort of thinker they may have come from). John Miller points out that both present events and Biblical predictions "recorded the working out of God's will in the world. Thus the prophecies of the Bible, especially those of the Book of Revelation, could be used to explain the past and foretell the future."⁶ History, past, present, and future, in Christopher Hill's apt phrase, was "The Story of God in action."⁷

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E. Harris Harbison, Christianity and History (Princeton; N.J: Princeton University Press, 1964), 287.

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John Miller, Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 72.

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Christopher Hill, God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution (London: Wesdenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), 24.

Puritans accepted Luther's conception of history as God's theatre or His jousting place, taking "theatre" in its most didactic sense, as Calvin had advised. E. Harris Harbison quotes Calvin as saying, "because the span of our lives is short, God has set us in a theatre with all history spread before us that we may learn and profit by what we see, that is, by the evidence of God's actions in history."⁸ An instance of this attitude occurs in the final pairs of books of Paradise Lost, where Michael, in veiled terms,⁹ explains the future course of human history to Adam.¹⁰

The Holy War was composed in the latter part of the seventeenth century, exactly during the period that Arnold J. Toynbee believed to be the crucial turning point in the history of Western Christendom,¹¹ the chief cause for this being the growing tension at this time between the forces of tradition and change. From a twentieth century vantage point, this seems child's play to understand. But, says John Miller, few Puritans of this period had the ability to "recognize that times and situations were changing. They saw history not as a continuous progressing but as a cyclical one; the battles of the past had, in essence, to be fought over again."¹² For, in the tradition popularized by Augustine, they saw

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Harbison, 2

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See Merritt Y. Hughes, ed., John Milton's Paradise Lost (New York: Odyssey, 1962), xiii-xiv

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Paradise Lost XI, 356ff.

¹¹
Arnold J. Toynbee, An Historian's Approach to Religion (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 188.

¹²
Miller, 274.

history as "periodized into meaningful stages,"¹³ or, in Calvinist terms, as acts and scenes in the cosmic historical drama. It would nevertheless appear, at the end of the seventeenth century, that many conservative Puritans such as Bunyan were struggling to interpret strangely new forces of change.¹⁴ In this they felt hampered by their only analytical tools, in Harbison's opinion inherited from the "medieval scholastics," proverbial scapegoats for whom he believes "History had little of any real interest, for . . . they were interested in being, not in becoming." To late Puritans, as to their supposed forebears, "events were unimportant except as symbols or allegories of eternal truths."¹⁵ On the one hand, says Samuel Eliot Morrison, "the Puritans, like the Jews, regarded this earth and humanity as a divine enterprise, the management of which was God's major interest. Each individual was a necessary item in a significant and divinely ordered cosmos."¹⁶ On the other hand, according to Christopher Hill, "One achievement of this period is its insights into the historical process itself, an "awareness of great forces at work in society, "whether in Hobbes' Behemoth, Marvell's Horatian Ode, Harrington's Oceana, or Winstanley's Writings."¹⁷ The world-view which is reflected in a work such as The

¹³ Harbison, 272.

¹⁴ Collingwood, 37.

¹⁵ Harbison, 272.

¹⁶ Samuel Eliot Morrison, "Puritanism and the Life of the Mind," in David D. Hall, ed., Puritanism in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), 18.

¹⁷ Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, 272.

Holy War appears to have been founded somewhat uneasily upon conflicting concepts of tradition and change.

On one level, the late seventeenth-century Puritans' world-view was more elaborately typological than the modern student of history can perhaps imagine,¹⁸ with the Puritans' view of themselves and their history being rigidly in terms of a reenactment, even as a fulfilment, of Israel's story.¹⁹ On another level, as David C. Douglas explains, "the conscious efforts of the scholars of this period to impart a sense of continuity to a people in the throes of change,"²⁰ required the appending of traditional interpretations, for, until Edward Hyde First Earl of Clarendon's masterwork was composed, England had lacked truly interpretative historians, having to make do with mere chroniclers. Holinshed, for instance, interprets constantly, but with moral rather than political interests. Contrast the statecraft in The Holy War with that in More's Utopia, where the state is set up once and for all without further variation.²¹

With Clarendon's History, some historians hesitatingly suggest that God came increasingly to be viewed as the Author of change, rather than merely as the

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Joseph A. Galdron, Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975), 17.

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Lewalski, 130.

20

David C. Douglas, English Scholars (1660-1730) (London: Eyre and Spottiswode, 1951), 14.

21

David Nicol Smith, Characters From The Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century with an Essay on the Character and Historical Notes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1920), xi.

Creator of events. In Christopher Hill's paraphrase of the thinking of the time, "God makes the change and we cooperate; such is the historical process."²²

A note of caution is advisable, one feels. For Clarendon, like Bunyan, saw this divinely originated change "as humanly mediated; history was a struggle of personalities."²³ While, as Hugh Trevor-Roper points out, "The revolution, in (Clarendon's) view, was essentially political, . . . developed out of small mistakes, which in turn were compounded by human weakness and error,"²⁴ yet Clarendon analyses it in the language and logic of the sermon. Consider the following phrases taken from the opening paragraphs of The History of the Rebellion and Civil War in England: "The prosperous wickedness of these times . . . universal apostasy . . . the hand and judgment of God will be very visible . . . league of mischief . . . actions, introducing Atheism and dissolving all the elements of Christian Religion . . . The immediate finger and wrath of God . . . The sudden growth of wickedness."²⁵ As another example of the use of pulpit concepts in historical analysis, consider Edward Ludlow's elaborate condemnation of Charles II as a treacherous papist, a portrait remarkably similar in tone to Bunyan's portrait of Diabolus in The Holy

²² Hill, God's Englishman, 244. Cf. Calvin, Inst. 3.7.10, 700-1.

²³ Smith. xxi.

²⁴ Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Introduction," in G. Huehns, ed., Clarendon: Selections from the History of the Rebellion and the Life by Himself (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), xi.

²⁵ Edward Hyde, First Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England Begun in the Year 1641, W. Dunn Macray, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1888), vol. 1, 2.

War. ²⁶

However, this way of thinking was steadily being eroded. For instance, while building upon Scriptural premises, in the late seventeenth century, English scholars began to turn as well to the accumulated experience of their nation's past for an invaluable asset to understanding contemporary events. ²⁷ "During an era tense with revolution," David C. Douglas has observed, "they proclaimed their lively conviction that truth is the daughter of time . . . They went to the past for their arguments and it was from historical doctrine that they derived the impulse that ruled their lives."²⁸

Obviously, great potential for the justification for one's political views existed in the potent historical myths of the Norman yoke and of papal Antichrist's Kingdom. As early as John Bale's King John there were attempts to devise a mythological history of protestantism in England. The New England Puritans, too, used Biblical imagery and typology to comfort themselves, for, said Mason I. Lawrence, "it was also a rich source for affirming the Divine role of New England in the fulfillment of God's universal plan."²⁹ As always, history had its rhetorical usefulness. Puritans eagerly interpreted auspicious contemporary

²⁶ Edward Ludlow, Memoirs, 2 vols. (Berne, 1698), vol. 1, 41.

²⁷ Miller, 80.

²⁸ Douglas, 15.

²⁹ Mason I. Lawrence, ed., "Introduction" to Samuel Mather, The Figures or Types of the Old Testament, v.

events. James A. Leverner has pointed out that, "Protestant theology . . . with its great emphasis on the individual's ability to discern God's will in the events of history and of daily life, took special interest in unravelling the theological ramifications of what were termed 'special' or 'illustrious providences.'" ³⁰ In fact, using the techniques of typological exegesis, inherited from sermons and Biblical commentaries, Puritans developed the habit of reading life in allegorical terms. ³¹

No one felt that there was anything arbitrary in this. In the seventeenth century, Mario Praz has written, it was a common-place that "full of wit was the language of God."³² However, the Puritan was well aware that danger lurked in an undisciplined use of this concept. John M. Steadman has written, "The notion of the world as metaphor could cast a reflected glory on mere fortuitous metaphors. The theory of universal analogies could lend apparent probability to the most outrageous conceits, serving (like . . . parodistic exploitations of scholastic logic) both as an instrument of persuasion and as a kind of plaything, to be bandied about

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James A. Leverner, ed., Increase Mather, An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences (1684; rpt. New York: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1977), vii-viii.

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Bruce King, Marvell's Allegorical Poetry (New York and Cambridge: Oleander, 1977), 12.

³²

Mario Praz, The Flaming Heart: Essays on Crashaw, Machiavelli and Other Studies in the Relations between Italian and English Literature from Chaucer to T.S. Eliot (New York: W.W. Norton, 1958), 206.

in a game of ironic wit."³³ But for the Puritan, by measuring such perceptions by the Word of God, using the methods of sermon and exempla, the techniques of life-allegoresis became strategies in deadly earnest for knowing God's will,³⁴ and thus served as a form of worship.

To the twentieth-century mind it is remarkable that the future held little mystery to Bunyan and his contemporaries. "A strong millenarian impulse," Lewalski has written, "led them to view their own contemporary history as the last age spoken of in the millenarian prophecies."³⁵ Ironically, as William M. Lamont has observed, scholars are only now slowly "coming to realize how widely eschatological preconceptions pervaded English intellectual life in the seventeenth century,"³⁶ a preoccupation which "meant not alienation from the spirit of the age but a total involvement with it."³⁷

Of importance was their hunger for both order and stability. Just as they trusted in the power of the Gospel to re-order their lives, so the Puritans awaited the visible return of Christ, for "Christ's Lordship consists in restoring the order of creation."³⁸

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John M. Steadman, Nature into Myth: Medieval and Renaissance Moral Symbols (Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press, 1979), 247.

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Cf. Paul in Col. 1:9b-14.

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Lewalski, 130.

36

William M. Lamont, Godly Rule: Politics and Religion (1603-60) (London: Macmillan, 1969), 8.

37

Ibid, 13.

38

Harbison, 280.

The effects of revolution had been bitter, as Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, in the opening of his History, was quick to point out: "And though the war be over long ago, yet . . . they have left among us so many seeds of lasting feuds and animosities, which upon every turn are apt to ferment and to break out anew."³⁹ Interestingly, by the time that The Holy War was written, "The post-Restoration passivity of most non-conformists," Christopher Hill notes, "was matched by a unanimity in deploring revolution, to which ex-revolutionaries contributed loudly."⁴⁰ The future offered hope of comfort and restitution. The Puritans searched the Scriptures for adequate answers "why the faithful were chastised and why harsh judgments were a necessary prelude to any final peace," discovering that "the pattern of redemption was uniform, so the contemporary church would be delivered from the mystical Babylon just as surely as Israel had been delivered from the original one."⁴¹ In this way, too, the Puritans were able to conceive of the central place of England in God's plan for the world, for, as B.S. Capp has written, "The concept of England as a chosen nation enabled the fusion of national and apocalyptic enthusiasm."⁴²

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Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, History of His Own Time: From the Restoration of Charles II, to the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht, in the Reign of Queen Anne (London: William Smith, 1883), 1.

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Hill, God's Englishman, 249.

41

James West Davidson, The Logic Of Millennial Thought (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977), 179, 187.

42

B.S. Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth Century English Millenarianism (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 228; cf. J. Miller, 72-73.

A good example of Bunyan's reading of history both in Scriptural terms and as prophetic of past, present, and future events occurs near the beginning of his early treatise The Holy City or The New Jerusalem (1665), which is a detailed phrase by phrase allegoresis of the vision of the Holy City described in Rev. 21:10-27; 22:1-4. As with all of his treatises, this work is cast in the form of a vastly extended sermon. In the treatise, Bunyan compares himself to the prophet and evangelist, John. He draws a parallel between John's mind being supernaturally "spiritualized," or enlightened, while composing the Book of Revelation on the Island of Patmos: "When God calls a man to this or to that work for him, he first fits him with a suitable spirit" (HC.3.400), and the fact that God provided John Bunyan with a complete analysis in an instant of visionary intensity of the meaning of this passage of Scripture (HC.3.397-98). Bunyan's point is to show that like John of Patmos, he has been granted a prophet's supernatural qualifications concerning the interpretation of the divine written message. "Whence observe also," Bunyan adds, emphasizing a writer's need of such spiritual qualifications, "he is the man that is most like to know most of God, that is oftenest in private with him" (HC.3.400).

Note how Bunyan goes about the task of Scriptural exegesis. He understands "the holy Jerusalem" of Rev. 21:10 to mean the Church: "Jerusalem, in the language of the Scripture, is to be acknowledged for the church and spouse of the Lord Jesus; and is to be considered either generally or more particularly" (HC.3.401). In deciphering this passage, first he takes the general interpretation that the city is (a) "the whole family in heaven and earth;" (b) those "converted from Satan to God," i.e.: "the general assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven." Next he considers the "particular interpretation:" "But

again, as Jerusalem is thus generally to be understood more particularly: 1. Either as she relates to her first and purest state; or 2. As she relates to her declined and captivated state; or 3. With reference to her being recovered again from her apostatized and captivated condition." The reference here is to the Old Testament captivity of Judah in Babylon,⁴³ rather than to the many times Jerusalem was captured and pillaged. The next step is for Bunyan to point out the correspondence between the Holy City and the New Testament Church, a parallel not completely to be fulfilled until the advent of what he terms "our gospel Jerusalem" (HC.3.401). In the New Testament parallel, "Her first state was in the days of Christ and the apostles." The second state occurred during the gradual take-over by Rome of the people of God: "Her second state is in the days of antichrist, and answereth to the carrying away of the Jew from their city into Babylon," (in traditional Puritan Biblical exegesis, Babylon is usually equated with Rome, the New Babylon of Revelation, and Antichrist with the Pope or the Papacy as an institution - this was a commonplace in Bunyan's time⁴⁴). Then, Bunyan points out, answering to the Jews' "return from captivity, and rebuilding their city and walls again," one sees "the church, the gospel church, returning out of her long and antichristian captivity" (HC.3.401).

What this appears to mean in "modern terms" is that this aspect of the Holy City is a composite of the Church of the Reformation and of the Puritan non-conformists emerging from their "captivity" by the bishops of the "antichristian"

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Cf. Isa. 39:6; Jer. 13:19; 20:4; 25:2-11; 32:28, etc. 2Ki. 24:11-16, 25; 2 Chr. 36; Jer. 52:29-30; Ezr. 2,3,8. Cf. also Deut. 30:3-5; Jer. 29:14; Ezek. 11:17; 37:21.

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Christopher Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth Century England, 5.

Anglican state church. There is also a possible reference here to a national reprieve from political oppression.⁴⁵ As justification for proposing this "gospel church" as the deepest meaning of the Holy City, Bunyan provides us with three reasons: "First, she is here called a city, the very name that our primitive church went under," (HC.3.401, a very strained reference to "fellow-citizens" in Eph. 11:19); Second, she is shown "prepared as a bride and adorned for her husband" in contrast to Old Testament passages such as Isa. 5:6; 43:22; 32:13-14, to prove that "Wherefore this city is nothing else but the church returned out of captivity from under the reign of antichrist" (HC.3.402). Passing on to the third reason, Bunyan writes, "We find no city to answer that which was built after the Jews' return from captivity but this; for this, and only this, is the city that you find in this prophecy that is nominated as the antitype of that second of the Jews; wherefore John hath no relation of her while towards the doom of antichrist, and no description of her in particular until antichrist is utterly overthrown" (HC.3.402).

How ironical that word "utterly" sounds in the light of the political events of Bunyan's later days! Note what Bunyan emphasizes in the next section of the exegesis. He is concerned with providing four explanations for the church being called a city in this passage. All of these speak in glowing terms of the church "at that day." The section ends with a description of the establishment of the millennial kingdom of Christ "at which day he will not only set up his kingdom in the midst of their kingdoms, as he doth now, but will set it up even upon the top of their kingdoms; at which day there will not be a nation in the world but must bend to Jerusalem or perish" (HC.3.403).

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Ibid, 40, 5.

Now, in "spiritualized" terms in this pasage from Bunyan's allegory, a number of different time periods are juxtaposed: those of the Jerusalems of both the Old and New Testaments, Israel and the Church, the New Testament Church, the Early Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Reformed Church, the contemporary situation of the Church in England, and the future perfection of the Church on earth under the direct ruling presence of Jesus Christ. Far from being merely a jumble of times, the exegesis enables the reader to transcend himself to an awareness of his position in eternity. One marvels at the power and variety of allegory to coordinate historical facts. It will be shown presently that this is what Bunyan was doing in The Holy War.

Bunyan's understanding of the Scriptural sense of history, quite remarkable both in its range and profundity, has several parallels in the direction of thought which many theologians and historians have been following since the 1950s regarding "the Christian understanding of history." For this reason, as well as to illuminate the detailed analysis of the historical stratum of The Holy War, it will be fruitful to outline some of the basic concepts of the theology of history known as Salvation History (Heilsgeschichte).

A useful place to begin is the relationship between God and history. In stressing God's absolute priority and rule over the events of history, the New Testament insists upon the purpose of God's authorship of history - His glorification.⁴⁶ God is shown in Scripture revealing Himself through events. That He reveals Himself through His Word is by no means a contradiction of this,

⁴⁶ James M. Connolly, Human History and the Word of God: The Christian Meaning of History in Contemporary Thought (New York: Macmillan and London: Collier - Macmillan, 1965), 98.

however, for the context of a divine message very often turns out to be an interpretation of historical episodes. Revelation, we are even told by some historians, is given in history, not in doctrinal propositions.⁴⁷ Indeed, as literary historian C.A. Patrides has observed, the extensive use of typology in the New Testament had the purpose of confirming that historical events are non-recurring and irreversible, that they imply an underlying plan, and that they are Christocentrically interrelated.⁴⁸ Moreover, as the Puritans were well aware, studying Scriptural history allows one to participate in the dialogue between God and His people, thus suggesting a certain manner of observing the world, of exercising an action upon it.⁴⁹

Indeed, the long term effect of such study of Scriptural history is a growing awareness of Providence in relation to human actions, sufferings, and attitudes, illuminated through cumulative Scriptural experience. However, while God reveals Himself through acts of Providence, Providence is a dimension accessible only to minds capable of a special, singular type of perception. As Colin Brown explains, "A religious person might see in a miracle or event the work of providence,

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J.V. Langmead Casserly, Toward a Theology of History (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), 4-5.

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C.A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God: The Literary Form of the Christian View of History (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 7.

49

Évode Beaucamp, The Bible and the Universe: Israel and the Theology of History (London: Buns and Oates, 1963), 170.

because he sees it in the framework of belief. An unbeliever might put it down to extraordinary luck, because he is inclined to see things in the framework of chance or superstition."⁵⁰

The argument of this study, therefore, is that Bunyan's method is to trace the relation of items on various "levels" (that is his framework of believing) for example, in the twin themes of The Holy War of man seen as both microcosm and macrocosm. This is a Puritan attempt to make man's life a shadow of the Scriptures, echoing the Bible's very outline in thought, word, and gesture. The multilevelled structure of The Holy War makes the metaphor of history clearly and effectively visible, for the ambivalence of the psychological and the historical allegoresis is part of the dynamic of the work. In other words, historical action can be read in terms of Biblical action, while individual action can be read in terms of Biblical historical action. Consequently, through the mediation of Biblical heightening, individual action is exemplary in the ongoing course of human history, though unlike works of missionary charity; for instance, individual action might not "speak" to anyone to whom Biblical narrative had not previously spoken. The direction of analysis is constantly to and from the Bible, and that of the Bible is to and from the more mysterious Word of God for which, however, the Bible is the only accessible key (as Augustine was also puzzled to discover).

However, one must bear in mind, this constant movement to and from the Word is radiated from the Logos. For, in Scripture, Christ is revealed as the

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Colin Brown, "History and the Believer," in History, Criticism and Faith: Four Exploratory Studies, ed. Colin Brown (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1976), 137.

central point in history, the hinge upon which all events turn.⁵¹ Indeed, the "Christ-event" is unique among historical facts. As Johannes B. Metz has pointed out, it is of decisive importance for the reality of history itself. "He does not merely reign over history, by appearing in it (beside other historical phenomena) and setting up a universal kingdom in it (beside other kingdoms), but He does not simply claim it retrospectively, for it belongs to him from the beginning, inasmuch as he founded it as genuine history, and the presence of his kingdom in history, the Church, is the symbolical re-presentation of this eschatological founding of history."⁵²

One ought also to consider that by itself history is necessarily incomplete. "The recognition of the incompleteness of history," Steven A. Barney has suggested, "lays a moral burden upon the reader to bring about a final revelation within himself."⁵³ The Calvinist and Fundamentalist theologian would see this as necessary self-transcendence, a dreadful and perplexing predicament, in which, according to Casserly, a person "experiences himself in history, a fallen being in a fallen history, and yet in transcending this situation he knows and declares himself to exist both for God and for eternity. The world in which he is immanent is engaged in fighting a rebellious war against the world which he claims and inhabits

⁵¹ C.R. North, "History," ID, vol. 2, 610.

⁵² Johannes B. Metz, Theology of the World, William Glen-Doepel, trans. (New York: Seabury, 1969), 23; author's italics.

⁵³ Stephen A. Barney, Allegories of History, Allegories of Love (Hamden, Conn: Archon, 1979), 72,60.

in virtue of his transcendence. Transcendent man is identical with his immanent self and yet at the same time he is constrained to repudiate his immanent self. He affirms at one moment and then judges himself at the next."⁵⁴

This brings us to the end of the introductory section of this preliminary discussion of the historiological stratum of The Holy War. In it, the choice of contrasting views of these modern theologians has helped to enable the reader to enter into the spirit of continuing theological issues about which Bunyan and his contemporaries also felt very strongly. So, having investigated the historical and theological backgrounds of Puritan attitudes toward man, history, God, and the Bible, it is now possible to examine how The Holy War on one stratum of its allegory depicts history dispensationally. The preceding background information ought to make it easier to understand the thought behind Bunyan's presentation of history under the guise of allegory. The purpose in what follows is to read The Holy War much as Bunyan would have "opened" a passage of Scripture: Compare the way at the beginning of The Holy City or The New Jerusalem he had set forth his technique of interpretation:

In my dealing with this mystery, I shall not meddle where I see nothing, neither shall I hide from you that which at present I conceive to be wrapt up therein; only you must not from me look for much enlargement, though I shall endeavour to speak as much in a few words, as my understanding and capacity will enable me, through the help of Christ.

(HC.3.400)

Like Paradise Lost, The Holy War begins by referring to "the Dispensation of Angels" of the ante-diluvian age in the Scriptural narrative. It is appropriate for a universal history to begin with the founding of the quarrel (and Bunyan like an

historian but unlike an epic poet begins at the beginning - although he doesn't quite write to the end). Apparently, since the Bible provides scanty information, comparatively speaking, on this period, Bunyan chooses to introduce Diabolus and his Diabolians merely as giants and churls plucked from a fairy tale,⁵⁵ although he is possibly portraying them as such because of the Biblical giants, the nephilim of Gen. 6:4; Num. 13:13, or the rephaim who, unlike ordinary men, will not be resurrected (Isa. 26:14; cf. Jn. 5:28-29).⁵⁶ As is explained more fully in the chapter on Diabolus, Bunyan can not simply describe angels in the way he wishes because he is telling a story. His presentation in all aspects must be demonstrably Scriptural, else his audience will not trust the spiritual validity of his work. Provided that he satisfies their expectations, he may then take liberties in such matters as style and language. In this case, and possibly also because he has been reading Milton, Bunyan's language is that of the teller of fireside tales: "Well, upon a time there was one Diabolus, a mighty giant, made an assault upon the famous town of Mansoul, to take it, and make it his own habitation." (HW.3.253)

In referring to the Dispensation of Angels, Bunyan's only allusion to the Scriptural account is to the relation of Lucifer's wilful sin and consequent doom in Isaiah 14:12-17. Bunyan paraphrases this passage in a colloquially chatty manner,⁵⁷ which produces an effect of comical banality (HW.3.256-57). For Diabolus, unlike

⁵⁵ Cf. Beatrice White, "Cain's Kin," in Newall, 190.

⁵⁶ Dake, OT., 62.

⁵⁷ The gossip tone reinforces the sense of The Holy War's being a prophetic eye-witness account, however.

Milton's Satan, never appears as a fallen prince of heaven. Bunyan's devil, while terrible in his criminality, possesses an upstart's absurdity in aspiring to rise above his station in life.

Possibly Bunyan minimized the dispensational aspect of Diabolus' fallenness so as not to detract from the effect of his treatment of the nature of evil, achieved in other terms (See chapter 2).

Perhaps unfairly, one senses that references to the Dispensation of the Fallen Angels are included in the story only for the sake of completeness and narrative symmetry. This fact is useful in pointing out the differences in modern and Puritan aesthetics. To the modern critic, the allusions are unnecessary, because his concerns are primarily literary. However, to the Puritan reader whom Bunyan was addressing through The Holy War, these allusions were spiritually more important. Scriptural completeness was valued more than literary decoration, although the latter was considered important. Still, in The Holy War, Bunyan is most concerned with God's dispensations concerning mankind. The first dispensation to receive full treatment in The Holy War is that of Innocence. In Scripture, this dispensation extends in time from man's creation to his fall (Gen. 1:26 - 2:23). In strict fidelity to the Scriptural account, The Holy War shows all going well for the Mansoulans at first. Shaddai has installed them in an urban paradise "built . . . for his own delight, . . . the mirror and glory of all that he made, even the top-piece, beyond anything else that he did in that country" (HW.3.255). Genesis 1:28, "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it" in The Holy War becomes, "And as he made it goodly to behold, so also mighty to have dominion over all the country round about. Yea, all was commanded to acknowledge Mansoul for their metropolitan, all was enjoined to

do homage to it. Aye, the town itself had positive commission and power from her King to demand service of all, and also to subdue any that any ways denied to do it" (HW.3.255).

Each dispensation concerns God's testing of mankind.⁵⁸ Instead of the test (in Gen. 2:16-17; 3:6) of the forbidden tree of the knowledge of good and evil, in The Holy War Shaddai tests the Mansoulans by promising to keep them safe as long as they remain exclusively loyal to him (HW.3.255). This is a close parallel of the meaning of the test in Genesis:

There was not a rascal, rogue, or traitorous person then within its walls. They were all true men and fast joined together; and this, you know, is a great matter. And to all these, it was always - so long as it had the goodness to keep true to Shaddai the king - his countenance, his protection, and it was his delight, etc.

(HW.3.256)

Shaddai is concerned to see whether Mansoul will remain loyal to him and innocent under the most favorable conditions. Bunyan stresses the irony that innocence and loyalty pose no problems, providing that Mansoul experiences no temptation.

Needless to say, Diabolus is not long in arriving, complete with invisible army. As has previously been noted, he enters by gaining access to Eargate (HW.3.255), paralleling the Serpent's gaining access to the ear of Eve (Gen. 3:1). Correspondences are more extensive than this, however. Thus, during the speech of temptation given by Diabolus to gain entrance to Mansoul, one of the Diabolians, "Tisiphone, shot at Captain Resistance, where he stood on the gate, and mortally wounded him in the head; so that he, to the amazement of Diabolus, fell down dead quite over the wall" (HW.3.259). Bunyan's Puritan readers would have anticipated this occurrence because of Paul's words in Rom. 5:12, "Wherefore, as by one man

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Dake, OT, p. 59, col. 1, n. 2.

sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned."⁵⁹ Even Diabolus expresses surprise because he has never experienced the sight of death before, since it has not been in existence.

Note how Bunyan enlarges upon Gen. 3:6, Eve's eating of the fruit, in psychological terms:

What do the rest of the townfolk, but as men that had found a fool's paradise, they presently, as afore was hinted, fall to prove the truth of the giant's words; and first they did as Illpause had taught them, they looked, they considered, they were taken with the forbidden fruit, they took thereof, and did eat; and having eaten, they became immediately drunken therewith; so they opened the gates both Eargate and Eyegate and let in Diabolus with all his bands, quite forgetting their good Shaddai, his law, and the judgment that he had annexed with solemn threatening to the breach thereof.

(HW.3.260)

Illpause is an orator rather than a preacher. He persuades others by artfully using words to move them. The true minister of God, on the other hand, was empowered to move men by the powerful anointing of the message of his plain words by the Holy Spirit. Illpause is the false teacher, the false prophet about whom Scripture warns, a minister from a rival denomination, or perhaps from the state Church. In this passage Mansoul has succumbed to the honeyed lies of man-made, as opposed to Biblical, theology, as Bunyan indicates by his satirical pun on "fall," alluding to his lifelong hostility to the tricky arguments of university-trained intellectuals who to him represented "such a spirit of whoredom and idolatry concerning the learning of this world and the wisdom of the flesh, and God's glory so much stained and diminished thereby" (HC.3.398). Displays of theological

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Cf. Gen. 3:1-24; Rom. 3:23; 1 Tim. 2:11-15.

learning other than directly Biblical in content, if they contradicted God's Word⁶⁰ by adding their views to the content of revelation,⁶¹ deserved scorching condemnation from God's anointed minister, as in this satirical passage.

"The Dispensation of Conscience" extends in Scripture from the fall of man to the flood (Gen. 3-7). Here, God's test for mankind is to see whether they would follow their conscience concerning doing right and avoiding wrong.⁶² Inevitably, the Mansoulans in their state of fallen depravity fail the test. The Lord Mayor puts the Recorder, Mr. Conscience, "out of place and power" (HW.3.260), replacing him with "one whose name was Forget-good; and a very sorry fellow he was. He could remember nothing but mischief, and to do it with delight. He was naturally prone to do things that were hurtful; even hurtful to the town of Mansoul, and to all the dwellers there" (HW.3.264).

In Scripture, the tragic murder of Abel by his brother, Cain (Gen. 4:8), marks the failure of man's responsibility in the period of the Dispensation of Conscience. In The Holy War, this is paralleled by the debauching and brutal maligning of the Recorder, Mr. Conscience, by Diabolus:

"Since therefore the giant could not make him wholly his own, what doth he do but studies all that he could to debauch the old gentleman; and by debauchery to stupify his mind, and more harden his heart in ways of vanity. And as he attempted, so he accomplished his design; he debauched the man, and by little and little so drew him into sin and wickedness, that at last he was not only debauched as at first, and so by consequence defiled, but was almost, at last, I say, past all conscience of sin."

(HW.3.261)

⁶⁰ Gen. 3:4; cf. Ezek. 18:4; 20-24; Rom. 6:16-23; 8: 1-13; 1 Cor. 3:16-17; 6:9-11; Gal. 5:19-21; 6:7-8; 2-Tim. 2:12; Jas. 2:9-10.

⁶¹ Cf. Deut. 4:2; 12:32; Rev. 22:19.

⁶² Cf. Gen. 3:22; 4:7,15; 6:1-7.

The rôle of the conscience of man is most significant in this dispensation. In the words of F.J. Dake:

The conscience, freedom of the will, without restraint and compulsion to choose the right or wrong, and the malice of the devil were all the means of God to bring man to a place of utter dependence upon Him for help and redemption from that curse. The conscience demonstrated how exceedingly sinful man would become if he chose evil instead of good; the full freedom of action demonstrated how far man would go before it would be necessary for Him to interfere for the good of His own eternal plan; and the malice of satanic forces demonstrated the contrast between the two masters whom man might serve while on probation.⁶³

In his History of the Rebellion, Clarendon had lamented that, "The poor people, under pretence of zeal to Religion, Law, Liberty, . . . are furiously hurried into actions introducing Atheism, and dissolving all the elements of Christian Religion."⁶⁴ As has been noted, the immediate parallel in Bunyan's world were "those enemies of the Gospel" who anarchically followed their darkened consciences; Bunyan's theology had developed in controversy with Ranters and Quakers.⁶⁵

The period termed "The Dispensation of Human Government" extends in the Bible from the flood to the confusion of tongues (Gen. 8:1-11:9). This time the divine test is to determine how mankind will fare under the laws of government. In his unfinished Exposition of Genesis, Bunyan comments with respect to Gen. 11:1 ("And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech.") that "the first and primitive churches were safe and secure, so long as they kept entire by themselves;

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Dake, OT, 60.

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Clarendon, 2.

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Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, 328.

but when once they admitted of a mixture, great Babel, as a judgment of God, was admitted, to come into their mind." (Exp. Gen.2.501) Joined to this idea of the origin of madness caused by the spiritual adulteration of basic doctrine, is the failure of human government founded on man's trust in salvation by his own resources. In The Holy War, the building of the great Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:4ff) is paralleled by one of Diabolus' first acts after usurping control of Mansoul: the construction of "a high and strong tower, just between the sun's reflections and the windows of my Lord Mayor's palace by which means his house and all, and the whole of his habitation, was made as dark as darkness itself. And then being alienated from the light, he became as one that was born blind." (HW.3.24). After "new-modeling the town" (HW.3.260), Diabolus institutes a false legal system:

When he had destroyed what law and good order he could then further to effect his design - namely, to alienate Mansoul from Shaddai, her King - he commands, and they set up his own vain edicts, statutes, and commandments, in all places or resort of concourse in Mansoul; to wit, such as gave liberty to the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eyes, and the pride of life, which are not of Shaddai, but of the world. He encouraged, countenanced, and promoted lasciviousness, and all ungodliness there. Yea, much more did Diabolus to encourage wickedness in the town of Mansoul; he promised them peace and joy, and bliss in doing his commands, and that they should never be called to an account for their not doing the contrary.

(HW.3.263-64)

Most serious of all is the ordered defacing of Shaddai's statue and its replacement by that of Diabolus by Mr. No-truth (HW.3.263).

The significance of this second dispensation in The Holy War is that in the reference to the building of the tower to block out the light there is possibly a reference to the new enthusiasm for science, to which the narrator has already contemptuously referred, in the verse preface:

Count me not then with them that to amaze
The people, set them on stars to gaze,
Insinuating with much confidence,
That each of them is now the residence

Of some brave creature; yea, a world they will
 Have in each star, though it be past their skill
 To make it manifest to any man,
 That reason hath, or tell his fingers can.

(HW.3.254, lines 150-56)

The defacement and the substitution of the statues alludes Scripturally to Nebuchanezzar's golden image (Dan. 3:1) as well as to "the abomination of the desolation" - a reference to Antichrist and his image in the temple at Jerusalem during the end times.⁶⁶ Clearly, this is a reference to the danger of a pro-Catholic monarchy disposed toward favouring the heresy of the divine right of kings.⁶⁷

"The Dispensation of Promise" occupies the time in Scripture from Abraham's call to the Exodus (Gen. 11:10-15:21). In The Holy War, Bunyan parallels the Abrahamic Covenant (Gen. 15:18; 17:1-21), in which God promises Abraham that he will give him and his descendents the land of Canaan, and that the Messiah will be of his line, with Emmanuel's covenant-promise that he would bring Mansoul to the Father again:

This Son of Shaddai, I say, having stricken hands with his Father, and promised that he would be his servant to recover his Mansoul again, stood by his resolution, nor would he repent of the same. The purpose which agreement was this: to wit, that at a certain time prefixed by both, the King's son should take a journey into the country of Universe; and there, in a way of justice and equity, by making of amends for the follies of Mansoul, he should lay a foundation of her perfect deliverance from Diabolus, and from his tyranny.

(HW.3.266)

In the Scriptural account, as usual, Israel fails to measure up to God's expectations. She is shown in decline, lapsing into sin, idolatry, and falling victim to slavery. In The Holy War, in response to fleshly enticements, ungodly fear, and flattery,

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Cf. Dan. 8:9-14; 9:27; 11:4-5; 12:1,7,11; Rev. 13:1-18; 14:9-11; 20:4-6.

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See Hill, note 46 above.

Mansoul goes over to Diabolus, becoming enslaved by him. As well, the Mansoulians enter into a covenant of unbelief with Diabolus, depicted emblematically as a parody by inversion of Ephesians 6:11 by Diabolus as, "Armour for you I have, and by me it is; yea, and it is sufficient for Mansoul from top to toe; nor can you be hurt by what his force can do, if you shall keep it well girt and fastened about you" (HW.3.268). In contemporary terms, Bunyan is parodying the cold ceremonialism propagated by the state church as well as its slavery of hard hearted nominal Christians. Bunyan is probably alluding to the apathy and skepticism growing even among the humbler classes of the population,⁶⁸ for, according to Arnold J. Toynbee, weariness with the constant in-fighting between sects, petty "holy wars" among seventeenth-century Christians, drove great numbers of weary victims from the God of Christianity to the god of Technology.⁶⁹ In his vehement hell-fire and brimstone tract The Barren Fig-Tree or The Doom and Downfall of the Fruitless Professor (1682), Bunyan had attacked lukewarmness, hard-heartedness, unbelief, and the hypocritical complacency of nominal Christians: "If thou be a professor," he had thundered, "read and tremble: if thou be profane, do so likewise. For if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the godly and sinners appear?" (BFT.3.501).

In "the Dispensation of Law," stretching, in Scriptural time, from Sinai to Calvary, God tested man's responsibility in keeping His Law. In the prefatory

⁶⁸ Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Belief in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 167.

⁶⁹ Toynbee, 201.

epistle to his early treatise, The Doctrine of Law and Grace Unfolded (1659), Bunyan explained how important it was to be aware of one's being under the conviction of the Law:

So long as people are ignorant of the nature of the law, and of their being under it - that is, under the curse and condemning power of it, by reason of their sin against it - so long they will be careless, and negligent as to the inquiring after the true knowledge of the gospel.

(LGU.1.493)

The purpose of the Law is to convict men of their sinful nature, so that they will turn to God for forgiveness. This is behind Shaddai's commission to Captain

Boanerges to wage war on rebellious Mansoul:

Go thou in my name, with this thy force, to the miserable town of Mansoul; and when thou comest thither, offer them first conditions of peace, and command them, that casting off the yoke and tyranny of the wicked Diabolus, they return to me, their rightful Prince and Lord; command them, also, that they cleanse themselves from all that is his in the town of Mansoul, and look to thyself that thou hast good satisfaction touching the truth of their obedience. Thus when thou hast commanded them, if they in truth submit thereto, then do thou, to the uttermost of thy power, what in thee lies, to set up for me a garrison in the famous town of Mansoul; nor do thou hurt the least native that moveth or breatheth therein, if they will submit themselves to me, but treat thou such as if they were thy friend or brother - for all such I love, and they shall be dear unto me - and tell them that I will take a time to come unto them, and let them know that I am merciful.

(HW.3.270-71)

The army of Shaddai besieges Mansoul by preaching and, by this, considerably wears down the town's resistance. Of course, the army of Shaddai is unsuccessful for this reason: it needs the leadership of Emmanuel, Shaddai's Son, and so he is appealed to for aid (HW.3.283).

Next, Bunyan dramatizes the concept of prevenient grace. Shaddai commands Emmanuel to end the war. "Then, said the King, thou knowest, as I do myself, the condition of the town of Mansoul, and what we have proposed, and what thou hast done to redeem it. Come, now therefore, my Son, and prepare thyself for the war, for thou shalt go to my camp at Mansoul, thou shalt also there prosper,

and prevail and conquer the town of Mansoul" (HW.3.284). Emmanuel replies, "Thy law is within my heart. I delight to do thy will. (HW.3.284). Grace shines light on Diabolus's true wickedness, as shown in Emmanuel's words to him:

Thou talkest of subjecting of this town to good, when none desireth it, at thy hands. I am sent by my Father to possess it myself, and to guide it by the skilfulness of my hands into such a conformity to him as shall be pleasing in his sight. I will therefore possess it myself, I will dispossess and cast thee out; I will set up mine own standard in the midst of them: I will also govern them by new laws, new officers, new motives, and new ways. Yea, I will pull down this town, and build it up again, and it shall be as though it had not been, and it shall then be the glory of the universe.

(HW.3.293)

Quickly by righteousness the take-over occurs, and soon Diabolus finds himself in chains and banished: "So when the brave Prince had finished this part of his triumph over Diabolus his foe, he turned him up in the midst of his contempt and shame, having given him a charge no more to be a possessor of Mansoul" (HW. 3.297).

With the surrender of Mansoul to the combined forces of Emmanuel and Shaddai a new dispensation, that of Grace, is ushered in. In Scripture, this spans Mt. 3:1 to Rev. 19:10, and it represents the present. Emmanuel has brought to the Mansoulians all the fulness of grace; in Scripture, this time mankind is being tested by God regarding its obedience to Gospel. Mansoul fails, as usual. F.J. Dake observes that "The early church began to fail God in the very beginning All the epistles reveal divisions, strifes, heresies, unclean living, false leaders, and other evidences of back-sliding and fallacy The post-apostolic church, as history reveals, continued in failure, not evangelizing the world, living clean, preaching the full truth, or being one as Christ has prayed."⁷⁰

At this point in The Holy War, historical time becomes multilinear. As in Scripture, although Emmanuel, like Christ, has physically withdrawn himself from the city in this portion of the narrative, through the presence of the Lord Secretary. Like the Holy Spirit's, His presence is still felt. Here, Bunyan is describing, in equivalent terms, the first phase of Christ's kingdom on earth, during His invisible but continuously indwelling presence in believers before His return (parousia).

Needless to say Bunyan finds himself beset by all sorts of difficult literary dilemmas in this part of The Holy War which must somehow manage to cover both the complex history and multifaceted nature of Christianity. For this reason, a structure of reference will be useful in analyzing what Bunyan is doing in this section. A profitable solution is to study this section of The Holy War in the light of Christ's messages, or letters, as it were, to the seven churches (Rev. 2,3). The seven churches traditionally are held by Fundamentalists to refer to either seven distinct types of Christian churches or to the seven stages in the history of Christianity.

Perhaps this approach might seem to be a sidestepping of the attempt to find a linear continuity in The Holy War by arguing that there really isn't any, that we are to see this whole section of The Holy War as a "present," strands of which can be put in any order. The parallel with the letters to the seven churches will seem problematic only to the reader who fails to recognize how integral a part the Scriptures play in the construction of The Holy War. In any case, this type of analysis is very much in the style and spirit of Bunyan's technique of allegoresis, as evidenced in his treatises.

In the letter to Ephesus (Rev.2:1-7), Christ says, "Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen and repent. . ." (2:5-5a). Faults of this church are ecclesiastical pretensions and backsliding. The parallel in The Holy War is the damaging emergence of Mr. Carnal Security who sows complacency among the Mansoulans (HW.3.324), causing Emmanuel to perceive that "the hearts of the men of Mansoul were chilled, and abated in their practical love to him" (HW.3.325). Although Emmanuel withdraws, ("he said in his heart, I will return to the court and go to my place, till Mansoul shall consider and acknowledge their offense") (HW.3.326), it is Mansoul which actually has become distant, cutting itself off from Emmanuel.

In the letter to Smyrna (Rev. 2:8-11) Christ alludes to martyrdoms, persecutions, and the enemy's being revealed. In parallel to this, The Holy War includes an attack on Mansoul by Diabolus' army: "In the town some were hurt, and some were greatly wounded. Now the worst of it was, a surgeon was scarce in Mansoul, for that Emmanuel at present was absent" (HW.3.347). This represents persecution of a most frightening nature at the hands of the twin armies of Doubters and Bloodmen (HW.3.342 ff). Observe how the enemy reveals himself in the chilling harangue given by Captain Sepulchre to the townsmen of Mansoul. Note the satirically inept rhetoric:

O ye inhabitants of the rebellious town of Mansoul! I summon you, in the name of the Prince Diabolus, that without any more ado you set open the gates of your town, and admit the great lord to come in. But if you shall still rebel, when we have taken to us the town by force, we will swallow you up as the grave; wherefore, if you will hearken to my summons, say so, and if not, then let me know.

(HW.3.343)

Bunyan's readers would have had little difficulty seeing parallels to the persecution by the Doublers and Bloodman in the Protestant martyrdoms enumerated in

Elizabethan John Foxe's Book of Martyrs. In that work, says John Miller:

Foxe produced two rather different chronologies of the history of Christendom, based on the prophecies of Revelation. In each the world was seen as in the final stage of its history - not hard to believe for a generation which had seen the age-old hegemony of the Catholic Church cracked again and again. The struggle of Protestantism and Catholicism was depicted as the final cataclysmic conflict of the forces of Christ and the forces of Antichrist which was to end only on the Day of Judgment.

In the letter to Pergamos (Rev. 2:12-17) Christ condemns that church for making concessions to paganism: decreasing spirituality coupled with increasing worldliness. As in the parable of the Enemy sowing tares among the wheat (Mt. 13:24-30), so Diabolus has hidden Diabolians within the town to weaken Mansoul from the inside (HW.3.332). Worldliness had so increased in Mansoul that Diabolus planned to take advantage of it further to weaken the town's resistance to him: "And always take this for a rule," the Diabolians whisper to one another, "when people are most busy in the world, they least fear a surprise" (HW.3.333). Of course, the Reformers had soundly condemned Rome for having become pagan in both its forms of worship and its compromises with secularism, as the Puritans had attacked the Church of England for what they considered popish customs and pagan idolatry.

The letter to Thyatira (Rev. 2:18-19) exposes a counterfeit church which permits false, seductive teaching within its jurisdiction. Here, Bunyan has an amusing time portraying the councils of Hell as taking place with all the trappings of a papal court (Cf. HW.3.256,257,330,331,353ff). The assumption of universal

authority by Rome, except for a "faithful remnant" of Protestants is paralleled in The Holy War by the fact that only the Castle of the Heart remains impervious to Diabolus' attacks and seductions (HW.3.333). A slight reference to the Counter Reformation is possible in Diabolus' remark, "I am glad that they are backward to a reformation, but I am afraid of their petitioning" (HW.3.336).

The Church at Sardis (Rev. 3:1-6) is a sleeping church, dead in unfruitful works. In parallel, The Holy War shows Mansoul plagued by division and spiritual deadness spread by false teachers: "Wherefore there being then in Mansoul those strange kinds of mixtures, it was hard for them in some cases to find out who were natives and who were not" (HW.3.324-25). Carnal-Security has emasculated Mansoul, as Mr. Godly-Fear tells the townsfolk, "Wherefore now, while you boast, your strength is gone, you are like the man that had lost his locks that before did wave about his shoulders. You may with this lord of your feast shake yourselves, and conclude to do as at other times; but since without him you can do nothing, and he is departed from you, turn your feast into a sigh, and you mirth into lamentation" (HW.3.327). While there is some light in the church, it is inexperienced in dealing with evil," as exemplified by the foolish zeal of the Mansoulians' rash sortie by night against Diabolus:

Now Diabolus and his men being expertly accustomed to night work, took the alarm presently, and were as ready to give them battle, as if they had sent them word of their coming . . . and did cut, wound, and pierce them so dreadfully, that what through discouragement, what through the wounds that now they had received, and also the loss of much blood, they scarce were able though they had for their power the three best bands in Mansoul, to get safe into the hold again.

Now, when the body of the Prince's army saw how these three captains were put to the worst, they thought it their wisdom to make as safe and as good retreat as they could, and so returned by the sally-port again, and so there was an end to the present action.

(HW.3.349)

The Church at Philadelphia (Rev. 3:7-13) has been considered by one tradition of Fundamentalist commentators to be "the true church of the last days." Bunyan's faithful remnant of Mansoulans stays true to Emmanuel despite opposition from Mr. Carnal Security's forces and the Diabolians. Paralleling the Philadelphia church, they are an awakened church: "Nor could those Diabolians that were in the town do that hurt as was designed they should, for Mansoul was now awake" (HW.3.342). They had continued their true worship in the face of evil persecution (HW.3.347,350). The faithful remnant has learned from experience that it should be watchful, paralleling Christ's warning: "Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown" (Rev. 3:11). Accordingly, the captains of Mansoul agree on taking precautions: locking the town gates, searching harder for hidden Diabolian agents, catching Mansoulans who harbour Diabolian traitors, proclaiming a day of public prayer and fasting, renewing their humiliations for sin, petitioning for help to Shaddai, and thanking Mr. Prywell for his help (HW.3.340). This list represents a sort of code for subduing the flesh in vigilance against the possibility of sin - a kind of spiritual disinfection.

Of the seven churches of Revelation 2 and 3, the last, Laodicea (Rev. 3:14-22) is referred to directly in The Holy War: The Diabolians hope as a direct result of their interference in Mansoul's affairs "that her now Prince shall be not only further offended with them, but in conclusion shall spew them out of his mouth." (HW.3.333; cf. Rev. 3:16: "So, then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth"). The features of the Laodicean church include both lukewarmness and apostasy, tendencies in Englishmen against which Bunyan preached thunderously throughout his career. A general cooling off was

evident in England when Bunyan wrote The Holy War; a reaction against enthusiasm was quickly setting in.

The last two Dispensations are somewhat sketchily depicted in The Holy War. "The Dispensation of Tribulation" (Rev. 6-19, which may be taken as a development of prophecies such as Dan. 12:1; Jer. 30:7) occurs after the return of Christ, during His millennial rule on earth, and represents the final rebellion of the unfaithful remnant of humanity against God's rule (Rev. 20:7-10). In The Holy War, the race of apostate unbelievers on earth lacking the Holy Spirit, is "without salt" (Cf. 2 Thess. 2:10-12) and is paralleled by the last ditch attack of the Bloodmen (HW.3.361ff), who are a distillation of the evil persecutors of all the ages. Unfamiliarity with Biblical prophecy would cause a reader to question the appearance of the attacking Bloodmen after Emmanuel has reconquered Mansoul. Bunyan, of course, did not have to worry about such readers. Sparsely supplied with explanatory passages, The Holy War, unlike the earlier Pilgrim's Progress, appears to have been conceived for an audience of students well grounded in the intricacies of Scripture and its Calvinistic applications.

"The Dispensation of the Kingdom" is the last of the Scriptural series of dispensations. It takes place in the period from the descent of Christ (Rev. 19:11-16) to the Great White Throne Judgment (Rev. 20:11-15). The descent of Christ is paralleled in lavish terms by the triumphant re-entry of Emmanuel into Mansoul (HW.3.357-60). The scene of the return of the Victor is almost operatic in its pageantry. The imagery is taken from the Psalms: songs, trumpets, gongs, armour of gold and silver, streets strewn with flowers (HW.3.359). The resurrection of the dead in Christ (Dan. 12:2; Jn. 5:28; Acts 24:15) is suggested in this curious reference: "Wherefore, like men raised from the dead, so the captians and their men arose, made up to the enemy, and cried as before the sword of the Prince

Emmanuel, and the shield of Captain Credence" (HW.3.359). The Final Judgment (Jude 14-15) is depicted by the final trial of Diabolians and Doubters (HW.3.368 ff). Earlier trials had concerned the crucifixion of the flesh as part of the believer's daily walk.

At the end of The Holy War, Emmanuel, as it were, steps to the front of the stage to address the audience. The readers of The Holy War are Mansoul.⁷² He reminds them of their position in Christ: "Thou seest moreover, my Mansoul, how I have passed by thy backslidings, and have healed thee" (HW.3.371). Then he warns them to be watchful, to hold fast "till I come" (HW.3.373), the final words of the work.

Puritan historiography, the theology of history, Emmanuel stopping the story barely a few seconds from the end - what does it all mean?

Bunyan's goal in bothering to write a work paralleling Scripture was neither to write his own version of the Bible nor to orchestrate it. Rather, he desired to achieve "an opening" into its truths, in this case, regarding the history of mankind. Certainly, the ending of The Holy War is a master stroke. In those final pages, Bunyan achieves the opening he has long sought. The whole of the work has channeled the Puritan reader to this point, focused him on it. Through the

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Technically what has happened here is that we have constituted ourselves a fictive audience. Similarly, the medieval mystery plays played with the casting of the audience as neighbours of Cain, subjects of Pilate (who would tell them to shush), etc. It works to catch us in the hypothetical credence we accord to any fiction.

transparent figure of Emmanuel one beholds Christ, in an almost visionary intensity. Throughout the work, the reader has been able to draw many parallels between the details of the story and their Scriptural, eternal significance on the moral level. Suddenly, as Emmanuel steps forward out of the story, the reader realizes with a jolt that he himself is Mansoul, Everyman. The scales fall from his eyes and he can now see himself from the vantage point of eternity.

CONCLUSION

A few questions remain which need to be touched upon: why should The Holy War return from the neglected and join the canon of literature? How are The Holy War and The Pilgrim's Progress to be compared? What is The Holy War's strategy of persuasion? Why should one bother to read the allegory?

In the few remaining pages, suggested answers and possible directions to pursue will be found in the following discussion, which begins by comparing Bunyan's literary techniques in The Holy War with those of John Donne, John Milton, and William Langland. Then, after discussing The Holy War in relation to The Pilgrim's Progress, the relevance of homiletics and the seventeenth-century sermon-tract to the rhetorical methodology of The Holy War will be examined. It is hoped that this discussion and this study will stimulate the reader to perceive and to appreciate the significance of Bunyan's allegory in a new light.

There is much in the writings of John Donne which parallels and clarifies what Bunyan set out to accomplish in The Holy War. The predicament of the town of Mansoul, for instance, is very similar to that of the speaker in the Holy Sonnet which begins "Batter my heart . . ." In the sonnet, the speaker "like an usurpt towne, to 'another due" is betrothed to God's enemy, the Devil. The speaker's predicament is like that of Mansoul, in that:

Reason your viceroy in mee, me should defend,
But is captiv'd, and proves weake or untrue.

More significantly, the sonnet deals with a paradox which is paralleled in The Holy War, that of winning by surrendering to God, of becoming strong by admitting one's

¹John Donne, "Holy Sonnet X," in Helen C. White, Ruth C. Wallerstein, Ricardo Quintana, eds., Seventeenth-Century Verse and Prose. 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1951), vol.1, 74. All quotations from Donne in this concluding section are taken from this anthology.

powerlessness before Him. In perusing the opening chapter's discussion of this aspect of holy warfare, the reader was probably reminded of lines such as:

That I may rise, and stand, o'erthrow mee, 'and bend
Your force, to breake, blowe, burn and make me new.

as well as:

Take me to you, imprison mee, for I
Except you 'enthrall mee, never shall be free,
Nor ever chast, except you ravish mee.

Donne, like Bunyan, focuses his violent images in such a way as to evoke in the mind of his readers a moment of disclosure, an opening, an apprehension of divine meaning, ideally, an encounter of the intensity of Paul's on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:3 ff). This desire for their readers to undergo a powerful spiritual experience echoes Paul's intense prayer for the Church in Ephesians 3:14-19. In Good Friday, 1613, Riding Westward, note Donne's passionate thirsting for an ever deeper experience of God:

Could I behold those hands which span the Poles,
And tune all speares at once, pierc'd with those holes?
Could I behold that endlesse height which is
Zenith to us, and our Antipodes,
Humbled below us? or that blood which is
The seat of all our Soules, if not of his,
Made durt of dust, or that flesh which was worne
By God, for his apparell, rag'd, and torne?

Like Bunyan who places Shaddai's castle within the walls of Mansoul, Donne continually links man and the world of the senses with the Infinite, as in this passage from the sermon preached on Easter-Day, 1628:

For our sight of God here, our Theatre, the place where we sit and see him, is the whole world, the whole house and frame of nature, and our medium, our glasse, is the Booke of Creatures, and our light by which we see him, is the light of Naturall Reason. And then, for our knowledge of God here, our Place, our Academy, our University is the Church, our medium, is the Ordinance of God in his Church, Preaching, and Sacraments; and our light is the light of faith. Thus we shall finde it to be, for our sight, and for our knowledge of God here. But of our sight of God in heaven, our place; our Speare is heaven itselfe, our medium, is the Patefaction, the Manifestation, the revelation of God himselfe, and our light is the light of Glory. And then,

for our knowledge of God there, God himself is All; God himself is the place, we see Him, in Him; God is our medium, we see Him, by him; God is our light; not a light which is His, but a light which is He; not a light which flows from him, no, nor a light which is in him, but the light which is He himself.

Critics of The Holy War often compare it to Paradise Lost. The comparison is not a useful one, however, despite the coincidence that both works encompass the whole of Scriptural history. Milton's epic masterpiece, vastly more encyclopedic than Bunyan's allegory, is a secular work on a divine theme. It is Milton's attempt to provide for Christendom an epic poem to supplant, or at least to equal, those of Homer and Vergil, which celebrate the glories of the classical, but pagan, world. Milton's concerns are primarily literary in Paradise Lost, which explains his intricate and lavish classical allusions, as well as his sympathetic portrait of Satan as an aristocratic, tragic hero (or, at least, so Milton's Satan probably would have appeared to a conservative evangelical Puritan reader, holding to the plain text of the Scriptural portrait of Satan, which, in contrast to Paradise Lost, The Holy War affirms). In fact, except for slight similarities such as Milton's and Bunyan's depictions of the heavenly court, it is not very fruitful to compare the two works. The chief difference in approach is that Milton mythologizes his Biblical material to make it expressible in classical epic terms, whereas Bunyan, with his preacher's interest in finding quotidian analogies for Scriptural doctrine, demythologizes his material. Although it is, as it were, to borrow from Donne, a glass through which one perceives the ramifications of Infinity, The Holy War carefully contains its action within the precincts of a seventeenth-century town.

The Holy War is much closer in spirit to The Vision of Piers Plowman, which portrays man's hope to grow increasingly Christlike as he responds to grace. Bunyan's prose allegory shares with Langland's allegorical poem an impatience with those who advocate formality at the expense of spirituality in

religion, pointing out that Emmanuel himself is grieved by such carnal security, withdrawing from Puritan Christendom because of it. Like Langland, Bunyan in The Holy War sees the Mansoul's preoccupation with money making as providing the forces of evil with a good opportunity to trap and to attack them. As well The Holy War, like Piers Plowman, is starkly unpictorial in method, and thus is totally in contrast, in this respect, to Paradise Lost (or to Giles Fletcher's Christ's Victorie and Triumph). Moreover, as in Langland's poem, the densely emotional world of The Holy War is of vast circumference, succeeding in binding into a unity the multitude of complex associations which cluster around each of the work's levels of Biblical allegory.

Compared to The Pilgrim's Progress, however, The Holy War is the deeper work. That is not to say that it is necessarily the better work, for it is intentionally less accessible, having been written for the delight and instruction of spiritual initiates. The aim of The Pilgrim's Progress, in contrast, is decidedly evangelistic, as Bunyan states in his verse preface to that work:

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;
.....

This book is writ in such a dialect
As many the minds of listless men affect;

(P.Pr.3.87, lines 207-10; 219-20)

The Holy War, however, in its preface states that:

... if a Christian, thou wilt see
Not small, but things of greatest moment. . .

(HW.3.254, lines 163-64)

The words "if a Christian" indicate that the reader must have a good working knowledge of Scripture as it relates to Calvinistic doctrine. (In other words, people without such knowledge are not really Christians, in Bunyan's sectarian view).

The Pilgrim's Progress is meant for the edification of beginners in the Puritan Christian life as perceived in terms of Bunyan's type of Calvinism. This is made clear when one notes that Christian is permitted the assistance of guides, such as Evangelist, Help and Watchful. In The Holy War the Mansoulans are on their own, and their erring and apostasy is treated by Emmanuel as being virtually without excuse. Again, Christian, in The Pilgrim's Progress, is permitted the luxury of having interpreters of the various spiritual mysteries he is to encounter. In The Holy War, in place of the House of the Interpreter and the Palace Beautiful, there is only the heavily fortified Castle of the Heart. One is supposed to puzzle out spiritual secrets on one's own, with the help of the Word. There is much emphasis placed on the fact that one must be spiritually in exceptionally fine tune. Only when redeemed Mansoul feasts in the presence of Emmanuel are spiritual riddles explained:

Emmanuel also expounded unto them some of those riddles himself, but O how they were lightened! They saw what they never saw, 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 it was so. Yea, they did gather that the things themselves were a kind of 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, this is the Red Cow, this is the Door, and this is the way; with a great many other things more.

(HW.3.308)

The works also differ in tone. The Pilgrim's Progress is a pastoral work, in spirit like Paul's letters to Timothy. Christian progresses in learning how to live his faith. The Word of God, as Christian's precious Book in The Pilgrim's Progress serves him as his guide book, as his map of his life's journey. The Holy War is exhortative, in spirit like Jude or 2 Peter's letters. The narrator is a prophet, whose spiritual credentials he establishes in the work's verse preface, in the repeated "I saw," "I heard," "I was there," of his eye-witness account or vision. The

Word of God in this work is the Sword of the Spirit, and the narrator's is a voice crying in the wilderness of apostate England which is deafly turning firmly away from Puritan ways as the seventeenth century comes to a close.

It has been suggested that The Holy War is England's Puritan epic. Unfortunately, the allegory's structure belies this (For one thing, The Holy War unfolds chronologically in a most straightforward manner, whereas Paradise Lost obeys the rule of the epic to begin in the middle of the story). No, the structure of the epic is not the key to The Holy War. Rather, the work takes its form from that of the Sunday sermon, especially in its most elaborate Puritan expression, the sermon-treatise. Bunyan was himself an established master of the sermon-treatise, besides being a famous virtuoso preacher, in the latter part of his life attended by large crowds of eager listeners wherever he spoke. That The Holy War has an elaborate storyline built around complex personified abstractions tends to hide from our view the fact that the work is, after all, a sermon-treatise. The purpose of a book-length sermon-treatise was in making up for the time limitations of the Sunday sermon to discuss all the nuances of a sermon's text as exhaustively as possible; no stone was left unturned.

With this in mind, consider The Holy War against an hypothetical skeleton framework of a sermon based on a text which has figured prominently in this study, Ephesians 6:10-18. Let us imagine how it might go. Before the sermon would actually begin, the preacher would set forth his unique spiritual qualifications which would reveal his authority to speak on the text - He has been privileged to have seen all of that which he is to preach. Thus he would alert the congregation to expect the spiritual meat of prophecy, the speaking forth of divine truths, which is about to form the substance of the sermon. Rather than being a light

evangelistic sermon to provide milk for new babes in Christ,² the sermon will provide deep teaching.

This done, the text would be carefully divided into its main topics: In this hypothetical sermon, the audience would learn from the text that two divine commandments are given: to be strong in the Lord (vs. 10) and to put on the whole armour of God (vs. 11). After these there is a description of the characteristics of the Christian's chief enemy, the Devil (vs. 12). This is followed by what is termed the Application, how to put Scripture into practice. This consists of an analysis of vss. 13-17. The sermon following the structure of the text would close with an exhortatory prayer (vs. 18).

Translated into the structure of The Holy War, we note that Mansoul at the beginning of the story, while adequately fortified against attack, (vs. 10) neglects to take the proper precautions and so is unable "to stand against the wiles of the devil" (vs. 11). So Diabolus and his forces take over Mansoul, resulting in a long and bitter war with Shaddai's army, who eventually win, under Emmanuel's leadership, causing Diabolus and his followers to be expelled. At this point we are at the mid-point of The Holy War. The application of vs. 11 begins, as amplified in vss. 12-17, as we observe the many ways in which the redeemed Mansoulians struggle successfully against the wiles of Diabolus. The work ends with Emmanuel's long oration to the town in which he exhorts them to continue to be prayerfully watchful.

Of course, this hypothetical sermon outline is an over-simplification of a very

²To this day, it is the custom in many Fundamentalist congregations to reserve one of the Sunday sermons for "meat," or advanced teaching, and another for "milk:" either evangelizing of the unregenerate or teaching of the basic doctrines of the church for the benefit of recent converts.

complex allegorical structure. Yet it does suggest how The Holy War might have been read by Bunyan's intended audience in appreciation of the way in which the work skilfully amplified Scriptural nuances. Possibly, instead of considering The Holy War to be a sort of crude fore-runner of the modern novel, flawed by incessant repetitiveness and tedious digressions, modern readers ought rather to appreciate Bunyan's technique of branching out during his allegorical exegesis of Scripture exhaustively to include every subtlety of his basic text. As a sermon-treatise, The Holy War is a masterpiece which shows great self-assurance. Certainly, the work is far from being merely "a typical second novel," as some misinformed critics have lamely suggested.

The Holy War has suffered undeserved neglect. As this study has shown, the work is encyclopedic in scope, as well as richly subtle in its multileveled allegory. Bunyan's skill in characterization is psychologically profound, as his portraits of Emmanuel, Diabolus, and the composite character of Mansoul show. Within the pages of The Holy War, Bunyan has distilled the essence of the cultural expectations of the evangelical Puritan of the late seventeenth century. Above all, however, The Holy War is a wonderful story, masterfully told, one which deserves to regain the vast readership it once enjoyed.

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