

**THE WAY OF SALVATION IN TWO
ALLEGORICAL WORKS**

A COMPARISON OF *EVERYMAN* AND *THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*

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INTRODUCTION

C.S. Lewis, the Oxford literary professor remarked:

There are books which, while didactic in intention, are read with delight by people who do not want their teaching and may not believe that they have anything to teach - works like Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* or Burton's *Anatomy*. This is the class to which *The Pilgrim's Progress* belongs.¹

To Lewis's list we can add at least one more title: *Everyman*. According to the popular claim however, it seems that - with the exception of the group of people Lewis mentions - not many people are excited about moralities and allegorical works today.

As Paula Neuss remarks:

The author of one of the few readily available books covering morality plays describes the genre as a 'field of reading for the most part admittedly and unrelievedly dull', a view that's hardly an encouragement to the uninitiated to venture further. As with most plays, one would naturally take more pleasure in seeing a morality play than in reading it (...), but unfortunately performances of morality plays are extremely rare. Everyone has seen *Everyman*, of course, but that is neither a very typical nor a very exciting morality.²

Neuss' criticism is by no means uniformly accepted, but it expresses a trend in literary taste that is shared by many today³. She bases her opinion on the same premise that C.S. Lewis uses, that is, the importance of allegory in these works, but her implication is very different. She says:

The lack of immediate enthusiasm for the morality play is (...) partly accounted for by the allegorical nature of its action. Allegory is alien to our modern way of thinking, or at least it is not now conventional to think in allegorical terms, even though (according to C.S. Lewis) 'it is of the very nature of thought and language to represent what is immaterial in picturable terms' [*The Allegory of Love*, New York, 1958, p.44]⁴

Not everyone, however, shares the opinion of Neuss about the artistic beauty of *Everyman* and the popularity of allegorical works today. Neuss says that *Everyman* is "neither a very typical nor a very exciting morality". I am going to discuss the question whether *Everyman* is a typical morality or not in chapter 3.1.; but let me mention two scholars, who have a different opinion with regard to the artistic beauty of the play. Szenczi gives the following appreciation to *Everyman*: "*Everyman* is the most artistic

product of English religious drama and one of the great literary works of the fifteenth century."⁵ Wilson calls *Everyman* the most impressive and best morality of the early remains.⁶

As to the question whether modern people can have any delight in allegory, we can say that T.S. Eliot in his essay "Poetry and Drama" confesses that *Murder in the Cathedral* was strongly influenced by *Everyman*. In 1894, Froude could say about John Bunyan that he had been "a man whose writings have for two centuries affected the spiritual opinions of the English race in every part of the world more powerfully than any book or books, except the Bible."⁷ The far-reaching influence of *The Pilgrim's Progress* can be seen in C.S. Lewis's words, as well: "Most of it has been read and re-read by those who were indifferent or hostile to its theology, and even by children who perhaps were hardly aware of it."⁸

In my study I will focus on these two allegorical works: the anonymous *Everyman* and John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Most likely these are the two best known and most influential English allegories ever written. There are significant differences between the two, however. One is a drama, the other is an epic work. One is less than thirty pages, the other is more than three hundred. The origins of the one are in the fifteenth century, the other was written in the seventeenth century. One is a representative of a whole bunch of similar works, the other is unique in its kind. One was written in a pre-Reformation Catholic England, the other in a post-Reformation, post-Puritanical age of religious decline. The one expresses the teaching of the established Church to the religious folk, the other expresses the beliefs of a group of religious folk which are against the teachings of the established Church.

These differences are significant. Any attempt for a comprehensive comparison of the two works would be impossible or at least foolish. It would be like comparing a window to a pencil. There is no point in comparing two things that have nothing in

common or at least very little in common to justify such a comparison. But we should not overemphasise the differences at the expense of the similarities. The two works have much in common to allow comparisons with limited aims. You cannot compare a window to a pencil in general, but you can make a comparison of their ability to recycle or the ways they reflect the rays of light. The two allegories in question have, I believe, even more in common than the window and the pencil. Let us look at the similarities of the two works:

1. *Both of them are allegories.* Since writing allegorical works is not very popular today (although there are exceptions like G. Orwell and C.S. Lewis), the allegorical nature of *Everyman* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* should immediately bring the two works close to each other in our eyes.

2. *Both of them are Christian allegories.* There are major differences between the Christianity of *Everyman* and that of *Pilgrim*, nevertheless the comparison between the two is valid, because - at least theoretically - they talk about the same gospel of salvation. We should understand that the difference between their ideas about salvation is a debate within the household of Christianity.

3. *Both of them are didactic.* This is the feature that makes both of them repellent for many in our century. I will talk about the importance of the didactic intention in a later chapter. It is enough now to mention that the didactic aim determines the theme of the two works.

4. *They have very similar themes.* The theme of both works is the way of salvation. It is more readily noticed in the case of *The Pilgrim's Progress* than in the case of *Everyman*, but in a later chapter I will argue that only the interpretation that takes the Christian character of the play into account can be valid. I will also show that both the text of the play and the weight of scholarly opinion force us to understand the theme of *Everyman* as essentially that of the salvation of the soul.

5. *Both works reflect well known branches of Christianity.* As we shall see, *Everyman* is a fine manifestation of Roman Catholic theology before the Reformation, while *The Pilgrim's Progress* represents the Calvinism of the sixteenth century Nonconformists of England.

The purpose of my study is to show the truth of the last two points and compare *Everyman* to *The Pilgrim's Progress* in their conformity to the theological systems of which they were born. My aim is not to make a general comparison of the two works. The scope of this study is only to show the uniformity of the theme, which is the way of salvation, and to point at the diversity of the actual outworkings of this theme. It is inevitable to deal with theological questions as well. To understand the differences between the two ways of salvation, we should find a definition of salvation that may be common to both works, and have a look at the history of Christian doctrines, with special regard to the doctrines of grace, atonement and regeneration.

The words of A.C. Cawley concerning *Everyman* are very significant to us: "A knowledge of Catholic doctrine (...) will certainly contribute to a finer understanding of the play."⁹ I would add: it is also true about the Puritanism that inspired Bunyan to write *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The lack of such studies contributes to the obvious mistakes that some critics make about these religious works. One good example is E.K. Chambers, who gives a testimony of his lack of understanding when he says this about *Everyman*: "I am no theologian, but the strong emphasis on Good Deeds seems to me to suggest a Protestant temper rather than a Catholic one. Perhaps the long passage on priesthood and the seven sacraments was introduced as a makeright."¹⁰

It is true that the Puritans strongly emphasised the role of Christian works, but it is irrelevant to *Everyman* for at least three reasons. First, Puritanism was a much later movement; second, early Protestantism emphasised faith rather than good deeds; and

third, good deeds played a very different role in Puritanism from the role it plays in *Everyman*. We will see these differences later. It is worth considering the words of Hardin Craig: "The anachronistic identification of the sixteenth-century Protestants with seventeenth-century Puritans is as misleading as it is false."¹¹

The aim of this study is to clarify the religious background of *Everyman* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* in questions that relate to their theme: the way of salvation.

1. ALLEGORY

The first and most easily noticeable point of similarity in *Everyman* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* is their allegorical nature. I have already quoted Paula Neuss who said that the "lack of immediate enthusiasm for the morality play is (...) partly accounted for by the allegorical nature of its action". Gay Clifford agrees when he uses the word "unfashionable" to denote allegorical works.¹ He also says:

The greater part of nineteenth- and twentieth-century fiction is accessible in a way that allegory is not, and readers have come to expect accessibility from imaginative literature. In consequence the comparative inaccessibility of allegory poses special problems both for readers and critics.²

The case is made more difficult by the fact that many (...) characteristic qualities of allegory (...) are unpleasing or unfamiliar to readers who have grown up on nineteenth- and twentieth-century fiction: apart from being overtly moralistic or didactic, it is abstract, speculative, and discursive, and often expounds cosmic or political systems that are hierarchical and conservative.³

Most readers will readily acknowledge the existence of allegory as a literary form during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, but few of them will concede its power to survive beyond those periods.⁴

C.S. Lewis speaks similarly when he remarks: "The fact that the structure of the fiction is dominated or preceded by the ideological structure causes considerable problems to any modern reader of allegory"⁵.

Clifford does not think that allegory should be alien to modern readers, at all. It is rather a result of heavy criticism on this mode by the Romantics and their followers:

The unfashionableness is a legacy of much Romantic and post-Romantic criticism, in which the didacticism and intellectuality of allegory are seen as crude and wilful limitations upon emotional and archetypal significance. (...) Many of the criticisms of allegory made by post-Romantic critics like Yeats are the product of a particular conception of the function (and psychology) of literature. They tend to judge allegory in competition with symbolism and as a result misunderstand many of its features and, more seriously, deny the effects which it can achieve.⁶

Clifford, on the other hand, defends these effects from Yeats's attacks:

Allegory is also a natural language for visionary stangeness and intensity, and its moral and intellectual preoccupations strengthen rather than diminish this visionary power.⁷

He wants to persuade his readers of the particular power of allegory and of its imaginative, intellectual and moral (!) pleasures⁸. He is not alone, since such literary

critics as T.S. Eliot, C.S. Lewis and others have already fought against unworthy charges on the allegorical mode. It is enough to mention two more opinions here:

The allegorical nature of the morality play has a great deal to do with its success as drama. (...)The peculiar paradox (...) is that in apparently drawing drama away from realism to allegory the morality writers succeeded in linking it still closer with actual life.⁹

The morality play marks no retrogressive movement.¹⁰

We need to explore the importance of this literary mode before we deal with the theme and the outworkings of it in *Everyman* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*. There are two issues that we should consider: the definition of allegory and the relationship of allegory to the didactic intention.

a. *the definition of allegory.*

Clifford emphasises that allegory is not a genre or a literary form, since it is perfectly capable of subsuming many different genres and forms.

There is comic allegory in *Gulliver's Travels* (...), tragic allegory in *Frankenstein*, allegorical chivalric Romance in *The Faerie Queene*, satirical allegory in *Piers Plowman*, historical allegory in *Animal Farm*, an allegorical journey in *The Pilgrim's Progress*¹¹ etc.

The allegorical mode appears in more than one genres.

One of the commonest definitions of allegory is that it is *an extended metaphor*.

The only problem with this definition is that it does not make a satisfactory distinction between symbolism and allegory. Allegory uses symbols - places, animals, persons, events - that stand for something that is greater than themselves. But this is what symbolism does, too. In *The Allegory of Love* C.S. Lewis says that the major difference is that "Symbolism is a mode of thought, but allegory is a mode of expression."¹²

Clifford is not completely satisfied with this distinction. He makes the *narrative structure* of all allegories the watershed between allegory and symbolism.¹³ The consistency and easy recognition of the symbols is a hallmark of allegory. There should be a process, a movement in the narrative structure that makes the symbols consistent throughout the whole work. Clifford says: "The fundamental narrative forms of

allegory are the journey, battle or conflict, the quest or search, and transformation: i.e. some form of controlled or directed process."¹⁴ He also suggests that the allegorical action (journey, quest, debate, battle) involves "*a high degree of patterned repetition*".¹⁵

C.S. Lewis defines allegory as *giving one thing in terms of another*. It is worth quoting him at more length:

You remember how the text 'the wages of sin is death' is transformed? Asked by Apollyon why he is deserting him, Christian replies: 'Your wages [were] such as a man could not live on.' You could hardly believe it, but I have read a critic who objected to that. He thought the motive attributed to Christian was too low. But that is to misunderstand the very nature of all allegory or parable or even metaphor. The lowness is the whole point. *Allegory gives you one thing in terms of another*. All depends on respecting the rights of the vehicle, in refusing to allow the least confusion between the vehicle and its freight. The Foolish Virgins, within the parable, do not miss beatitude; they miss a wedding party. The Prodigal Son, when he comes home, is not given spiritual consolations; he is given new clothes and the best dinner his father can put up. It is extraordinary how often this principle is disregarded.¹⁶

Then he writes about a funny case that he met with as a child:

The imbecile, wisely anonymous, who illustrated my old nursery copy of *The Pilgrim's Progress* makes a similar blunder at the end of Part II. Bunyan has been telling how a post came Christiana to say that she was to cross the river and appear in the City within ten days. (...) The artist has seen fit to illustrate with a picture of an old lady on her death-bed, surrounded by weeping relatives in the approved Victorian manner.¹⁷

This leads us to the second issue.

b. *the relationship of allegory to the didactic intention.*

We are not mainly concerned with the nature of allegory in itself, but rather in its relationship to the didactic intention. It is important to understand what allegory is all about, but we must not stop there. The purpose of our study is the theme of the two allegorical works, which is in direct correlation with their didactic aim. (I will talk about the influence of the didactic purpose on the theme in chapter 3.2.) An understanding of the relationship of allegory to the didactic intention helps us to define the theme of *Everyman* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Allegorical works function at two levels. The lower level is the one where the action takes place and the characters struggle with their very real problems. This is the

vehicle of the message, which should not be confused with "its freight", as the "imbecile (...)who illustrated [Lewis's] old copy of *The Pilgrim's Progress*" did. The higher level of allegory is that which the vehicle stands for. It is the concept for which the symbols, objects, events and persons are invented. As Clifford explains: "The authors of allegory invent objects to suggest the essentials of the concept they wish to explore."¹⁸ It is this abstract and moral meaning that is the purpose of every allegory.

But C.S. Lewis warns us of an existing danger about reading allegorical works.

We must not read allegory

as if it were a cryptogram to be translated; as if having grasped what an image (as we say) 'means', we threw the image away and thought of the ingredient in real life which it represents. But that method leads you continually out of the book back into the conception you started from and would have had without reading it.¹⁹

Can this be the reason why so many today simply do not enjoy reading Bunyan or other writers of allegory? Lewis goes on:

The right process is the exact reverse. We ought not to be thinking 'This green valley, where the shepherd boy is singing, represents humility'; we ought to be discovering, as we read, that humility is like that green valley. That way, moving always into the book, not out of it, from the concept to the image, enriches the concept. And that is what allegory is for.²⁰

If Lewis is right then the concept always precedes the vehicle, and not just in the author's mind, but in the reader's mind as well. This explains why a good allegory can be enjoyed by people who are not familiar with the concept behind it, but be of immensely more value to those who started reading it with a substantial knowledge of its abstract meaning. A good example for this is C.S. Lewis's own allegorical fairy tales, the *Narnia Chronicles*. They are read by multitudes around the world who never realise who Aslan is, and yet read them with delight; but their appreciation cannot be likened to the ecstasy of those readers who, when encountering the lion, are moved to love their Lord, the Lion of the tribe of Juda more and more.

Clifford seems to be contradicting Lewis when he says: "progression from the particular to the general (...) is characteristic of allegorical interpretation".²¹ It is likely,

however, that he is not talking about what Lewis called "a movement continually out of the book", but rather about the general tendency that allegorical works have much more to say than just the narrative events. He is very much on Lewis's side when he remarks that "the structure of the fiction [allegory] is dominated or preceded by the ideological structure"²², and "its formal features are usually subordinated to didactic purpose or to the preconceived intellectual structures the author wants to convey"²³. In other words, the preconceptions of these works determine both the way they are written and the correct interpretation and depth of enjoyment on the part of the reader.

Clifford even says that "the main direction of the action is usually signalled at the outset"²⁴. He gives examples from various allegorical works to prove this. One such example is Bunyan's Christian, who asks at the beginning: "Whither must I fly?" indicating that the action stands for a higher theme, which is the salvation of the soul. This shows that the abstract concepts of allegories have to have pre-eminent roles in the interpretation of their action and theme.

What does it mean to us? First of all, we should see that it is essential for allegorical works to have a didactic purpose.²⁵ Secondly, we must note that the didactic intention precedes the action and has a dominant role over it. And thirdly, we must keep in mind that we will never really grasp the meaning of *Everyman* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, unless we understand the moral intentions that breathed them to life. The purpose of the next chapter is therefore to explore the possible didactic aims behind the two allegories.

2. SALVATION IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

We have seen in the last chapter how important the didactic intention is in every allegorical work. Allegories realise the teaching purpose through a story on a lower level. The action of allegorical works points therefore at the moral aim. I have noted earlier that this moral aim is very similar in both *Everyman* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and this is one of the bases of making a valid comparison of the two works. The didactic aim of both is to teach men the way of salvation. (I will prove this in chapters 3.2 and 5.2.) The major difference lies in the actual outworkings of the same theme. In this chapter I would like to give some theological foundation to the comparative analysis.

In the introduction I said that both works reflect well known branches of Christianity: Roman Catholic theology before the Reformation, and sixteenth-century English Calvinism. To be able to show the differences between the two in the works themselves, we have to deal with a little bit of theology to have working ideas about the two religious systems. The differences in the didactic aim lie not in the concept of salvation or in the question whether men need salvation or not, but in the descriptions of the *way* that actually leads to salvation. There is not one *way* but two *ways*. One is that *Everyman* takes, the other is that *Christian* takes. The two are not identical, and the reason for this can be explained with the different answers that a Roman Catholic and a Protestant would give to the question of the Philippian jailer: "What must I do to be saved?"¹

My approach is first to find a working definition of what salvation is in Christian thinking; then to show the apostle Paul's teaching on the way of salvation;

then thirdly to give a brief historical presentation of the Augustinian-Pelagian debate, that played a very important role in later theological polemics; and finally to discuss the departure from the Pauline-Augustinian understanding of salvation in Roman Catholic theology, the return to it in Reformation theology and the special aspects of the Puritan view, which influenced Bunyan's imagination.

a. *the definition of salvation*

Salvation is central in any Christian theology, but the meaning of it is not so obvious today than it was in earlier centuries. Then, the concept of salvation was almost commonplace, questions only arose as far as its necessity and nature were discussed.

To the question 'What is salvation?' J.I. Packer notes:

This is not a hard question to answer. Anywhere that we open the New Testament, we find that from one angle or another salvation is being explained, displayed, and discussed. Salvation is the New Testament's master theme in all of its twenty-seven books. If we compare and correlate their contents, we find that the understanding of salvation that is presented is uniformly clear and virtually unanimous. The idea conveyed by the salvation language is nowhere in doubt. Salvation always means being rescued from jeopardy and misery, so that one is now safe. (...) New Testament salvation (...) is salvation from sin and its consequences.²

Packer then describes three aspects of salvation in the New Testament: past, present and future aspects. The past aspect is salvation from sin's guilt, the present is salvation from its power, and the future aspect is salvation from its presence. Christians can already experience salvation from the wrath of God, from eternal death, from the dominion of sin, from the life of fear, and from controlling habits of ungodliness and immorality. Salvation is needed because of men's sinfulness and is only possible through the atonement of Jesus Christ.

There might be some who find Packer's definition too broad (or too narrow), therefore I make some general statements about salvation, that might find wider acceptance:

1. The word "salvation" indicates that there is an unpleasant state from which one needs to be saved.

2. The cause of this unpleasant state is men's sinfulness.

3. The result of men's sinfulness is a life of sin, and eternal perishing because of the righteous wrath of God.

4. Jesus Christ came to make atonement for sin and so gain salvation for men.

5. Salvation therefore has eternal objectives: to save men from eternal damnation (Hell) and to purchase them eternal life with God (Heaven).

I deliberately defined salvation in vaguer terms than Packer, so that both Catholics and Protestants can accept it. I did not include in the definition any reference to the abilities of a sinful man to do or choose good, and did not define the exact nature of the atoning work of Christ. For now this definition is enough as a working definition. It shows what salvation in broad terms is all about.

Before going on to discuss the way as to how a man can be saved, let us have a look at the apostle Paul's teaching on salvation.

b. the apostle Paul's teaching on salvation

There is no space here to deal with this topic in more detail. I only want to point at some major teachings in the New Testament that played important roles in the Augustinian-Pelagian and Romanist-Protestant debates later. We must not forget that the authority of the Scriptures is equally important for both Catholics and Protestants, even if the *sola Scriptura* principle is not a Catholic one. There are three areas where the apostle Paul's teachings can be of immense importance: 'What is God's role in salvation?'; 'What is men's role in salvation?'; and 'What are the instruments of salvation?'. Let us look at these questions.

What is God's role in salvation? Paul emphasises that it is "the grace of God that brings salvation" (Titus 2:11). Salvation is not something that men can merit, but something that God bestows upon them out of his mercy and grace. "For it is by grace you have been saved (...) it is the gift of God." (Ephesians 2:8) "[God] has saved us (...) not because of anything we have done but because of his own purpose and grace." (2 Timothy 1:9) "He saved us, not because of righteous things we have done, but because of his mercy." (Titus 3:5) We could find many more sentences that show the exclusive role that God plays in Paul's teaching on salvation. It is God who saves, and he saves without any obligation to do it. But not only is he not obliged to save sinners, he is not even in need of help to accomplish it. This we will see in connection to the next question.

What is men's role in salvation? The language that Paul uses about salvation is radical. Paul does not say that God made salvation possible for many (or all). He says that God actually and effectually *saved* and *saves* sinners. This God does out of sheer mercy, expecting nothing on the part of the sinner. Salvation cannot be earned, it can only be received as a gift. Lost sinners are unable to save themselves or even to contribute to their salvation, since they are "dead in transgressions"(Ephesians 2:5). A dead person cannot do anything to rise again. It is God who regenerates sinners from sin to godliness, and so saves them from eternal death (Ephesians 2:6-10). Here we have already touched the third question:

What are the instruments of salvation? This question is most important to us if we want to understand the difference between the Roman Catholic and the Reformation way of salvation. What are those instruments that God uses to save sinners? Paul speaks of three major instruments: Christ's atonement, regeneration, and faith. In Titus 3:5-7 Paul says:

He saved us through the washing of *rebirth* and renewal by the Holy Spirit, whom he poured out on us generously through *Jesus Christ our Saviour*, so that, having been justified by his grace, we might become heirs having the hope of eternal life. (emphasis mine)

Although in this passage we do not read about *faith*, Paul mentions that, too, as he goes on with his thought.

The first instrument is the work of Jesus Christ. Salvation is accomplished through the Saviour Jesus Christ. Paul could even say: "Here is a trustworthy saying that deserves full acceptance: Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners - of whom I am the worst." (1Timothy 1:15) The way that Jesus is an instrument of salvation is also important for Paul: "God made him [Jesus] who had no sin to be sin for us, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God." (2Corinthians 5:21) Jesus Christ was made a substitutionary sacrifice for the sins of people like Paul, so that they may receive mercy from the Father. Their sins were laid on Jesus, and the righteousness of Jesus was imputed to them. This teaching on the atonement of Christ is essential for Paul.

The second instrument is regeneration. God has to regenerate people before they can exercise faith in Christ. People are unable to please God with their so called "good deeds". Regeneration is a work of God, men cannot change their nature. When God regenerates a person, that person is changed by the power of the Holy Spirit and is able to believe in Christ wholeheartedly. The instrumentality of regeneration is very important for Paul (Ephesians 2:1-10; Titus 3:5-7), because it proves him that it is God who saves, and men cannot save themselves through any effort, repentance or good works.

The third instrument is faith. It is the regenerated person who can exercise faith. What sort of faith does Paul speak about? It is saving faith. The faith in the substitutionary atonement of Christ. Says Paul,

For it is by grace you have been saved, *through faith* - and this not from yourselves, it is the gift of God - not by works, so that no-one can boast. (Ephesians 2:8-9; emphasis mine)

To receive salvation the only thing one must do is to believe in Jesus Christ (Acts 16:31). In Paul's language faith means trust. The sinner has to trust Jesus as his Saviour so that he may receive salvation. Faith unites him with Christ the same way as a Jew was united with the sacrificial lamb that he offered for the remission of his sins. Paul calls Christ the Passover lamb. The blood of the Passover lamb was the instrument that God used to save the firstborns of the Israelite households in Egypt.³ When the angel of the LORD killed every firstborn child, he passed every house where there was blood on the door. Paul views this as a type of the salvation that is through Christ. Faith in Christ saves a man from the coming wrath of God. Faith means trusting in the "good deeds" of Christ rather than one's own.

Salvation in the apostle Paul's teaching is therefore the work of God, not the work of man. It is God who saves through regenerating sinners from spiritual death to faith in the atoning sacrifice of Christ. It is this union with Christ through faith that saves them from eternal perishing and gives them all the riches of the kingdom of God.

Not every Christian, however, held the same views about salvation. There were major deviations from the Pauline doctrines in later Christian thinking. The climactic event is the debate between St. Augustine and Pelagius.

c. the Augustinian-Pelagian debate

Pelagius was an Irish or Welsh monk who appeared in Rome around AD 400 to refute the doctrines of Augustine, the bishop of Hippo. Pelagius was a sincere moralist who was afraid that Augustine's teaching on the free grace of God would lead to immorality and laxity. R.K. McGregor Wright says:

His own view of human nature was based on a theory of the Fall that essentially denied original sin, so that the will was quite free from Adam's influence. Consequently, sinners could obey the law of God perfectly, if only they would make the effort.⁴

Pelagius's views were energetically refuted by Augustine in a series of studies now called the anti-Pelagian writings. Augustine and Pelagius differed in their understanding of human corruption and divine grace. Augustine said that man was so corrupt that he could not turn to God by himself. Man's state was desperate in Augustine's opinion. Pelagius, on the other hand, taught that man's sinfulness was only partial, thus he was able to turn to God by his own power. For Augustine, the source of salvation was outside man, for Pelagius it was to be found within him. Augustine taught the sovereignty of the grace of God, Pelagius taught a salvation that was of human merits. Augustine's theology in this respect was essentially in agreement with the teachings of the apostle Paul, while Pelagius's doctrines were anti-biblical.

It is important to note, that Pelagianism was eventually condemned as a heresy at the Councils of Carthage (418), Ephesus (431) and Orange II (529). From then on Augustinianism was the official belief of the medieval Church. The paradox nonetheless is that Pelagianism infected much of popular Catholicism, and by the time of the Reformation the teachings of the Roman Church were reflecting much of the emphases of Pelagius.

d. the semi-Pelagianism of the Roman Catholic Church

The departure from Augustinianism in Catholic theology was partly embedded in Augustinianism itself. Augustine tried to make a synthesis of free grace and sacramentalism. Sacramentalism is the teaching that the grace of God is mediated by the sacraments of the Church. This synthesis was the essence of medieval theology. The Reformers - especially those of the Zwinglian tradition - dismantled this synthesis by rejecting sacramentalism. But in Roman Catholicism it meant two things: believers were dependent on the established church for their salvation; salvation could be earned by using the means of grace.

Luther met this problem when he was a monk searching the way of salvation. He felt that Scholastic theology could not answer his deepest questions that had troubled him from an early age. The idea of salvation by human merits filled his mind with desperate hopelessness. The more he sought God and his favour, the more he saw his own inability to please the righteous Judge, and the more he saw his own unworthiness. He reflected on this several years later:

I used to keep vigil, fast, and pray, scourged and tortured my body, so that I could fulfil the command of obedience and live in purity... I used to wear nothing but worn-out clothes even in the most freezing winters, so that I almost froze to death. I, dr. Martin Luther, would have killed myself, if the light of the gospel had not been revealed to me.
I have surely tried to reach righteousness before God through my own good deeds... I was terrified by the day of judgement and condemnation of the angry God. (...) But the more I troubled myself, the more idolatrous I became. I could not see Christ, for the Scholastics taught me that forgiveness of sins and salvation can only be hoped through our good deeds.
The Scholastic theology unanimously teaches that man can deserve God's grace solely on the basis of his natural efforts. All of them taught this: Do the good that depends on you! Even Ockham, who was cleverer than anyone else, obviously taught that there is no proof in the Scriptures that we would need the Holy Spirit to do good. These men had great abilities and much time, grew old in their job at the universities, but could not understand Christ at all, because they despised the Holy Scriptures.⁵

Luther's theology of salvation was nothing else than a reaffirmation of the Pauline-Augustinian teaching on the way of salvation.

e. back to Paul and Augustine: Reformation theology

The Reformation put into focus the free grace of God in salvation again. Luther studied Paul's letters and the teachings of Augustine, and came to the conclusion that God justifies sinners freely if they exercise faith in the finished work of Christ. Salvation is not a wage but a gift. He was not alone in teaching this. The so called *Schola Augustiniana Moderna*, one of the theological schools of the time, taught the same.⁶ The irony is that while the Reformers were defending their orthodoxy, the Roman Church condemned even those in the Church who were holding to original Augustinian teachings about salvation.

The Protestant teaching on salvation focused on the doctrine of justification (how a sinful man can become just in the sight of God and so escape his just condemnation and be received into favour by Him). J.I. Packer gives an excellent summary of the Reformers teaching on justification:

1. Every man faces the judgement seat of God, and must answer to God for himself. The church cannot shield him from this.
2. Every man is a sinner by nature and practise, a nonconformist so far as God's law is concerned, and therefore can only expect God's wrath and rejection.
3. Justification is God's judicial act of pardoning the guilty sinner, accepting him as righteous, and receiving him as a son.
4. The source of justification is grace, not human effort or initiative.
5. The ground of justification is Christ's vicarious righteousness and blood-shedding, not our own merit.
6. The means of justification, here and now, is faith in Jesus Christ.
7. The fruit of faith, the evidence of its reality, is a manifested repentance and a life of good works.⁷

Before we go on to speak about the Puritan view of salvation, let us make a comparison between pre-Reformation Catholicism and Protestantism on three points:

First, *what did they say about the atonement of Christ?* At that time Roman Catholicism was deeply influenced by the 'moral influence theory' of Abelard. Abelard was a French theologian in the twelfth century, whose writings were very influential in the Middle Ages. His theory of the atonement of Christ was quite different from that of Paul. Abelard saw the meaning of the cross of Christ in its moral influence on people. For him Jesus is a good Example and Teacher. Abelard says:

Redemption is that greatest love kindled in us by Christ's passion, a love which not only delivers us from the bondage of sin, but also acquires for us the true freedom of children, where love instead of fear becomes the ruling affection.⁸

Abelard rejected the interpretation that the death of Christ would be substitutionary in any way. His influence was felt more strongly through the writings of Petrus Lombardus, who was a disciple of him, and whose *Book of Sentences* was widespread and diligently studied by the theologians of the age. We will see how this theory appears in the pages of *Everyman*, too.

The Reformers rejected the moral influence theory and went back to the apostle Paul's understanding of the accomplishment and significance of the cross of Christ. They emphasised its vicarious aspect. It is not the example of Jesus's sacrifice that is important, but the actual atonement that it makes. Not the subjective influence on the believer, but the objective sin-bearing for the sinner. John Stott, a twentieth-century Protestant theologian explained the Reformers position in simple terms:

True love is purposive in its giving; it does not make random or reckless gestures. If you were to jump off the end of a pier and drown, or dash into a burning building and be burnt to death, and if your self-sacrifice had no saving purpose, you would convince me of your folly, not your love. But if I were myself drowning in the sea, or trapped in the burning building, and it was in attempting to rescue me that you lost your life, then I would indeed see love not folly in your action. Just so the death of Jesus on the cross cannot be seen as a demonstration of love in itself, but only if he gave his life in order to rescue ours. His death must be seen to have an objective, before it can have an appeal. Paul and John saw love in the cross because they understood it respectively as a death for sinners (Rom. 5:8) and as a propitiation for sins (1Jn. 4:10). That is to say, the cross can be seen as a proof of God's love only when it is at the same time seen as a proof of his justice.⁹

Secondly, *what did they say about regeneration?* The difference between the two can be explained by the words *monergism* and *synergism*. Protestantism insisted on that regeneration is solely the work of God. Man cannot contribute to his regeneration just as a dead man cannot do anything about his resurrection. This is called monergism. Roman Catholic theology, on the other hand, taught that God and man cooperate in salvation. God's grace is necessary but not exclusive in bringing new life to people. The grace of God is neither efficient nor irresistible. This view is called synergism.

Thirdly, *what role did they have for faith and good works?* This is the most obvious difference between the two theological systems as far as salvation is concerned. Roman Catholic theology taught that salvation is by works that faith produces. Faith is not enough for salvation. God justifies sinners as a response to faith. But the Roman understanding of justification was unlike the unanimous teaching of the Reformers. The Catholic version of justification meant that God imparts righteousness to the believing sinner, so that he can do good deeds, and through those good deeds he can merit God's favour.

Protestants vehemently rejected this teaching as unbiblical and dangerous. The Protestant view of justification by faith was completely different. They said that justification is essentially forensic. God declares the sinner not guilty, on the basis of the sin-bearing sacrifice of Jesus, as a response to the sinner's faith. It is not the righteousness of *God* that is *imparted*, but the righteousness of *Christ* that is *imputed* to the sinner. Catholics objected that if God would justify sinners solely by faith, then it would give them cause for an immoral leading of life. The Protestant response was that even the apostle Paul had been accused of this (Romans 6:1), but the accusation is based on a false assumption. The faith that unites a believer with Christ will inevitably produce good works. The believer is not justified by these good works, the justified believer will do these good works.

Good works are so important in both *Everyman* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* that some are prone to identify the spirituality of the two (like E.K. Chambers). We should keep in mind, therefore, that good deeds have a completely different relationship to salvation in a Catholic play than in a Protestant allegory. *Everyman* does good deeds so that he can earn salvation. *Christian* does good deeds so that he can be sure of the salvation that Christ has earned him.

e. the Puritan view of salvation

It is important to refer to the Puritan's view of salvation separately for two reasons: first because Bunyan was a Puritan; and second because there are misconceptions about the way Puritans viewed salvation.

I do not want to talk about English Puritanism or Bunyan's Baptist background here. I will do it in a later chapter. It is enough to mention here that Puritanism was basically another name for English Calvinism in the late sixteenth- and seventeenth century. When I use the word 'Puritan' I refer only to the English Puritans who were

more or less contemporaries of Bunyan. Their views might differ slightly from the views of some extravagant Puritan preachers of the American continent at a later period.

Misconceptions about the Puritan doctrine on salvation might be the result of a backwards reading of history. Calvin's teaching on the diligent and honest fulfilling of one's natural calling produced a Puritan work ethic. The Puritan work ethic produced hard-working settlers in America. Some generations later the hard-working settlers produced a theology that is still reflected in the saying: "God helps those who help themselves." The superficial historian is ready to equate this new theology of self-reliance and hard work - which is applied even in the realm of salvation - with the theology of all the Puritans. But this is completely false.

The Puritans in England were every inch Protestants. They believed that salvation was a gift of God. They believed in the substitutionary atonement of Christ and the forensic view of justification by faith. Their uniqueness was maybe their emphasis on spirituality. The main interest of many Puritan writers was the inner life of a Christian, his struggle with sin, his search for assurance, the role of the Holy Spirit in the Christian life and similar issues. Their practicality distinguished them from other second and third generation Protestants who 'backslid' into the endless debates of a Protestant Scholasticism.

The Pilgrim's Progress is a perfect example of Puritan spirituality.

3. THE WAY OF SALVATION IN *EVERYMAN*

3.1. MORALITY PLAYS

In chapter one we have discussed that since *Everyman* is an allegory, in order to fully appreciate it, we should grasp the abstract or moral meaning that is being conveyed through the action. In chapter two we have seen the theological foundations that determine this moral meaning. But there is a third factor that contributes to the powerful presentation of the didactic aim: the particular genre that the allegorical mode subsumed in this case. *Everyman* is a *morality play*. This is very important since the genre itself indicates a theme that we will see in the next chapter. What is a morality play? Let us first look at the title.

Hardin Craig says that "the word 'morality' to denote plays of this kind has been in use since the fifteenth century, and that word and the term 'moral play' connoted ethical and religious purpose". Stanley J. Kahrl seems to be contradicting Craig:

What (...) is the best term for these plays? Traditionally such plays have been labelled 'moralities' so consistently that there would seem to be no point in disputing the term. Yet the fact of the matter is that the term morality was not even in general use in the Renaissance period, and not in use at all in the fifteenth century. The plays in question were termed 'interludes', 'moral interludes', or 'moral plays'. Where the civic drama (...) traditionally presented scenes from biblical history, the 'moral interludes' concern themselves with the life of the individual Christian, and correspond to the great body of sermon literature and moral discourse explicating such articles of faith as the Paternoster or the Credo, as well as instructing the individual sinner in the nature of the path to salvation.¹

There is no less uncertainty about the definition of morality, although there are some recurring elements that appear to be constant. Allegory is one of these elements, and so much so that some definitions concentrate on it as if it were the single most important feature of all moralities. Roy W. Mackenzie describes it as drama which is "allegorical in structure"². Felix E. Schelling says: "... allegory is the distinguishing

mark of the moral plays"³. Allardyce Nicoll emphasises that "the moralities are all characterised by the use of abstractions and of allegorical characters as the dramatis personae"⁴. David Bevington states that the morality "... was characterised primarily by the use of allegory to convey a moral lesson about religious or civil conduct"⁵. David M. Zesmer's definition has the same emphasis: "[Morality play] is a dramatised allegory, best exemplified in *Everyman*."⁶

There are others, however, who criticise these kinds of definitions. Hardin Craig for example remarks that "It is true that a morality play is a dramatised allegory and that no drama is a morality play unless it has this characteristic feature, but even this statement leaves the subject vague."⁷ Sylvia Feldman is another critic who is not satisfied with the approach that defines morality mainly in terms of allegory. She says:

We must conclude (...) that the difference between morality and other types of drama depends not only upon the use of allegory but also upon the combination of those formal elements which are the source of the moralities organisation; for "The morality play is a special kind of play in which mankind, symbolically or allegorically presented, works out his only possible salvation" (H. Craig). (...) After allegory, the most noticeable feature of the morality is its particular didactic intention, which, as we shall see, controls structure.⁸

In my opinion an understanding of the nature of allegory could easily solve the contradiction of the above approaches, since the allegorical mode is itself bound to some kind of didactic aim (see chapter 1). Yet, Craig and Feldman are right in that a definition that only focuses on allegory is misleading, because the didactic aim of moralities is much more specific than any general moral purpose that can be defined in the case of allegories. Feldman explains:

This didactic intention is one means of distinguishing the morality play from other forms of drama. For while many plays are didactic and often explicitly so, only the morality play has the specific task of teaching man that he must always think of and strive for his spiritual salvation.⁹

If Bevington's definition were not so vague, I could accept it as definitive: "...moralities were those plays, exemplified by *Everyman*, which aimed at the moral edification through the medium of allegory"¹⁰. But to define the aim simply as "moral edification" does not hit the mark. Feldman criticises Bevington, too, when she says:

To say, then, as Bevington does, that "The MOST COMMON PLOT of these moralities. ...was that of an allegorical contest for the spiritual welfare of the mankind hero" (Bevington, p.9) is misleading. For I believe that there is, as far as we know from these plays, only one action in the moralities: the conflict between the Vices and the Virtues for the possession of mankind's soul."¹¹

The most satisfying and comprehensive definition of morality plays that I found is also Feldman's:

The morality is a dramatised allegory based upon Christian dogma, written for a Christian audience. It has a single didactic intention: to lead the members of the audience to eschew vice, repent their sins, and embrace virtue so that they may win *the salvation of their souls*. This intention is explicit, and each play opens and closes with a statement of the theological concepts it dramatises.¹²

Feldman's definition does not stop here, she goes on explaining the typical structural elements of moralities; but for our present study it is of no importance.

We should raise the question, however, if we can really apply these general remarks on morality plays in the case of *Everyman*. How typical is this play? Critical opinions do not agree in this question, either.

Bevington argues that *Mankind* is a more typical morality play than *Everyman*. He says: "*Mankind* (...) appears to be more representative than the restrained *Everyman*, with its less typical plot of the coming of Death, its absence of burlesque comedy, and its textual affinity to continental drama."¹³ I strongly disagree with Bevington at two points. First, I do not believe that the plot of *Everyman* is the coming of Death (see the next chapter). Second, burlesque comedy is in no way a characteristic feature of moralities. It is rather the seriousness of the handling of the subject that is typical of moralities.

Chambers has taken a different stance when he says: "*The Summoning of Everyman* makes amends for *Mankind*. This (...) example of the typical fifteenth century morality returns to the simplicity of its first surviving predecessor, *The Pride of Life*. Like that, it has a single theme, which is again the coming of Death."¹⁴ Although I will make a case against defining the theme as the coming of Death in the next chapter, Chambers' view meets with more general acceptance among scholars than Bevington's.

Craig is also in the opinion that *Everyman* is a representative morality, while *Mankind* is not very typical. He says of *Mankind*:

Mankind, in its present state at least, is a play of the utmost ignorance and crudity, but it shows some signs of having seen better days. (...) The play is ignorant, corrupt, probably degenerate, and vulgar to the point of obscenity, and yet it is possible that it was a typical English morality play, not perhaps of the fullest scope, but with a bias toward social satire.¹⁵

Davenport says that "*Everyman* is the most immediately impressive of the medieval moral plays, the one most often performed in modern times, and the one with which the whole idea of the moral play is synonymous".¹⁶

I have already shown that Zesmer also believes that *Everyman* is the best example of a morality play. These opinions are very important to us, since only if *Everyman* is a typical morality can we apply those principles that we have found. If, on the other hand, the play is a typical morality play, as I believe it is, we can say that therefore it has "the specific task of teaching man that he must always think of and strive for his spiritual salvation"¹⁷.

We have seen that both the allegorical nature and the genre (morality) of *Everyman* presses us to a conclusion that the theme of the play cannot be defined apart from a substantial knowledge of the Catholic theology behind the didactic aim. But before discussing the theme let us see some general facts that we know about the play itself.

It is debated which play was the first moral play. Chambers believes that the earliest morality of which we know anything is a Pater Noster play written before 1384.¹⁸ According to Szenczi "there are references to morality plays in England in the fourteenth century but the following century was the period of their full development"¹⁹. He thinks that the earliest English morality play is *The Castle of Perseverance* (1405)²⁰. Feldman considers *Pride of Life* to be the oldest English morality. The only thing that seems to be probable is that *Everyman* had been preceded by other moralities.

Everyman was probably written before the end of the fifteenth century, but it is preserved only in four copies, which date from the period 1508-1537.²¹ There are two fragments from the press of Richard Pynson (1493-1530), and two full editions from that of John Skot (1521-37).²² The first printed edition entitled *Everyman* was first printed by John Skot about 1528-29.²³

It has long been debated whether *Everyman* precedes the very similar Dutch play *Elckerlijck* or is maybe a modified translation of it. We know that *Elckerlijck* was printed about 1495, and was possibly written by Peter Dorland of Diest.²⁴ Cawley says that

it is probable that one of them is a translation of the other, and there has been considerable argument about the question of priority. (...) On the whole the advocates of *Elckerlijck* have presented the stronger case for its priority; but acceptance of such priority need not imply that the Flemish play is superior in artistry to *Everyman*.²⁵

Davenport presumes that *Elckerlijck* was the original play and *Everyman* is just a development of it in a more didactic direction.²⁶ Zelenka is also on the opinion that *Everyman* is a translation of *Elckerlijck*, and refers to some scholars who suggest that William Caxton could be the translator.²⁷ Wilson - without hesitating - declares that *Everyman* was translated from the Dutch.²⁸ Szenczi is much more careful when he says: "The play has many points in common with a Dutch morality, *Elckerlijck*, printed about 1495, but the exact relation of the two religious dramas has not been clarified."²⁹ Nicoll leaves the possibility open, that *Everyman* might be the original of *Elckerlijck*.³⁰

On the whole I find the most wisdom in Cawley's approach when he remarks: "The difficulty of deciding whether *Everyman* or *Elckelijck* came first is a reminder that the play is a product of Catholic Europe, not of England or Holland in particular."³¹ It does not change our thesis whether *Everyman* is translated from Dutch or is an original English play, since in both case it would be built on a Catholic theological foundation that we are set out to explore.

3.2. THE THEME

What is the theme of *Everyman*? Is it valid to talk about the theme of this allegory as essentially that of salvation? Can we understand it and interpret it as a teaching about the way of salvation? Too often paradigms are applied to literary works of the distant past that are wholly foreign to them. To avoid this, we should therefore decide first if the theme of this morality has anything to do with the way of salvation.

According to F.P. Wilson, *Everyman* has a limited theme, which is "the certainty of death and the reluctance of man to prepare for his end"³². Although in his definition he refers to the end of man's life and to the preparation for this end, it seems to me that Wilson's definition, rather than the theme of *Everyman* is limited. The 'end' in Wilson's definition can easily be identified with death itself, and not with judgement, damnation or eternal life, which would be more true to the framework of *Everyman*.

J.M.R. Margeson defines the theme as the "universal conflict between human will and divine will" which is "closely related to the Dance of Death"³³. His interpretation of the Dance of Death is "the vanity of worldly glory as revealed by the coming of death to a man or a woman at the height of power and prosperity"³⁴. Chambers has a similar stance: "[Everyman] has a single theme, which is (...) the coming of Death."³⁵ It is true that Margeson and Chambers do not say that death is the end (which is implied by Wilson's definition), but their interpretations are still too narrow for the eternal scope of a Christian allegory. Sylvia Feldman points out that the particular frame of reference of all morality plays is so obvious, that we tend to forget its importance. As she writes, moralities are "prepared for a Christian audience and based upon orthodox Christian dogma"³⁶. It is impossible to rightly interpret the theme of *Everyman* without seriously considering the Christian framework of all moralities. In

a Christian worldview death is in no way the 'end', its importance lies in the fact that it is the door to either eternal salvation or damnation.

Davenport is closer to the interpretation that I think to be right when he says: "*Everyman* may be called a Lenten penitential play or an allegorical drama concerned with the Four Last Things (Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell). Within these limits it is a strongly dramatic presentation of the theme of death."³⁷ Although he - together with Margeson and Chambers - states that the theme of the play is death, he explains what he means. The theme is death, but only in the sense that in death *Everyman* (every man) confronts the last things. But to say that the theme is death is misleading and unnecessary when you can as well say that the theme is the salvation of the soul or the way of salvation.

When she defines the primary elements of a morality, Feldman gives us a hint as to why there are differences in the definitions of the theme of the play. Her list consists of "a single didactic intention, a single action composed of a single sequential structure, and particular character types, through which the action is developed and the didactic intention is realised"³⁸. I find two important things in this definition. One is the emphasis on 'a single didactic intention', the other is the emphasis on 'a single action'. The didactic intention is so important in *Everyman* that we cannot separate it from the theme. To ignore it is to misunderstand the whole play. As Bevington says: "[morality] was characterised primarily by the use of allegory to convey a moral lesson about religious or civil conduct"³⁹.

The problem is that Wilson, Margeson and Chambers define the theme not on the basis of the didactic intention but on the basis of the action or plot. One reason for this can be the modern contempt for any didactic aim, which is expressed openly in Davenport's criticism of *Everyman*, when he makes the didactic aim of the play responsible for its weaknesses.⁴⁰ But a more important reason can be found in what

Feldman calls 'a single action'. The singularity of the action is so characteristic of early moralities that action becomes almost identical with the plot.⁴¹ If this is so, it is only one step further to define the theme on the basis of this single action or plot. In the case of *Everyman* this is the summons of Death or the Dance with Death. But, I believe, it is a false step.

I would suggest a different direction, which is to define the theme in terms of the didactic intention, and use the theme to interpret the essence of the plot⁴². In this case the didactic intention can be *to teach men about the way of salvation*, the theme can be *the salvation of the soul* and the action (or plot) is *the fight for the salvation of the soul*.

But is it correct to say that the didactic intention of the play centres around the salvation of the human soul? Our knowledge about orthodox, historical Christianity certainly makes it very likely. But that is not all. Immense critical literature, a vast number of scholars and the text of the play itself support it, too. Let us first have a look at some of the critical opinions.

According to Szenczi, moralities "dealt (...) with personified abstractions of virtues and vices who struggle for man's soul"; the favourite theme of these plays is "the battle of supernatural forces for the human soul."⁴³ He even remarks that "the plot (!) of the morality centres around (...) the struggle of the forces of good and evil for the possession of the human soul".⁴⁴ He talks about the Dance with Death motive, too, but he realises that it is only one aspect of the fight for salvation.

Craig is very close to this: "[*Everyman* is] a play in which there is a contest for the soul of a representative of all mankind."⁴⁵

Feldman makes a general statement about moralities: "The didactic intention of these plays is exactly the same: to lead the members of the audience to eschew vice,

repent their sins, and embrace virtue so that they may *achieve the salvation of their souls*."⁴⁶

Kahrl is even more explicit when he says: "the 'moral interludes' concern themselves with (...) instructing the individual sinner in *the nature of the path to salvation*".⁴⁷

E. Zelenka's word-studies in *Everyman* are especially helpful to us. She makes the observation:

The words 'reckoning' and 'account' occur in varying grammatical forms more than 25 times in the play, often together. (...) The motif of 'reckoning' is not the only reoccurring theme in the play. Pilgrimage, voyage and journey are also frequently mentioned.⁴⁸

Her conclusion on the basis of the evidence is that "Everyman has to undertake the death-journey of the soul to Judgement."⁴⁹ Death is certainly not the end. Zelenka's study proves that death is just a major step in the 'journey' to the place where Everyman has to 'reckon' with his life and give an 'account' of all that he did during his earthly career.

But more important than critical opinion is that we have proof for our definition of the theme as "the way of salvation" or "the salvation of the soul" from the text of the play, itself. We are in a lucky position because the work has an epilogue in which the didactic intention is explicitly expressed. The Doctor says:

This memorial men may have in mind:
Ye hearers, take it worth, old and young (902-3)

The moral intention is overtly defined by the author. But what is this moral? The Doctor answers it:

For after death amends may no man make,
For then mercy and pity doth him forsake.
If his reckoning be not clear when he doth come,
God will say, "*Ite, maledicti, in ignem eternum!*"⁵⁰
And he that hath his account whole and sound,
High in Heaven he shall be crowned,
Unto which place God bring us all thither,
That we may live body and soul together. (912-9)

According to the Doctor the didactic aim of the play is to warn people about their eternal destiny. After death there will be no chance to make amends. People will receive their reward or punishment on the basis of the account they can give. As Feldman remarks on p. 43 of her book: "The Messenger and the Doctor in *Everyman* point out to the audience that man's life is transitory and that, consequently, man must think constantly of his spiritual salvation".

We have no right to interpret the theme of *Everyman* apart from the purpose that it was given by the author. The theme therefore must be defined with Heaven and Hell in mind. To say that the theme is the Dance with Death is to misunderstand the play or limit its scope ignoring the original didactic aim. Everyman has to escape '*ignem eternum*' and win the eternal reward, the heavenly crown. This is the theme of the play, which is nothing else but *the way of salvation*.

3.3. THE WAY OF SALVATION

So far I have proven that the didactic intention and the theme of *Everyman* have to do with salvation. Now it is our task to examine what the text says about the way of salvation.

There are three categories into which we can sort out its message: What does it teach about (1) the need for salvation, (2) salvation itself, and (3) the ground for salvation. Let us look at these categories.

1. *The need for salvation.*

There would be no purpose in speaking about salvation if there was not a need for that. It is essential for the author therefore to establish the need for salvation. There are four key issues: sin, death, judgement, and damnation.

Sin is the problem that assures the outcome of judgement as damnation. Death only makes this problem irreparable. The Messenger says:

You think sin in the beginning full sweet,
Which in the end causeth the soul to weep (13-14)

It is God himself who in the play evaluates Everyman's state:

I perceive, here in my majesty,
How that all creatures be to me unkind,
Living without dread in worldly prosperity.
Of ghostly sight the people be so blind,
Drowned in sin, they know me not for their God. (22-26)

And now I see the people do clean forsake me.
They use the seven deadly sins damnable,
As pride, coveitise, wrath, and lechery
Now in the world made commendable.
And thus they leave of angels the heavenly company.
Every man liveth so after his own pleasure,
And yet of their life they be nothing sure.
I see the more that I them forbear,
The worse they be from year to year:
All that liveth appaireth fast. (35-44)

God's first charge is that Everyman is turned from Him, and is drowned in sin. He does not know God, because he is unkind to Him - and this is sin. The second charge is the practise of actual sins: the "seven deadly sins". This is a typical Roman Catholic teaching, that some sins are deadly while others not. The apostles Paul and James insisted that breaking one commandment is breaking the whole law⁵¹, therefore every sin is deadly. Protestants always rejected the Catholic teaching on the seven deadly sins. But here we can see that even the need for salvation in this morality is based on a Catholic understanding of sin. God also complains that they degenerate in their sins. God even says:

Verily they will become much worse than beasts;
For one would by envy another eat up.
Charity they all clean forget. (49-51)

We have other descriptions of Everyman's sinful state, too. Death emphasises that he is "out of God's laws, and dreadeth not folly" (75-76), "his mind is on fleshly lusts and treasure" (82), and that he has forgotten his Maker (86). Death also says that Everyman's sin has its origin in Adam:

And in the world each living creature
For Adam's sin must die of nature. (144-5)

Here we have a clear reference to original sin. The only thing one can ask here is whether Everyman missed baptism; since in Roman Catholic teaching baptism purifies one from original sin. Could the intention of the author be to address a wholly pagan audience? It is unlikely. The author here speaks of physical death rather than eternal death as another consequence of Adam's sin. Furthermore, Everyman describes his own sins the following way:

Alas, I have thee loved and had great pleasure
All my life-days on good and treasure. (427-8)

Ah, Good, thou hast had long my heartily love;
I gave thee that which should be the Lord's above. (457-8)

Everyman finds that his major sin lies in not loving God but giving his heart to other things. He also sees that his good works are not enough to save him:

To think on thee it maketh my heart sick,
For all unready is my book of reckoning. (133-4)

And when he looks at his account book where his good deeds are supposed to be written into, he cries out wholly scared:

Our Lord Jesus help me!
For one letter here I cannot see. (506-7)

The last remark to the seriousness of sin comes from the Doctor who says:

This memorial men may have in mind:
Ye hearers, take it worth, old and young,
And forsake Pride, for he deceiveth you in the end. (902-4)

Death is the second issue about the need for salvation. Death in itself is not enough as a need for salvation. Everyman is not threatened by Death. He is threatened by the fact that he has to give an account to God when he dies. Death makes his sinful state unchangeable. The summons of Death is for judgement not for the graveyard. Its purpose is to take men from this world to the other. As the Messenger says:

The Summoning of Everyman called it is,
That of our lives and ending shows
How transitory we be all day. (4-6)

God commands Death:

Go thou to Everyman,
And show him, in my name,
A pilgrimage he must on him take,
Which he in no wise may escape. (66-69)

It is clear that death is a pilgrimage to the presence of the Creator, not a final state in itself. It is final in that it ends any future possibility for salvation. We also see that death is unavoidable in the encounter between Death and Everyman. Death says:

I am Death that no man dreadeth,
For every man I 'rest, and no man spareth;
For it is God's commandment
That all to me should be obedient. (115-8)

The third issue is *judgement*. This is the major issue. Everyman has to go to judgement. He is responsible to God and has to give an account to him about his earthly life. Death is the door that leads to God's presence, and damnation is the danger. Everyman has reasons to be afraid of God's judgement because of his sins. Judgement is a reckoning. God says:

Therefore I will, in all the haste,
Have a reckoning of every man's person. (45-46)

Death informs Everyman of God's decision:

On thee thou must take a long journey:
Therefore thy book of count with thee thou bring,
For turn again thou cannot by no way.
And look thou be sure of thy reckoning,
For before God thou shalt answer and shew
Thy many bad deeds and good but a few -
How thou hast spent thy life and in what wise,
Before the Chief Lord of Paradise. (105-110)

Everyman is well aware of his responsibility before God. He can explain to Kindred what awaits him at the throne of his Maker:

KINDRED. What account is that which ye must render?
That would I know.
EVERYMAN. Of all my works I must show
How I have lived and my days spent;
Also of ill deeds that I have used
In my time sith life was me lent,
And of all virtues that I have refused. (334-342)

The only companion that Everyman can take with him to the journey and who will be with him at the judgement is Good Deeds. He asks Good Deeds to help him to make reckoning before the Redeemer of all thing. Good Deeds says:

Everyman, I have understanding
That ye be summoned, account to make,
Before Messiah of Jer'salem King.
And you do by me, that journey with you will I take. (292-5)

Judgement is serious because of the fourth issue: the danger of *damnation*.

Because of his sins, Everyman is in danger of eternally perishing. Death warns:

He that loveth riches I will strike with my dart,
His sight to blind, and from heaven to depart -
Except that Almsdeeds be his good friend -
In hell for to dwell, world without end. (76-79)

And great pain it shall cause him to endure
Before the Lord, Heaven-King. (83-84)

Everyman knows how serious this issue is. He begs Good Deeds:

Good Deeds, I pray you help me in this need,
Or else I am forever damned indeed. (509-510)

The threat of perishing becomes really dramatic in the conversation between Everyman and Goods:

EVERYMAN. Alas, I have thee loved and had great pleasure
All my life-days on good and treasure.
GOODS. That is to thy damnation, without leasing,
For my love is contrary to the love everlasting. (427-430)

My condition is man's soul to kill;
If I save one, a thousand I do spill. (442-3)

EVERYMAN. Oh, to whom shall I make my moan
For to go with me in that heavy journey? ((463-4)

For my Goods sharply did me tell
That he bringeth many into hell. (474-5)

Beside his love for Goods another reason for damnation is his delight in fleshly gaities:

And in the way of damnation thou did me bring,
Therefore suffer now strokes of punishing! (615-6)

The Doctor has again the last words on this issue:

For after death amends may no man make,
For then mercy and pity doth him forsake.

If his reckoning be not clear when he doth come,
God will say, "*Ite, maledicti, in ignem eternum!*" (912-5)

The need for salvation is clearly established. The main reason is sin. Everyman sinned against God, broke his law, committed actual sins - the 'seven deadly sins' -, and lacks good deeds to make his account even. Death is certain; it is a journey to the throne of his Maker where he has to give an account of his life. There is no way to escape judgement, which means eternal damnation. Everyman needs salvation. But what is this salvation? This is our next point.

2. *What salvation is.*

If there was no salvation in the text, there would be no didactic intention. To show the need for salvation without showing what it is, would only lead people to despair. How is salvation described in *Everyman*? We see three aspects of it: forgiveness, new life, and heaven.

Everyman sinned against God, therefore first of all he needs *forgiveness*. It can only come from God, as Confession explains it:

But in any wise be secure of mercy -
For your time draweth fast - and ye will saved be.
Ask God mercy and he will grant, truly.
When with the scourge of penance man doth him bind,
The oil of forgiveness then shall he find. (568-572)

Contrition is part of this penance that can get it:

Contrition it is
That getteth forgiveness;
It pleaseth God passing well. (345-7)

Without forgiveness there is no further step in the way of salvation. This forgiveness, however, is not free. Everyman has to do certain things to get it, as we shall see. The Roman Catholic teaching here again is in sharp contrast with the Pauline-Augustinian-Protestant understanding of divine forgiveness out of sheer mercy.

Forgiveness is followed by *a new life*. Everyman's life is changed as another aspect of his salvation. This new life is partly the result, partly the condition of his salvation. He *can* lead a new life as a gift from God, but he also *has to* lead a new life to gain the favour of God. This means that he has to actively contribute to his own salvation, otherwise he cannot avoid damnation. His contributions are mainly penance and good works. He has to punish himself for the sins he has committed and do good works. Confession says:

I will you comfort as well as I can,
And a precious jewel I will give thee,
Called Penance, voider of adversity.
Therewith shall your body chastised be -
With abstinence and perseverance in God's service. (556-560)

Knowledge keep him in this voyage,
And by that time Good Deeds will be with thee. (566-7)

Good Deeds rejoices:

I thank God, now can I walk and go,
And am deliverd of my sickness and woe. (619-620)

The new life is also a gift. Everyman rejoices in his new life of good works when he converses with Knowledge:

EVERYMAN. Welcome, my Good Deeds! Now I hear thy voice,
I weep for very sweetness of love.
KNOWLEDGE. Be no more sad, but ever rejoice:
God seeth thy living in his throne above. (634-6)

Knowledge also says:

Now, Everyman, be merry and glad:
Your Good Deeds cometh now, ye may not be sad.
Now is your Good Deeds whole and sound,
Going upright upon the ground. (623-6)

Everyman's new life is characterised by a new companionship. Instead of Fellowship, Kindred, Cousin, and Goods, he is given new friends:

My friends, come hither and be present,
Discretion, Strength, my Five-Wits, and Beauty! (668-9)

The gift of new life includes new virtues.

But salvation is not complete with forgiveness and new life. *Heaven* is the main purpose of salvation in this morality. God's original goal was that "every man in [his] glory should make his mansion" (52-53). You can find another Roman Catholic speciality in the promise of eternal life in Everyman's words:

Now of penance I will wade the water clear,
To save me from purgatory, that sharp fire. (617-8)

This is the only reference to the possibility of a third option beside heaven and hell: purgatory. But even that is contrasted with the bliss of heaven, and heaven remains the hope of salvation. As Good Deeds remarks:

Everyman, pilgrim, my special friend,
Blessed be thou without end!
For thee is prepare the eternal glory. (629-631)

This is what Five-Wits says about the priests:

For priesthood exceedeth all other thing:
To us Holy Scripture they do teach,
And converteth man from sin, heaven to reach (732-4)

Everyman expresses his hope:

In this world live no more we shall,
But in heaven before the highest Lord of all. (798-9)

When Everyman descends into the grave, the Angel comforts him thus:

Here above thou shalt go
Because of thy singular virtue.
Now the soul is taken the body fro,
Thy reckoning is crystal clear:
Now shalt thou into the heavenly sphere -
Unto the which all ye shall come
That liveth well before the day of doom. (895-901)

And the last word is again the Doctor's:

And he that hath his account whole and sound,
High in heaven he shall be crowned,
Unto which place God bring us all thither,
That we may live body and soul together. (916-9)

3. *The ground for salvation.*

So far we have seen the need for salvation and the essence of salvation in *Everyman*.

But we are even more interested in what this morality teaches about the basis of

salvation. On what grounds can a man be saved? I would like to look at eleven different elements and their roles in the process of Everyman's salvation.

a. The role of *Christ's atonement*. This is the first and one of the most critical elements. In what ways is Christ's sacrifice presented in the play as an atonement? We find clear references in *Everyman* to the passion of Jesus. How does it influence men's salvation? The first thing we notice is that it is many times mentioned as a sacrifice for all. Fellowship declares that God "hath bought" all (265). Everyman calls Christ "Ransomer and Redeemer of all the world" (589-590) who "would every man redeem" (584). God talks about his redemptive work at the beginning of the play in these terms:

My law that I showed when I for them died
They forget clean, and shedding of my blood red.
I hanged between two, it cannot be denied:
To get them life I suffered to be dead.
I healed their feet, with thorns hurt was my head.
I could do no more than I did, truly -
And now I see the people do clean forsake me. (29-35)

It is much less clear, however, in what sense he is a Saviour of all. What did Jesus accomplish with his death? In what sense does his sacrifice have saving value? The references in the play point toward a view that is similar to the 'moral influence theory' that I discussed in chapter 2. Christ was a good example of a perfect penitent, but his sacrifice did not make satisfaction for the sins of anyone. Men have to make satisfaction for their own sins while following the example of Jesus. Confession tells Everyman:

Here shall you receive that scourge of me,
Which is penance strong that ye must endure,
To remember thy Saviour was scourged for thee
With sharp scourges, and suffered it patiently.
So must thou ere thou 'scape that painful pilgrimage. (561-6)

A Protestant would immediately ask here: If the Saviour suffered for him, why does he have to suffer too? If Everyman suffers for his sins, then the sufferings of Christ were in vain. It is up to Catholic theologians to explain this inconsistency. For this inconsistency is clearly there in Everyman's words also:

Of your Son's glory to be partner -
By the means of his passion I it crave.
I beseech you help my soul to save.
Knowledge, give me the scourge of penance:
My flesh therewith shall give acquittance [satisfaction for sins].
I will now begin, if God give me grace. (602-7)

And Knowledge answers:

Everyman, God give you time and space!
Thus I bequeath you in the hands of our Saviour:
Now may you make your reckoning sure. (608-610)

This view of the atonement of Christ is a significant departure from the biblical view that says: "God made him [Christ] who had no sin to be sin for us, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God." (See chapter 2) This departure from the teaching of the New Testament outraged Martin Luther. He had believed it and had almost killed himself by vigils, fasting, scourging his body and other penitential acts, before he understood the teachings of the apostle Paul on the atoning work of Christ. This is therefore a key point of difference between the way of salvation in *Everyman* and in Protestant theology.

b. The role of *faith*. As one would expect of a Catholic morality play, there is not much role for faith in the process of salvation. The emphasis, as we shall see, lies in good works. The only mentioning of faith is toward the end of the play when Everyman tries to persuade Beauty to follow him into the grave:

Yea, by my faith, and nevermore appear.
In this world live no more we shall,
But in heaven before the highest Lord of all. (797-9)

In this context faith is probably another word for hope or trust. It has nothing to do with justification; it only refers to Everyman's hope that he would go to heaven.

c. The role of *repentance*. Salvation is needed because of the problem of sin. Hence repentance before God is shown as an essential ground for forgiveness and salvation. God says at the beginning that "few there be that asketh it [mercy] heartily"

(59); but Knowledge affirms that "Conitron it is that getteth forgiveness" (645-6).

Everyman gradually fulfils this condition. First he admits:

Then of myself I was ashamed,
And so I am worthy to be blamed:
Thus may I well myself hate.
Of whom shall I now counsel take? (476-9)

This counsel he receives from Knowledge:

KNOWLEDGE. Now go we together lovingly
To Confession, that cleansing river.
EVERYMAN. For joy I weep - I would we were there!
But I pray you give me cognition,
Where dwelleth that holy man Confession?
KNOWLEDGE. In the House of Salvation:
We shall us comfort by God's grace.

Lo, this is Confession: kneel down and ask mercy,
For he is in good conceit with God Almighty. (535-544)

And then we read about Everyman's words of repentance:

O blessed Godhead, elect and high Divine,
Forgive my grievous offense!
Here I cry thee mercy in this presence: (586-9)

Hear my clamorous complaint, though it late be;
Receive my prayers, of thy benignity.
Though I be a sinner most abominable,
Yet let my name be written in Moses' table. (593-6)

d. The role of *penance*. We have touched this at the discussion of the first element; but it deserves separate treatment because it is very important in *Everyman* as a condition of salvation. The idea of penance is wholly foreign to the Pauline-Protestant concept of salvation but is an essential element in the Catholic way of salvation as it is expressed in this morality play. Penance is a punishment that one imposes on oneself to show that one is sorry for having done wrong; it is a Roman Catholic sacrament that includes confession, absolution and an act of penance imposed by the priest.⁵² In *Everyman* it is the act of penance that is emphasised. After Everyman makes his confession, he is comforted by Confession:

I will you comfort as well as I can,
And a precious jewel I will give thee,
Called Penance, voider of adversity.
Therewith shall your body chastised be -
With abstinence and perseverance in God's service.

Here shall you receive that scourge of me,
Which is penance strong that ye must endure (556-562)

Penance is viewed as a means to achieve forgiveness:

When with the scourge of penance man doth him [God]bind
The oil of forgiveness then shall he find. (571-2)

However hard the task is, Everyman feels relieved:

For now I will my penance begin.
This hath rejoiced and lighted my heart,
Though the knots be painful and hard within. (575-6)

It is clear that the purpose of doing penance is to assure forgiveness for the penitent.

Everyman says:

Knowledge, give me the scourge of penance:
My flesh therewith shall give acquittance. (605-6)

My body sore punished shall be:
Take this, body, for the sin of the flesh!
Also thou delightest to go gay and fresh,
And in the way of damnation thou did me bring,
Therefore suffer now strokes of punishing!
Now of penance I will wade the water clear,
To save me from purgatory, that sharp fire. (612-8)

e. The role of the *sacraments*. In chapter 2 I have shown how in the Middle Ages the Augustinian synthesis between grace and sacramentalism determined Roman Catholic theology. It was the teaching that the grace of God is mediated by the sacraments. While Protestants found only two sacraments in the Bible - Baptism and the Lord's Supper - Roman Catholics affirmed seven sacraments. These sacraments were supposed to mediate the saving grace of God to sinners. In the process of Everyman's salvation we find these sacraments there. Penance itself is a sacrament but it is not the only one. Priesthood is another sacrament which is extremely important since it is the priest who ministers all the other sacraments to people. Knowledge advises Everyman:

Go to Priesthood, I you advise,
And receive of him, in any wise,
The holy sacraments and ointment together (707-9)

And Five-Wits adds:

There is no emperor, king, duke, ne baron,
That of God hath commission
As hath the least priest in the world being:
For the blessed sacraments pure and bening
He beareth the keys, and thereof hath the cure
For man's redemption - it is ever sure-
Which God for our souls' medicine
Gave us out of his heart with great pine,
Here in this transitory life for thee and me. (713-721)

Five-Wits even lists the seven sacraments:

The blessed sacraments seven there be:
Baptism, Confirmation, with priesthood good,
And the sacrament of God's precious flesh and blood,
Marriage, the holy extreme unction, and penance:
These seven be good to have in remembrance,
Gracious sacraments of high divinity. (722-7)

Salvation is not possible for Everyman without the use of these sacraments. This implies two things: (1) the mediatorial role of the priests, (2) there is no salvation outside the Roman Catholic church. Protestants reject both these implications and affirm the role of Christ as sole Mediator between God and man. E.K. Chambers makes the suggestion that the long passage on priesthood and the seven sacraments (706-771) was introduced as a makeright for the otherwise "too Protestant" temper of the play. But the fact is that then we should also exclude the passages on penance, salvation by good works, the moral influence of Christ's sufferings, and Mary. No, sacramentalism is in perfect harmony with the otherwise "purely Catholic" temper of the play. Everyman is said to be saved by these sacraments:

I have received the sacrament for my redemption,
And then my extreme unction. (773-4)

f. The role of *grace*. This element is the most controversial in the whole play. Grace and mercy appear several times in it, but its meaning is rather empty. There is usually an agreement among theologians that the meaning of the word 'grace' is that you get what you do not deserve. It is a free gift.⁵³ But the meaning 'grace' has in the play is a forgiveness that is well deserved and worked for. God says:

I proffered the people great multitude of mercy,
And few there be that asketh it heartily. (58-59)

To get this mercy one has to feel a certain degree of sorry for one's sins:

In the House of Salvation:
We shall us comfort, by God's grace.
Lo, this is Confession: kneel down and ask mercy,
For he is in good conceit with God Almighty. (540-4)

In the light of the seriousness of the penance one can wonder what Everyman is talking about when he says:

Thanked be God for his gracious work,
For now I will my penance begin. (573-4)

When we consider the concept of grace in the play, the only thing we can connect it to is a vague idea of forgiveness. But even that forgiveness is conditioned on Everyman's persistence in penance and good works and so is well deserved by the end. We can conclude therefore that grace has no place in the way of salvation presented in the play.

g. The role of *good works*. If we can point at the most important element in Everyman's way of salvation, it would be this element. Protestants often charged Catholics that they teach a salvation that is of works not of grace. This was a serious charge since it would contradict the whole teaching of the New Testament. In *Everyman* we can find a clear warrant for this charge. The play overtly teaches a salvation that is of good works.

Except that Almsdeeds be his good friend -
In hell for to dwell, world without end. (78-79)

Goods tells Everyman:

But if thou had me loved moderately during,
As to the poor to give part of me,
Then shouldest thou not in this dolor be,
Nor in this great sorrow and care. (431-4)

Good Deeds is Everyman's company in the journey to God's presence. But the threat is that Good Deeds is too weak and he cannot walk. Everyman would perish because of his few good works. After his contrition he is ready to do good works so that he can escape the danger of damnation:

Now hearken all that be here,
For I will make my testament,

Here before you all present:
In alms half my good I will give with my hands twain,
In the other half, still shall remain,
I 'queath to be returned there it ought to be.
This I do in despite of the fiend of hell,
To go quit out of his perel,
Even after and this day. (696-705)

When all his friends leave Everyman, he has a conversation with Good Deeds:

EVERYMAN. O Jesu, help, all hath forsaken me!
GOOD DEEDS. Nay, Everyman, I will bide with thee:
I will not forsake thee indeed;
Thou shalt find me a good friend at need. (851-4)

EVERYMAN. Methink, alas, that I must be gone
To make my reckonings and my debts pay,
For I see my time is nigh spent away.
Take example, all ye that this do hear or see,
How they that I best loved do forsake me,
Except my Good Deeds that bideeth truly.
GOOD DEEDS. All earthly things is but vanity.
Beauty, Strength, and Discretion do man forsake,
Foolish friends and kinsmen that fair spake -
All fleeth save Good Deeds, and that am I. (864-873)

When Everyman descends into the grave, the Angel remarks:

Now shalt thou into the heavenly sphere -
Unto the which all ye shall come
That liveth well before the day of doom. (899-901)

This is repeated in the concluding words of the Doctor:

And remember Beauty, Five-Wits, Strength, and Discretion,
They all at the last do Everyman forsake,
Save his Good Deeds there doth he take -
But beware, for and they be small,
Before God he hath no help at all -
None excuse may be there for Everyman.
Alas, how shall he do than?
For after death amends may no man make,
For then mercy and pity doth him forsake.
If his reckoning be not clear when he doth come,
God will say, "Ite, maledicti, in ignem eternum!"
And he that hath his account whole and sound,
High in heaven shall be crowned (905-917)

This is a salvation that is of human merit, a salvation that depends on the amount of good works on the part of the sinner. There is no place for the merit of Jesus Christ and for the grace of God. This way of salvation is in sharp contrast with the salvation that is presented in the New Testament and is believed by Protestants like Bunyan.

Let us briefly look at four more elements in the process of Everyman's salvation:

h. The role of *perseverance*. It is clear that Everyman's salvation was not finished when he confessed his sins and repented. He had to persevere in his penance and in his good deeds throughout the remaining years of his life. We have only one line that mentions this,

With abstinence and perseverance in God's service. (560)

but the idea of perseverance is quite obvious in the whole play.

i. The role of *election*. This is an interesting point since election is usually associated with the Protestant view of salvation. But election is there in *Everyman*, too. The Angel welcomes Everyman to heaven with these words:

Come, excellent elect spouse to Jesu! (894)

The meaning of the word, however, is empty as in the case of the word grace. In the Bible election means that God chooses some out of many. In *Everyman* election means something else:

I hoped well that every man
In my glory should make his mansion,
And thereto I had them all elect.
But now I see, like traitors deject (53-55)

God chooses everybody, hence his choice means nothing. In what sense is Everyman one of the elect if he actually saves *himself* while other chosen ones perish? This question remains open.

j. The role of *gospel preaching*. The idea of an Evangelist showing Christian the path of salvation is not unique to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Although the presence of a real gospel in *Everyman* is questionable, there are two pointers to the way of salvation in the text. The first pointer is Knowledge. Good Deeds encourages Everyman:

I have a sister that shall with you also,
Called Knowledge, which shall with you abide
To help you to make that dreadful reckoning. (519-521)

And when she hath brought you there
Where thou shalt heal thee of thy smart,
Then go you with your reckoning and your Good Deeds together
For to make you joyful at heart
Before the blessed Trinity. (527-531)

Knowledge has to keep Everyman on the way of salvation:

Knowledge, keep him in this voyage (565)

The other pointer to the way is Priesthood. It is the priest's task to help Everyman receive salvation:

Everyman, that is the best way ye can do:
God will you to salvation bring.
For priesthood exceedeth all other thing:
To us Holy Scripture they do teach,

And converteth man from sin, heaven to reach (730-4)

k. The role of *Mary*. This is another uniquely Roman Catholic aspect in the way of salvation that Everyman has to find. Protestants vehemently refuse to give Mary any role in the salvation of sinners, and prohibit prayers that are not addressed to God himself. In this Catholic play, however, the Virgin Mary has a mediatorial role in Everyman's salvation. Everyman prays to Mary and asks her to intercede for him:

O Mary, pray to the Maker of all thing
Me for to help at my ending,
And save me from the power of my enemy,
For Death assaileth me strongly.
And Lady, that I may by mean of thy prayer
Of your Son's glory to be partner -
By the means of his passion I it crave.
I beseech you help my soul to save. (597-604)

And stand by me, thou mother and maid, holy Mary! (875)

There are three conclusions that we can draw from the study of the theme of the play:

(1) The way of salvation that is presented here reflects the semi-Pelagian tendencies of the Roman Catholic church before the Reformation.

(2) It is not God who by grace through Christ saves Everyman; it is Everyman who by repentance, good works, the sacraments, perseverance, and with the help of the intercessions of Mary, saves himself.

(3) This is a departure from the foundational documents of Christianity, that the apostles would not have accepted as authentic and true religion. It is worth considering the warnings of the apostle Paul:

Grace and peace to you from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins to rescue us from the present evil age, according to the will of our God and Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

I am astonished that you are so quickly deserting the one who called you by the grace of Christ and are turning to a different gospel - which is really no gospel at all. Evidently some people are throwing you into confusion and are trying to pervert the gospel of Christ. But even if we or an angel from heaven should preach a gospel other than the one we preached to you, let him be eternally condemned! (Galatians 1:3-8)

4. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

The ecclesiology and politics of the Puritans, their conscience-bound but reluctant and stumbling transitions from medieval solidarities to the individualism of their nonconformist and republican stances, have often been studied, but only recently have Puritan theology and spirituality (that is, to use their own word, godliness) begun to receive serious scholarly attention. Only recently has it been noted that a devotional quickening occurred throughout the divided Western church during the century after the Reformation and that Puritanism was a foremost expression (the foremost expression, I would contend) of this stirring.¹

It is very common to view the English Reformation as essentially that of a substantial change in ecclesiological policy. I do not want to deny the truth in it but Packer's words have to warn us not to undervalue the spiritual nature of the English reform movement. The Reformation certainly brought about political and social changes in England but its force was as much spiritual as economical and sociological. The gap between the world of Bunyan and the world of *Everyman* was a theological gap, and when I say this I do not mean that it was only a gap between professional theologians.

The Reformation changed the English society from the lowest to the highest classes. This change was not necessarily a change of personal piety from the worse to the better in every individual case, but it was certainly a change of religion. *The Pilgrim's Progress* shows that the reforms that Henry VIII started, Thomas Cranmer continued and the Puritans further developed did not stop at the level of professional theologians but reached even the lowest levels of society.

The English Reformation was unique in that it did not realise any of the major branches of the movement in a pure form. Lutheranism had some influence on the Church of England at the early years of Cranmer, but it did not prove to have a lasting effect. Calvinism, the other branch of the Reformation was much more successful, but England has never become a Calvinistic country as for example Scotland. We can even say that Protestantism was not completely successful in England since there remained

many elements of Catholicism in the liturgy and practise of the established church. This fact gave birth to the movement now called Puritanism.

Puritanism is a broad and often misrepresented term referring to those English Calvinists who wanted to complete the Reformation in England. Packer says: "Puritanism I define as that movement in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England which sought further reformation and renewal in the Church of England than the Elizabethan settlement allowed."² The authors of *Two Kingdoms* sum up their view on the Puritans the following way:

The Puritans wanted to exclude from Anglican worship anything that was not commanded by Scripture. They stressed the importance of conversion, which meant a fundamental transformation of one's entire being and attitudes, and the expectation that the believer would live a godly and disciplined life.³

Puritanism has never been a unified movement but rather a collective name for all those Calvinists in England who were not satisfied with the compromises of the Elizabethan settlement. There have been Church of England clergymen among them, who accepted the liturgy of *The Book of Common Prayer*. There have been conformist *Anglicans*, like Richard Sibbes and Archbishop Usher, and nonconformists, like John Preston. There have been Puritans who separated themselves from the Church of England. Among them were *Presbyterians*, like William Perkins and Paul Baynes, who rejected Episcopalianism but still maintained the importance of a national church; *Independents*, like John Owen, John Cotton and Thomas Goodwin, who believed in free congregations; and *Baptists* who were Congregationalists but embraced the views of adult baptism and separation of Church and State. Bunyan belonged to this last category.

Hardin Craig says: "There was no general agreement among Englishmen as to how for the Reformation should go and as to whether there was need of reform, or, if it were needed, what should be reformed."⁴ But he also remarks that "... the question raised by the Reformation was one of the profoundest importance; nothing less, indeed,

than the achievement of salvation."⁵ In this respect, however, there is a strong resemblance between the Reformation and English morality plays.

Craig raises the question if the fundamental feature of English moralities lived on into Tudor and Stuart drama.⁶ He answers it with the affirmative. I would, nevertheless, reshape his question the following way: Did the fundamental feature of English moralities, that is the dealing with the salvation of the soul, lived on into the Tudor and Stuart era? My answer is yes, too. Protestantism itself is an afterlife of moralities. Puritanism, with its emphasis on personal spirituality, is an even stronger reflection of the moral plays.

But the perfect answer to the essential message of those pre-Reformation teaching allegories comes from the pen of a Baptist village tinker in the form of another allegory entitled *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

5. THE WAY OF SALVATION IN *THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*

5.1. JOHN BUNYAN

James A. Froude, one of Bunyan's biographers, says about him: "... a man whose writings have for two centuries affected the spiritual opinions of the English race in every part of the world more powerfully than any book or books, except the Bible."¹

Another biographer, Henri A. Talon remarks:

One can have more or less liking for him, read him for pleasure or merely as a duty, but his name cannot be ignored. He owes his position primarily to his talent as a writer, but some of his fame is also due to the virile personality which made him share intensely the fervour of his time, and even to the very lowliness of his social status: Bunyan speaks with the voice of the seventeenth-century working man; his work is the expression of popular culture. And because he combines dramatic genius with a vigorous faith, he helps us more than any other writer to understand Puritanism both as an intellectual movement and as a way of life.²

Bunyan's influence cannot be limited to either his preaching career or his literary achievements. He is also viewed as a representative figure of both his social class and his religious background; and thus one who can be a good model for historians and sociologists to recreate the social life of seventeenth-century English village people and Nonconformists. W. Tindall and J. Lindsey, from a Marxist point of view, even interpret Bunyan's literary works as the expressions of an economic and social Utopia of the proletariat of his time.³ Although F.R. Leavis refutes them, he, too, acknowledges the cultural embeddedness of Bunyan's works; and being hostile to his theology even makes Bunyan responsible for some of the (what he calls) "unhealthy" effects of his works on society.⁴

According to Max Weber, Bunyan's Christian is the best representative of the Calvinist character who is altogether concerned with the salvation of his soul, and yet changes the world around him.⁵ Weber's thesis is that Calvinism is heavily responsible for the development of Capitalism. It is very interesting that A.E. McGrath criticises Weber on the basis that in his analysis Weber primarily relied on two English Puritan authors: Richard Baxter and John Bunyan⁶. I do not want to enter the debate on the economic role of Calvinism, but it is certainly remarkable that Bunyan is one of the two writers on whom Weber built his whole hypothesis.

In this chapter we will briefly look at three topics: (1) The influence of Bunyan's life on his literary works, (2) Bunyan's theology and (3) Bunyan's literary works.

1. *The influence of Bunyan's life on his literary works.*

In critical circles today it is not fashionable to talk about biographical details. We should, however, make now an exception with Bunyan for two reasons: (1) We are examining the theology of *The Pilgrim's Progress* which certainly reflects Bunyan's own vision of life; (2) *The Pilgrim's Progress* is an allegory of Bunyan's own spiritual pilgrimage.

Frode says: "Every step in Christian's journey had been first trodden by Bunyan himself; every pang of fear and shame, every spasm of despair, every breath of hope and consolation, which is there described, is but a reflexion as on a mirror from personal experience."⁷ Although Coleridge declared that 'His piety was baffled by his genius; and Bunyan the dreamer overcame the Bunyan of the conventicle.'⁸ he seems to remain alone with his opinion. In the Introduction to the Penguin edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Roger Sharrock agrees with Frode when he remarks: "The life of the author was as much a classic witness to that heroic Puritan faith as was the book;

and though the book is a religious allegory in form, it grew naturally out of the circumstances of his life."⁹

John Bunyan was born at Elstow, a village near Bedford, in the year 1628. His father was a brazier and a travelling tinker. John learnt how to read and write at a local grammar school, but had no ambitions for a literary career. He took up his father's trade and became a tinker himself. He fought in the Civil War probably on Cromwell's side, but at that time he had no religious motives for that. He got married and had four children, one of them was blind. He re-married when his first wife, Elisabeth, died.

In the years around 1650, he went through a deep spiritual crisis. He had guilt-feelings and a heavy concern for his eternal destiny. He writes: "I was afflicted with thoughts of the Day of Judgement night and day, trembling at the thoughts of the fearful torments of hell fire."¹⁰ He was sorry for the sins of his youth. He had not been particularly sinful - later he declared that he had had no relationship with women except his wife - but he measured himself to the laws of God not to the people around him. Critics like Macaulay and Froude try to underestimate the sins of young Bunyan and make his too-sensitive conscience responsible for the crisis of his life. But we have to object that Bunyan's conscience was captive to the Word and holiness of God not to the optimistic moralism of Macaulay and Froude's liberal theology.

As a result of this guilt he tried to live a godly life. This he failed to achieve despite the fact that his life was significantly changed outwardly. His guilt did not leave him. He was in deep despair as he meticulously described it later in his popular book *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*. This spiritual state lasted for a considerable time until he found peace in the gospel of Jesus Christ. He realised that his own righteousness was not enough for God to declare him innocent; he needed the righteousness of Christ. His experience was very similar to that of Martin Luther more than a century before. Bunyan wrote:

'As I was passing the field, I heard the sentence, thy righteousness is in heaven; and methought I saw, with the eyes of my soul, Jesus Christ at God's right hand, there I say, as my righteousness, so that wherever I was, or whatever I was doing, God could not say of me He wants my righteousness, for that was just before Him. Now did my chains fall off my legs indeed. I was loosed from my affliction and irons; my temptations also fled away, so that from that time those dreadful Scriptures of God left off to trouble me. Now went I home rejoicing for the grace and love of God. Christ of God is made unto us wisdom and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption. I now lived very sweetly at peace with God through Christ. Oh! methought, Christ, Christ! There was nothing but Christ before my eyes. I was not now only looking upon this and the other benefits of Christ apart, as of His blood, burial, and resurrection, but considered Him as a whole Christ. All those graces that were now green in me were yet but like those cracked grouts and fourpence half-pennies which rich men carry in their purses, while their gold is in their trunks at home. Oh! I saw my gold was in my trunk at home in Christ my Lord and Saviour. The Lord led me into the mystery of union with the Son of God, that I was joined to Him, that I was flesh of His flesh. If He and I were one, His righteousness was mine, His merits mine, His victory mine. Now I could see myself in heaven and earth at once; in heaven by my Christ, though on earth by my body and person. Christ was that common and public person in whom the whole body of His elect are always to be considered and reckoned. We fulfilled the law by Him, died by Him, rose from the dead by Him, got the victory over death, the devil and hell by Him. I had cause to say, Praise ye the Lord. Praise God in His sanctuary.'¹¹

This spiritual experience inspired the writing of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Christian is Bunyan himself. After Christian looks at the Cross, he is at two places at once: in heaven by his Christ, though on earth by his body and person. Bunyan struggled with temptations, loneliness, fear and doubts after his conversion, just as Christian struggles with the Giant of Despair and other enemies. But just as Bunyan had assurance of his salvation *while on earth*, so we must understand Christian's position during his pilgrimage as absolutely safe despite all his fights and struggles. This is very important if we want to understand the way of salvation in the work.

Having received assurance of his salvation, Bunyan started to minister in the Baptist church of Bedford. His ministry was so successful that he soon became one of the best known Protestant preachers of England. Even John Owen, the great Puritan theologian, delighted in hearing this village tinker preach "on the mighty deeds of God". His fame spread as flame. His enemies, with no little irony, called him Bishop Bunyan, which bears witness to his reputation and influence.

After the Restoration and the issuing of the Act of Uniformity, he was imprisoned because he did not withdraw from public preaching. He spent about twelve

years in gaol. During his imprisonment he wrote much of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. After a strenuous pilgrimage on earth, Bunyan entered the Celestial City in 1688.

Although Bunyan was a Baptist, his writings reflect more the general Puritan theology of the time than his Baptist background. Jack Hoad the Baptist historian even criticises him for being too loose in his attitude to other denominations.¹² Bunyan belonged to the Particular Baptists who were Calvinistic in their doctrines, but he was an open Baptist in that he allowed born again Christians of other denominations to take the Lord's Supper without being baptised through immersion. We can therefore label him, almost without any restrictions, as a typical Puritan.

2. *Bunyan's theology.*

It is this where Bunyan gets the most criticism. Even those who do not sympathise with his theology acknowledge that *The Pilgrim's Progress* is soaked with his theological insights. F.R. Leavis says: "If *The Pilgrim's Progress* is a humane masterpiece, that is in spite of the bigoted sectarian creed that Bunyan's allegory, in detail as in sum, directs itself to enforcing. In spite of his aim, a humane masterpiece resulted...".¹³ He later calls Bunyan's belief an "intolerant creed, the narrow Calvinistic scheme of personal salvation"¹⁴. C.S. Lewis remarks that "Part of the unpleasant side of *The Pilgrim's Progress* lies in the extreme narrowness and exclusiveness of Bunyan's religious outlook."¹⁵ Yet he also writes: "But I suppose that all who read old books have learned somehow or other to make historical allowances for that sort of thing. Our ancestors wrote and thought like that."¹⁶

To criticise Bunyan's theology, however, one must make value-judgement not just on what he himself believed, but also on what all the English Puritans or even on what all the Protestant Christians believed. H.A. Talon says that "The more one understands Puritanism, the better one can appreciate the significance this or that detail

had for Bunyan and his fellow-believers."¹⁷ But Talon himself is mistaken when he marks the doctrine of election out to be the heart of Puritanism and so of Bunyan's theology¹⁸. He is certainly right in that all the Puritans believed in unconditional election; but it is not fair to say that it was the heart of Puritanism. This is a view that was popularised by Max Weber and by people who were hostile to Puritanism, but this view does not stand in the light of recent critical studies. J.I. Packer writes:

In England anti-Puritan feeling was let loose at the time of the Restoration and has flowed ever since. (...) For the past half century, however, scholars have been meticulously wiping away the mud, and as Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel have unfamiliar colours today now that restorers have removed the dark varnish, so the conventional image of the Puritans has been radically revamped, at least for those in the know. (Knowledge, alas, travels slowly in some quarters.) Taught by Perry Miller, William Haller, Marshall Knappen, Percy Scholes, Edmund Morgan, and a host of more recent researchers, informed folk now acknowledge that the typical Puritans were not wild men, fierce and freaky, religious fanatics and social extremists, but sober, conscientious, and cultured citizens: persons of principle, devoted, determined, and disciplined, excelling in the domestic virtues... At last the record has been put straight.¹⁹

Puritans were consistent Calvinists not just in their creed but in their daily walk, too. A.E. McGrath points out that election for Calvin was a minor issue, a secondary consequence of his emphasis on the fact that it is God who saves through Christ.²⁰ The Puritans kept this emphasis and did not elevate the doctrine of election any higher than Calvin himself. They emphasised, however, that a Christian has to seek assurance that he is accepted by Christ; and this is what made the conscience of the Puritans so sharp.

Froude rightly says:

A good life, or a constant effort after a good life, was still the object which a man was bound to labour after. Though giving no claim to pardon, still less for reward, it was the necessary fruit of a sense of what Christ had done, and of love and gratitude towards him. Good works were the test of saving faith, and if there were no signs of them, the faith was barren: it was not real faith at all.²¹

...after a 'conviction of sin', considerably deeper than most people find necessary for themselves, Bunyan had come to realise what was meant by salvation in Christ, according to the received creed of the contemporary Protestant world. (...) His redemption was a personal act of the Saviour towards each individual sinner. (...) In the seventeenth century, all earnest English Protestants held this belief.²²

However mistaken I believe Talon is in his understanding of Puritan theology, he makes amends for it when he writes:

Bunyan has learnt [by the time he wrote Part II of the *Pilgrim*], as another Puritan, Richard Baxter, says, the signs of a soul reborn are not sorrowing and tears, but love and joy. His dealings with others have taught him this, and also, and above all, his personal experience, which is not recorded

completely in *Grace Abounding*. To say, as has sometimes been said, that Bunyan's religion is that of a sick soul, is to ignore the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. On the contrary, his religion is that of a healthy mind.²³

Bunyan's theology is Calvinism (and Paulianism) at its best. He is in the line of Paul, Augustine, Luther, Calvin and the Puritan scholars; and his teachings on the way of salvation are in perfect harmony with the Protestant way of salvation that I described in chapter two.

3. *Bunyan's literary works.*

Froude understands Bunyan's spirit well when he says that, although he possessed remarkable gifts of expressing himself in writing, he had no value for literature. He only cared for spiritual truth, and literature was just a means of teaching it. Ambition was folly for him. "Amusement was idle trifling in a life so short as man's, and with issues so far-reaching depending upon it."²⁴

Why would he then write literature at all? C.S. Lewis has an answer for this:

The scheme of a journey with adventures suddenly reunited two things in Bunyan's mind which had hitherto lain far apart. One was his present and lifelong preoccupation with the spiritual life. The other, far further away and longer ago, left behind (he had supposed) in childhood, was his delight in old wives' tales and such last remnants of chivalric romance as he had found in chap-books. The one fitted the other like a glove. Now, as never before, the whole man was engaged.²⁵

Although *The Pilgrim's Progress* is the book that brought international reputation to him, it is not the only book that Bunyan has written. He is the author of about sixty evangelical and polemical tracts²⁶, an autobiographical book (*Grace Abounding*), and two other fictions (*The Holy War*, *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*), both of them allegorical. It is partly a question of taste if a person likes *The Holy War* or *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* more than *The Pilgrim's Progress*, but it is unquestionable that "only *The Pilgrim's Progress* has carried the heroic image of militant Puritanism to a vastly wider public than Bunyan's original Nonconformist audiences"²⁷.

Bunyan's literary works are sources for at least three different trends of twentieth-century fiction writing. First, *he is a good source for the Modernists*. Modernist writers emphasise the inner world of the main character; and make us see the surrounding world only through his perception. Bunyan did the same in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. We see the world through Christian's perception, though not in the narrative technique but in principle. This is the reason for misunderstandings about the theology of the work. As Sharrock notes:

Christian has received an assurance of grace [at the Cross]; he is numbered among the elect, among those who are to be saved from damnation. But many of the most desperate adventures with the forces of doubt and despair lie ahead: this is not the end of the drama but the beginning. God may have chosen Christian, but *the reader sees this only as something seen by Christian*, an assurance strong at the time but likely to become weaker under fresh assaults of temptation and when the moment of grace is past. However simple his techniques and attitude, in this respect Bunyan writes as a man of the new post-Cartesian age for whom the world of religious facts, like the physical world, is something lying apart from his own consciousness and having to be perceived through it.²⁸

The impression that Christian's way of salvation sometimes seems to be less certain than the Calvinistic scheme, can therefore be explained with the fact that Bunyan used a technique that somewhat resembles the writings of the Modernists.

Secondly, *Bunyan is a good source for the Postmodernists*. It is again Sharrock who says: "Literary criticism in our time has shown a refined preoccupation with the art of narrative. Among the reasons for the increase of interest in Bunyan may be the fact that most of the devices and problems of narrative come up in the course of *The Pilgrim's Progress*."²⁹ Talon is puzzled why Bunyan interrupts his story as the narrator. Sharrock thinks that "every time Bunyan, in his sublime unconsciousness, breaks the pattern of his allegory, or breaks the fiction by talking directly to the reader, we see the mysteriousness of the fictional thing by thus being distanced from it"³⁰. While the Postmodernist takes inspiration from Bunyan's narrative technique, we are reminded by that that Bunyan's main interest is not the story itself, but the spiritual reality it stands to materialise.

Thirdly, *Bunyan is a good source for those who view literature as the creation of myths*. There are critics, Sharrock among them, who think that Bunyan created a myth by writing *The Pilgrim's Progress*³¹. Many readers do not understand the allegory, but are familiar with the feelings that its conceptions like Vanity-Fair, the Slough of Despond and the Delectable Mountains carry. It was in the nineteenth-century when Froude said: "...matured man still finds the adventures of Christian as charming as the adventures of Ulysses or Aeneas".³² We should be careful, however, with this approach. It is true that Bunyan's allegory has indeed become a myth, yet, we are still dealing with an allegory with a concrete religious purpose. Fantasy is not allowed to fly loose here, unless we want to give up a correct understanding of the didactic purpose that gave birth to the work.

But Sharrock is certainly right when he comments: "A seventeenth-century Calvinist sat down to write a tract and produced a folk-epic of the universal religious imagination."³³

5.2. THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

Sir T.B. Macaulay's words on Bunyan's masterpiece are almost as famous as the work itself:

The Pilgrim's Progress is perhaps the only book about which, after the lapse of a hundred years, the educated minority has come over to the opinion of the common people.³⁴

The influence of this literary work is certainly remarkable if we consider the simple social status of its author. It was also Macaulay who wrote about Southey's edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* that "This is an eminently beautiful and splendid edition of a book which well deserves all that the printer and the engraver can do for it."³⁵ Bunyan's literary achievement as a tinker seems almost inexplicable today.

It is amazing to know that by 1692, according to Charles Doe, about one hundred thousand copies of the book had been sold; it had been translated into other languages, and had surpassed by ninety thousand copies the combined sale of Keach's two most popular allegories³⁶. The book extended Bunyan's reputation over the whole of the British Isles, to Europe, and even as far as America, and earned him the title *Anglus egregius*, given him in 1708 by a specialist in religion and mystical literature³⁷. In the twentieth century he caught the attention of Stanley Fish's deconstruction (*Self-Consuming Artifacts*, 1972), Wolfgang Iser's reader-response criticism (*The Implied Reader from Bunyan to Beckett*, 1974), and William Tindall's (*John Bunyan: Mechanick Preacher*) and Jack Lindsell's (*John Bunyan: Maker of Myths*) Marxist criticism.

H.A. Talon admits: "*The Pilgrim's Progress* grows upon one as one becomes more familiar with it. It may disappoint at first, but it wins over every reader who gives it a friendly trial."³⁸ At first the simplicity and overt didacticism of the book turns modern readers away; but those who do not give up often find that the beauty of the book lies exactly in its simplicity and didacticism. The fact that Bunyan did not have literary ambitions, and that he wanted to achieve spiritual and teaching purposes with the allegory, prevented him from pretensions and dry intellectualism. He did not want to become more than he was, or speak more eloquently than he could, and this has become the major strength of the book.

His simplicity breathed life into the characters and made them real people regardless of the allegorical purposes they served. Froude notes: "The figures stand for typical characters; but as the *dramatis personae* of many writers of fiction, while professing to be beings of flesh and blood are no more than shadows, so Bunyan's shadows are solid men whom we can feel and handle."³⁹ Talon declares that while allegory belongs to the realm of convention,

The Pilgrim's Progress belongs to the realm of nature and of life; its pilgrims are not deprived of flesh and blood. Bunyan has even stressed this concrete quality through one of his heroes: 'Not Honesty in the abstract, but Honest is my name.'

We are not asked to watch capital-letter Vices and Virtues, but, as Coleridge so aptly put it, villagers whose neighbours have given them nicknames. This is another way of saying that one of the first merits of the book is its realism...⁴⁰

C.S. Lewis warns us, though, of making an oversimplified statement about the style of the book. We should not say, Lewis objects, that Bunyan wrote well because he was a sincere, forthright man who had no literary affections and simply said what he meant. It is not that simple. Lewis attributes Bunyan's style to "a perfect natural ear, a great sensibility for the idiom and cadence of popular speech, a long experience in addressing unlettered audiences and a freedom from bad models"⁴¹. Bunyan was not just a simple preacher but an unconscious literary genius as well. Yet, it is probably safe to say, that his unconsciousness about his talents greatly contributed to his success as a fiction writer. His lack of pretensions gained him a fame of standing with Malory and Trollope as a master of perfect naturalness in the mimesis of ordinary conversation.⁴²

How should we interpret the theme of the book? As far as I know there has not been any debates among critics about the theme of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. F.R. Leavis says that Bunyan explicitly sets out to allegorise the Calvinistic scheme of personal salvation.⁴³ According to Froude, English Protestant theology about the way of salvation is nowhere more completely represented than in *The Pilgrim's Progress*⁴⁴. Roger Sharrock explains that the book retains the personal urgency of Bunyan himself to find a righteousness "not his own by which to be saved"⁴⁵.

Bunyan is explicit in giving us the message of the book. The title itself is telling: *The Pilgrim's Progress from this world, to That which is to come: Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream Wherein is Discovered, The manner of his setting out, His Dangerous Journey; And safe Arrival at the Desired Country*. The story is

Christian's journey from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City, through many dangers and adventures. But the story is allegorical - it is a 'similitude' - pointing at a higher level of meaning. The City of Destruction stands for the godless human society which is under God's wrath; the Celestial City is heaven, that is the abode of those who are saved. The theme of the book therefore is *the way of salvation from God's wrath to eternal life*.

This is supported by the opening pages of the story where Christian "bursts out (...) crying, *What shall I do to be saved?*". The whole journey takes place only because Christian is seeking salvation. When he leaves his family behind, he runs crying: "Life, life, eternal life!". In these two cases Bunyan even breaks the consistency of his allegory to make the theme explicit. He is writing about the way of salvation, not just about fantastic adventures. To make sure his readers understand it well, he gives an explanation in the *Author's Apology for His Book*:

This book it chalketh out before thine eyes
The man that seeks the everlasting prize:
It shows you whence he comes, whither he goes,
What he leaves undone, also what he does:
It also shows you how he runs,
Till he unto the Gate of Glory comes.
It shows too who sets out for life amain,
As if the lasting crown they would attain:
Here also you may see the reason why
They lose their labour, and like fools do die.
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:
Yea, it will make the slothful active be,
The blind also delightful things to see. (p.48-49)

We can make two slight modifications to the theme as defined: the way of salvation. I have already shown that the Catholic and Protestant ways of salvation differ significantly, but it is also true that they are the ways of salvation in different ways. In *Everyman* we see a way that leads to salvation, in *The Pilgrim's Progress* we see a saved man journey home. The theme is the way of salvation, but in the major part of the book it means a saved man's adventurous journey to his eternal home.

The other modification has to do with the structure of the book. Bunyan first wrote the First Part of the book while in prison. After he published it in 1678, he was pressed to write a Second Part to it. That he did, and in 1684 he published the story of Christian's wife and children, too. There are, however, huge differences between the two parts. They are almost two different books. The first part describes the conversion and solitary journey of Christian and is therefore more of a personal drama. The second part, on the other hand, is a projection of Bunyan's pastoral experience; it talks about a bunch of people fighting shoulder to shoulder and enjoying their fellowship in Christ. To understand Bunyan's message about the way of salvation, we do not need the second part. There he only repeats the themes that he has already told us in the first part. If we considered the second part on its own, we would have to change our definition of the theme to a more ecclesiastical direction. But I give precedence to the theme of the first part, and interpret the theme of the whole book in light of that. I believe, therefore, that the second part does not change the theme but only enriches it.

5.3. THE WAY OF SALVATION

In light of the above modifications, the discussion of the way of salvation is now limited to the First Part, where Bunyan fully exploits the theme.

Also, we should be careful not to confuse the two aspects of salvation that characterise this allegory. While Everyman keeps working on his salvation throughout the whole play, it is very different with Christian. The majority of the text deals with Christian's pilgrimage to his eternal abode after he is saved. Salvation happens at the beginning of the journey, afterwards he is saved but has not reached his goal. His salvation is both *already* and *not yet*; he is saved but still is not in heaven. However strange it may sound: Christian's pilgrimage has very little to do with his salvation. Of

course, he gets saved because he leaves his home, and the reason for his pilgrimage is to reach heaven. But his pilgrimage is by no means a merit by which he can earn salvation; it is rather the consequence of him being saved. The way of salvation is not identical with Christian's pilgrimage.

I will apply the same three categories into which I sorted out the message of *Everyman*: What does the text say about (1) the need for salvation, (2) salvation itself, and (3) the ground for salvation?

1. *The need for salvation.*

Two things play immense roles in creating a need for salvation: the problem of sin and the coming judgement. The two very often appear together.

The problem of sin is so central to Bunyan that right on the first page of the book he introduces Christian as a man under a heavy burden both physically and spiritually. Christian tells his wife the reason of his sorrow:

'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 can be found, whereby we may be delivered.' (p.51)

Bunyan describes him later as he continues to grieve both over his sin and the coming judgement:

he was (as he was wont) reading in his book, and greatly distressed in his mind; and as he read, he burst out, as he had done before, crying, *What shall I do to be saved?* (p.52)

He complains to Evangelist:

'Sir, I perceive, by the book in my hand, that I am condemned to die, and after that to come to judgement; and I find that I am not willing to do the first, nor able to do the second.' (...) 'I fear that 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 judgement, and from thence to execution; and the thoughts of these things make me cry.' (p.52-53)

Bunyan makes frequent mentioning of Christian's burden on his back (which represents his sin) and the coming wrath. He puts these words into Christian's mouth:

'Why, sir, this burden upon my back is more terrible to me than are all these things which you have mentioned: nay, methinks I care not what I meet with in the way, so be I can also meet with deliverance from my burden.' (p.61)

The Interpreter (who is the Holy Spirit) adds even more to the problem: that of original sin:

This parlour is the heart of a man that was never sanctified by the sweet grace of the Gospel; that dust is his original sin, and inward corruptions that have defiled the whole man. (p.73)

When Christian fights with Apollyon, he admits that because of sin he lived in his power before he was saved:

I was born indeed in your dominions, but your service was hard, and your wages such as a man could not live on, for the wages of sin is death (p.102)

These quotations show that sin is a most important element in Christian's salvation, since it creates a need for salvation. Bunyan made sure that we understand this point well through the conversation between Ignorance and Christian. Ignorance has a much shallower view of his sinful nature than Christian, so the latter wants to persuade the former of the teaching of the Bible concerning the problem of sin:

Christian. To explain myself, the Word of God saith of persons in a natural condition, *There is none righteous, there is none who doth good.* It saith also, *That every imagination of the heart of man is only evil, and that continually.* And again, *The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.* Now then, when we think thus of ourselves, having sense thereof, then are our thoughts good ones, because according to the Word of God.

Ignorance. I will never believe that my heart is thus bad.

Christian. Therefore thou never hadst one good thought concerning thyself in thy life. (...) The Word of God saith that man's ways are crooked ways, not good, but perverse, it saith, *They are naturally out of the good way,* that they have not known it. (p.198)

The other part of the need for salvation is *the coming judgement.* As in *Everyman*, so in this allegory also the judgement day is a real threat for the main hero. The sin-problem becomes acute because of the approaching doomsday. Christian is sure that fire and brimstone would destroy his town, and no one would escape that who does not leave the City of Destruction. The most vivid picture of this judgement is found in the Interpreter's house where a man has a dream:

So I looked up in my dream, and saw the clouds rack at an unusual rate, upon which I heard a great sound of a trumpet, and saw also a man sit upon a cloud, attended with the thousands of Heaven; they were all in flaming fire, also the heavens was on a burning flame. I heard then a voice, saying, 'Arise ye dead, and come to judgement,' and with that the rocks rent, the graves opened, and the dead that were therein came forth; some of them were exceeding glad, and looked upward, and

some thought to hide themselves under the mountains. Then I saw the man that sat upon the cloud open the book and bid the world draw near. Yet there was by reason of a fiery flame that issued out and came from before him a convenient distance betwixt him and them, as betwixt the judge and the prisoners at the bar. I heard it also proclaimed to them that attended on the man that sat on the cloud, 'Gather together the tares, the chaff, and stubble, and cast them into the burning lake,' and with that the bottomless pit opened, just whereabouts I stood; out of the mouth of which there came in an abundant manner smoke, and coals of fire, with hideous noises. It was also said to the same persons 'Gather my wheat into my garner.' And with that I saw many caught up and carried away into the clouds, but I was left behind. I also sought to hide myself, but I could not; for the man that sat upon the cloud still kept his eye upon me: my sins also came into mind, and my conscience did accuse me on every side. Upon this I awaked from my sleep. (p.80)

The bottomless pit of the dream corresponds to hell itself. The possibility of damnation makes the day of judgement so serious. One of the most dramatic sentences of the whole book is the one where Innocence is shut out of the Celestial City, and the author's dream thus concludes:

Then I saw that there was a way to Hell, even from the Gates of Heaven, as well as from the City of Destruction. So I awoke, and behold it was a dream. (p.217)

2. *What salvation is.*

Keeping in mind the double aspect - the *already* and the *not yet* - of salvation in the work, we can make now a threefold classification which is similar to the one we applied with regard to *Everyman*. There we saw salvation as forgiveness, new life, and heaven. Here we see it slightly modified as *justification, new life, and heaven*.

Justification is more than forgiveness, in that it means the declaration of the sinner to be righteous. The doctrine of justification was essential for Protestants in their understanding of salvation. A fuller explanation of its meaning is discussed in chapter 2. In *The Pilgrim's Progress* Christian is not only forgiven but also justified: freed from his burden forever. Good Will tells him:

'As to the burden, be content to bear it, until thou comest to the place of deliverance; for there it will fall from thy back itself.' (p.71)

The place where the burden (his sins) falls from his back is the Cross, the main ground of his salvation. Christian is justified at that place:

Now I saw in my dream, that the highway up which Christian was to go, was fenced on either side with a Wall, and that Wall is called Salvation. Up this way therefore did burdened Christian run, but not without great difficulty, because of the load on his back.

He ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending; and upon that place stood a Cross, and a little below in the bottom, a sepulchre. So I saw in my dream, that just as Christian came up with the Cross, his burden loosed from off his shoulders, and fell from off his back; and began to tumble, and so continued to do till it came to the mouth of the sepulchre, where it fell in, and I saw it no more.

Then was Christian glad and lightsome, and said with a merry heart, 'He hath given me rest, by his sorrow, and life, by his death.' Then he stood still a while, to look and wonder; for it was very surprising to him that the sight of the Cross should thus ease him of his burden. He looked therefore, and looked again, even till the springs that were in his head sent the waters down his cheeks. (p.81-82)

It is very significant what follows this:

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.' The second stripped him of his rags, and clothed him with change of raiment. The third also set a mark on his forehead, and gave him a roll with a seal upon it, which he bid him look on as he ran, and that he should give it in at the Celestial Gate: so they went their way. Then Christian gave three leaps of joy, and went on singing,

*Thus far did I come loaden with my sin,
Nor could aught ease the grief that I was in,
Till I came hither. What a place is this!
Must here be the beginning of my bliss?
Must here the burden fall from off my back?
Must here the strings that bound it to me, crack?
Blessed Cross! Blessed sepulchre! Blessed rather be
The man that there was put to shame for me. (p.82)*

From this point on Christian is saved. He is forgiven, is freed from his burden, is given a new raiment, and has a certificate by which to receive admittance to heaven. He is justified. The same thing happened to Hopeful as he reports it to Christian:

Christian. And did you ask (...) how you must be justified by him? (p.192)

Hopeful. It [the revelation of Christ] made me see that all the world, notwithstanding all the righteousness thereof, is in a state of condemnation. It made me see that God the Father, though he be just, can justly justify the coming sinner. (p.195)

The second aspect of salvation is *a new life* that follows justification. Although in *Everyman* this is an integral part, a prerequisite of salvation, in *The Pilgrim's Progress* it is not a condition but a consequence of salvation. Christian is justified and is waiting for his eternal inheritance. He is a changed man who journeys towards his home through many struggles, trials, and battles. This is what he says to the porter of Beautiful Palace:

I am come from the City of Destruction, and am going to Mount Sion. (...) My name is, now, Christian; but my name at the first was Graceless. (p.90-91)

This aspect of Christian's salvation is discussed throughout the majority of the book, since the pilgrimage itself is Christian's new life.

The third point, however, which is *heaven*, is much more important for our study. Christian is saved *from* something when he is justified. But it is as much true that he is saved *for* something; and this thing is eternal life in heaven. This point is thoroughly dealt with by Bunyan who himself was fascinated by the hope of eternal life. He is embodied in Christian who leaves his home by an urge that is stronger than himself:

So I saw in my dream that the man began to run. Now he had not run far from his own door, but his wife and children perceiving it began to cry after him to return: but the man put his fingers in his ears, and ran on crying, 'Life, life, eternal life!' So he looked not behind him, but fled towards the middle of the plain. (p.53)

When he is questioned by Obstinate and Pliable about his plans, he explains them what he is looking for:

I seek an inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away; and it is laid up in Heaven, and fast there, to be bestowed at the time appointed, on them that diligently seek it. Read it so, if you will, in my book. (p.54)

There is an endless Kingdom to be inhabited, and everlasting life to be given us; that we may inhabit that Kingdom for ever. (...) There are crowns of glory to be given us; and garments that will make us shine like the sun in the firmament of heaven. (...) There shall be no more crying, nor sorrow; for he that is owner of the place will wipe all tears from our eyes. (...) There also you shall meet with thousands, and ten thousands that have gone before us to that place; none of them are hurtful, but loving, and holy, every one walking in the sight of God and standing in his presence with acceptance for ever. (...) There we shall see men that by the world were cut in pieces, burnt in flames, eaten of beasts, drowned in the seas, for the love that they bare to the Lord of the place, all well, and clothed with immortality, as with a garment. (p.56)

But for Christian the best thing of all in heaven is the hope that he would meet with his Redeemer, Jesus Christ:

There I hope to see him alive, that did hang dead on the Cross; and there I hope to be rid of all those things that to this day are in me an annoyance to me; there they say there is no death, and there I shall dwell with such company as I like best. For to tell you truth, I love him, because I was by him eased of my burden, and I am weary of my inward sickness; I would fain be where I shall die no more, and with the company that shall continually cry, *Holy, Holy, Holy*. (p.95-96)

Surely this expressed Bunyan's own hopes and beliefs. At the end of the First Part Christian and Hopeful finally arrive at the Celestial City, where things inexpressible happen to them:

It [the City] was builded of pearls and precious stones, also the street thereof was paved with gold, so that by reason of the natural glory of the City, and the reflection of the sunbeams upon it, Christian with desire fell sick, Hopeful also had a fit or two of the same disease: wherefore here they lay by it a while, crying out because of their pangs, 'If you see my Beloved, tell him that I am sick of love.' (p.208)

The talk that they had with the Shining Ones, was about the glory of the place, who told them, that the beauty, and the glory of it was inexpressible. (p.212)

As Bunyan tries to describe the place we can imagine him also being sick of the desire to be there:

Now I saw in my dream, that these two men went in at the Gate; and lo, as they entered they were transfigured, and they had raiment put on that shone like gold. (...) Then I heard in my dream, that all the bells in the City rang again for joy; and that it was said unto them, '*Enter ye into the joy of your Lord.*' (p.215)

And after that, they shut up the Gates: which when I had seen, I wished myself among them. (p.216)

This is the goal of salvation in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which is granted to all those who are justified.

3. *The ground for salvation.*

Bunyan is very clear in explaining the basis or way of salvation; it is his didactic goal to show his readers how they can inherit life eternal, how they can be reconciled to God. He does that through Christian's salvation and through conversations that take place throughout the journey. I will therefore show the ground for salvation in this allegory by using the examples of Christian and Hopeful.

(1) *Christian's example.* Since it is a story about him, we can get a clear teaching on the way of salvation simply by looking at the narrative events concerning Christian. We have seen that to enter the Celestial City one has to have a certificate, which alludes to justification. Justification is the warrant for entering heaven; a state that cannot be altered if one once received it. But what is the ground for attaining justification? That is the real question in *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

When we consider Christian's life, we realise that we do not have to go very far in the story to see Christian's salvation. As we have looked at it, he is on a search right at the beginning. He knows his need for salvation, he knows the goal of salvation, but he does not know how he can achieve it.

It is *Evangelist* who helps him. He gives him a parchment on which it is written: *Fly from the wrath to come*; and then shows him the direction where he should go. By this Bunyan teaches that it is the Holy Scriptures, and within that the preaching of the gospel, that can show a man the way of salvation. In Bunyan's understanding there is no salvation except through the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The direction that *Evangelist* shows him is towards *Wicket-Gate*. Christian has to go through that gate to arrive at the Narrow Path. When he loses the direction, it is *Evangelist* again who re-directs him:

The Lord says, *Strive to enter in at the strait gate, the Gate to which I sent thee; for strait is the gate that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.* (p.66)

The only way one can enter the Gates of Heaven is to first go through the *Wicket-Gate*.

This is what *Formalist* and *Hypocrisy* missed:

Christian. Gentlemen, whence came you, and whither do you go?
Formalist and Hypocrisy. We were born in the land of *Vainglory*, and are going for praise to *Mount Sion*.
Christian. Why came you not in at the Gate which standeth at the beginning of the way? Know you not that it is written that, *He that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up by some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.* (...) You are counted thieves already by the Lord of the way, therefore I doubt you will not be found true men at the end of the way. You come in by yourselves without his direction, and shall go out by yourselves without his mercy. (p.83-84)

The same incident happens when *Christian* meets *Ignorance*:

Thou camest not in at the *Wicket-Gate* that is at the head of this way: thou camest in hither through that same crooked lane, and therefore I fear, however thou mayest think of thyself, when the reckoning day shall come thou wilt have laid to thy charge that thou art a thief and a robber instead of getting admittance into the City. (p.174)

This is the "extreme narrowness" of Bunyan's religious outlook that F.R. Leavis and C.S. Lewis criticised. But for Bunyan, this idea was in harmony with the biblical teaching, as the quotations show. No other way was possible for salvation, but the one that is in the gospel.

The next thing we notice in Christian's salvation is the role of *repentance*. When he arrives at Wicket-Gate, he knocks on the door and says:

*May I now enter here? Will he within
Open to sorry me, though I have been
An undeserving rebel? Then shall I,
Not fail to sing his lasting praise on high.*

Here is a poor burdened sinner, I come from the City of Destruction, but am going to Mount Sion, that I may be delivered from the wrath to come; I would therefore, sir, since I am informed that by this Gate is the way thither, know if you are willing to let me in. (p.68)

Then comes in the process of Christian's salvation *the Cross*. Having gone through Wicket-Gate, Christian goes on his journey and not much later arrives at a place where there is a Cross. When he looks at the Cross, he is delivered of his burden; he is given a new raiment and a certificate; he is justified. Here we have two Protestant doctrines presented in a specially Bunyanesque way: the doctrine of justification by faith, and the doctrine of the vicarious atonement of Christ.

Christian does nothing for getting rid of his burden, because he is not able to do anything about it. Penance or good deeds would not be sufficient. But then, when he looks at the Cross, the burden automatically falls off. What happens? He looks - that is *faith* -, and the burden falls off - that is *justification*. Here is justification by faith. Is this another form of 'the moral influence theory'? Is it the sight of the passion of Christ that invokes something in Christian that gives him power to get rid of his sins? No, Bunyan is keen on showing us that the Cross symbolises the substitutionary sacrifice of Jesus. Christian interprets his experience in these terms:

I saw one, as I thought in my mind, hang bleeding upon the tree; and the very sight of him made my burden fall off my back (for I groaned under a weary burden), but it fell down from off me. 'Twas a strange thing to me, for I never saw such a thing before. (p.94)

When Christian is talking to Ignorance, they have an interesting conversation about the same topic:

Ignorance. I believe that Christ died for sinners, and that I shall be justified before God from the curse through his gracious acceptance of my obedience to his law: or thus, Christ makes my duties that are religious, acceptable to his Father by virtue of his merits; and so shall I be justified. (p.199)

This view is very close to the one presented in *Everyman*. But let us see Christian's response:

Christian. Let me give an answer to this confession of thy faith.

1. Thou believest with a fantastical faith, for this faith is nowhere described in the Word.
2. Thou believest with a false faith, because it taketh justification from the personal righteousness of Christ and applies it to thy own.
3. This faith maketh not Christ a justifier of thy person, but of thy actions; and of thy person for thy actions' sake, which is false.
4. Therefore this faith is deceitful, even such as will leave thee under wrath, in the day of God Almighty. For true justifying faith puts the soul (as sensible of its lost condition by the law) upon flying for refuge unto Christ's righteousness (which righteousness of *his* is not an act of grace by which he maketh for justification *thy* obedience accepted with God, but *his* personal obedience to the law in doing and suffering for us what that required at our hands). This righteousness I say true faith accepteth, under the skirt of which the soul being shrouded, and by it presented as spotless before God, it is accepted, and acquit from condemnation. (p.200)

Christian, as a good Protestant, believes in the doctrines of justification by faith and the vicarious atonement of Christ. Ignorance, as a good Catholic, makes his objection:

Ignorance. What! Would you have us trust to what Christ in his own person has done without us? This conceit would loosen the reins of our lust, and tolerate us to live as we list: for what matter how we live if we may be justified by Christ's personal righteousness from all, when we believe it? (p.200)

Christian replies:

Christian. Ignorance is thy name, and as thy name is, so art thou; even this thy answer demonstrateth what I say. Ignorant thou art of what justifying righteousness is, and as ignorant how to secure thy soul through the faith of it from the heavy wrath of God. Yea, thou also art ignorant of the true effects of saving faith in the righteousness of Christ, which is to bow and win over the heart to God in Christ to love his name, his word, ways and people, and not as thou ignorantly imaginest. (p.200-1)

We will see this point even more clearly in Hopeful's testimony. Let us now examine the role of *good deeds* in Christian's salvation. Good deeds are *not* the ground for salvation in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. It is always a temptation for its heroes to rely on their own abilities and works, and try to earn their salvation in a way that is found in *Everyman*. But Bunyan makes a very strong point against any attempt to achieve God's favour by keeping his law. Before Christian enters Wicket-Gate, he is deluded by a man called Worldly-Wiseman. This man leads him away from the direction Evangelist showed him, and teaches him a salvation by works. He points at a place and says:

Why, in yonder village (the village is named Morality) there dwells a gentleman, whose name is Legality, a very judicious man (and a man of a very good name) that has skill to help men off with such burdens as thine are, from their shoulders. (...) There, I say, thou mayest be eased of thy burden. (p.62)

At first Christian is inclined to follow his directions, but then he only finds that his burden becomes almost unbearable, and the mountain that represents the Law and his attempts to fulfil it, almost falls on him.

There came also flashes of fire out of the Hill, that made Christian afraid that he should be burned: here therefore he sweat, and did quake for fear. And now he began to be sorry that he had taken Mr. Worldly-Wiseman's counsel; and with that he saw Evangelist coming to meet him; at the sight also of whom he began to blush for shame (p.63)

There is an obvious antagonism in the story between Evangelist (the gospel) and salvation by works. Evangelist gently rebukes Christian, and then explains him why salvation by good works is impossible:

'He to whom thou wast sent for ease, being by name Legality, is the son of a bond-woman which now is, and is in bondage with her children, and is in a mystery this Mount Sinai [the place where Israel was given the Law], which thou hast feared will fall on thy head. Now if she with her children are in bondage, how canst thou expect by them to be made free? This Legality therefore is not able to set thee free from thy burden. No man was as yet ever rid of his burden by him, no, nor ever is like to be: ye cannot be justified by the works of the law; for by the deeds of the law no man living can be rid of his burden: therefore Mr Worldly-Wiseman is an alien, and Mr Legality a cheat, and for his son Civility, notwithstanding his simpering looks, he is but an hypocrite, and cannot help thee. Believe me, there is nothing in all this noise that thou hast heard of this sottish man, but a design to beguile thee of thy salvation, by turning thee from the way in which I had set thee.' After this Evangelist called aloud to the Heavens for confirmation of what he had said; and with that there came words and fire out of the mountain under which poor Christian stood, that made the hair of his flesh stand. The words were thus pronounced, *As many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.* (p.66-67)

As the biblical quotation shows, this approach closely resembles the teaching of the New Testament scriptures. Bunyan re-emphasises this teaching in the scene where Christian is in the house of the Interpreter, and there sees a very dusty room. Interpreter then calls a man to sweep it, but the result is that the dust flies everywhere, and Christian is almost choked. Then Evangelist calls a damsel, who first sprinkles the room with water and only then starts to sweep. The result is very different now. The moral is that the Law cannot make a man's heart clean, it is the task of the water of the gospel to clean it (p.73). There are two sides of it: first, salvation is not possible by doing good works, because man's heart is evil and cannot fulfil the Law; second, the effect of the gospel is good works. Good works are in no way the conditions of

salvation, but they are the necessary consequence of it. This second point is underlined in the conversation between Faithful and Talkative, but we are not discussing that now.

The last thing that we should look at concerning Christian's salvation is the role of *perseverance*. The main question that arises is whether Christian could lose his salvation or not. Calvinistic Protestants always said that a justified believer will never lose his salvation but will persevere to the end. The Puritans affirmed this, too⁴⁶. Is Bunyan consistent to his belief at this point? The allegorical nature of the book makes it very difficult to be precise in every theological issue, therefore much depends on our interpretation. But I see more evidence in the book for the Calvinistic position than for the one that says that Christians can lose their salvation. Evangelist tells Christian that he must "through many tribulations enter into the Kingdom of Heaven" (p.136). But is it possible that Christian will not enter?

Let us first examine the evidence for this possibility. In the Interpreter's house Christian sees a man sitting in an iron cage. When he interviews him, the man reveals that he was once a professing Christian, but is now in a position where there is no more hope for him. (p.78) This is a warning for Christian not to get into the same position, and seems to be an evidence for the possibility of Christian losing his salvation. It is, however, not conclusive. The man says he was a "professor", which means a professing Christian. Bunyan believes that there are many who profess to be Christians but in reality they are not. The Way is crowded by such pilgrims. In fact, there are chained lions at a place as a trial of faith; to discover who are those pilgrims that have no saving faith (p.90). Another evidence can be the scene where Christian and Hopeful see tormented people at the side of a hill (p.172-3), people who were pilgrims before. Hopeful asks the shepherds about the scene:

Hopeful. I perceive that these had on them, even every one, a show of pilgrimage as we have now, had they not?

Shepherd. Yes, and held it a long time, too.

Hopeful. How far might they go on pilgrimage in their day, since they notwithstanding were thus miserably cast away?

Shepherd. Some further, and some not so far as these Mountains.

Then said the pilgrims one to another, 'We had need cry to the strong for strength.'

Shepherd. Ay, and you will have need to use it when you have it, too. (p.172-3)

But this is not a conclusive evidence, either. The shepherds have previously told them that these people were hypocrites. So these damned pilgrims are again professing but not true Christians. There is a proverb that comes up in the story twice: "The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire." (p.115, 205). Hopeful explains its meaning: these men were not changed inwardly, they remained the same old people; they professed to be Christian but they were not.

What evidences are there for the Calvinistic scheme of perseverance? There are two main evidences: the fire that Christian sees in the Interpreter's house and the recurring topic of assurance. Let us look at the first:

Then I saw in my dream that the Interpreter took Christian by the hand, and led him into a place where was a fire burning against a wall, and one standing by it always, casting much water upon it to quench it: yet did the fire burn higher and hotter.

Then said Christian, 'What means this?'

The Interpreter answered, 'This fire is the work of grace that is wrought in the heart; he that casts water upon it, to extinguish and put it out, is the Devil: but in that thou seest the fire, notwithstanding, burn higher and hotter, thou shalt also see the reason of that.' So he had him about to the backside of the wall, where he saw a man with a vessel of oil in his hand, of the which he did also continually cast, but secretly, into the fire. Then said Christian, 'What means this?' The Interpreter answered, 'This is Christ, who continually with the oil of his grace maintains the work already begun in the heart, by the means of which, notwithstanding what the Devil can do, the souls of his people prove gracious still. And in that thou sawest that the man stood behind the wall to maintain the fire, this is to teach thee that it is hard for the tempted to see how this work of grace is maintained in the soul.' (p.75-76)

Here we can see a clear teaching on the Protestant doctrine of the perseverance of the saints. It is Christ who maintains his work in true Christians despite all their temptations. The lesson that Christian receives in the House of Interpreter remains with him throughout his whole pilgrimage. He responds to Piety's enquiry if he saw the House of Interpreter with these words:

Yes, and did see such things there, the remembrance of which will stick by me as long as I live; specially, how Christ, in despite of Satan, maintains his work of grace in the heart. (p.93)

The second evidence of the appearance of this doctrine in the work is the frequent talk on assurance. At the Cross, Christian is marked on his forehead and is

given a sealed roll. This roll has a double function: it is his certificate and his assurance. This gives him entrance into the City, but this is also that is continually to assure him of his salvation:

For this roll was the assurance of his life, and acceptance at the desired haven. (p.89)

The fact that he was always to look at his roll to be assured of his salvation again and again shows that he had an inheritance about which he could forget, but the which he could not lose.

The ground of Christian's salvation is the grace of God. He is convicted of his sins by this grace; he is shown the direction where to go to find salvation; he is being freely justified through the atoning sacrifice of Christ, which he only has to accept by faith; and he is kept for the goal of his salvation by the same grace.

(2) *Hopeful's example*. The implicit and mainly picturesque teachings that we find in the narrative events of Christian's salvation, become explicit and didactic in Hopeful's testimony. C.S. Lewis remarks:

The long conversation, nearly end of Part I, which Christian and Hopeful conduct 'to prevent drowsiness in this place' - they are entering the Enchanted Ground - will not prevent drowsiness on the part of many readers.⁴⁷

But for our study this conversation is a most important one, since here is the way of salvation the most explicitly presented. Here Hopeful gives his testimony of his salvation to Christian, by which Bunyan is able to sum up again what he has already said about Christian's salvation. Let us examine briefly the different elements step by step.

The first step is conviction of sin. Hopeful explains that, although he was not aware of it, it was already the work of the Spirit of God.

I was ignorant that this was the work of God upon me. I never thought that by awakenings for sin, God at first begins the conversion of a sinner. (...) The hours in which convictions were upon me were such troublesome and such heart-affrighting hours that I could not bear, no, not so much as the remembrance of them upon my heart. (p.189)

The next step was a side-track: salvation by *good works*. This is the same that Christian tried before entering Wicket-Gate at the counsel of Worldly-Wiseman. Here is how Hopeful reports it:

I thought I must endeavour to mend my life, for else, thought I, I am sure to be damned. (p.190)

This reminds us again of Everyman. But Hopeful goes on:

[I] betook me to religious duties, as praying, reading, weeping for sin, speaking truth to my neighbours, etc. These things I did, with many others, too much here to relate. (...) But at the last my trouble came tumbling upon me again, and that over the neck of all my reformations. (...) There were several things brought it upon me, especially such sayings as these: *All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags. By the works of the law no man shall be justified. When you have done all things, say, We are unprofitable*; with many more the like: from whence I began to reason with myself thus: if all my righteousnesses are filthy rags, if by the deeds of the law no man can be justified, and if when we have done all, we are yet unprofitable, then 'tis but a folly to think of Heaven by the law. I further thought thus: If a man runs a hundred pound into the shop-keeper's debt, and after that shall pay for all that he shall fetch, yet his old debt stands still in the book uncrossed for the which the shop-keeper may sue him, and cast him into prison till he shall pay the debt. (...) I thought thus with myself; I have by my sins run a great way into God's book, and that my now reforming will not pay off that score; therefore I should think still under all my present amendments. But how shall I be freed from that damnation that I have brought myself in danger of by my former transgressions? (...) If I look narrowly into the best of what I do now, I still see sin, new sin, mixing itself with the best of that I do. So that now I am forced to conclude that notwithstanding my former fond conceit of myself and duties, I have committed sin enough in one duty to send me to Hell though my former life had been faultless. (p.190-2)

This showed Hopeful that he needed a righteousness that far superseded his own. It was Faithful who shared the gospel with him, and this was the gospel about the *substitutionary sacrifice of Christ* and the possibility of *justification by faith*.

Christian. And did you ask him what man this was and how you must be justified by him?

Hopeful. Yes, and he told me it was the Lord Jesus, that dwelleth on the right hand of the Most High: 'and thus, said he, 'you must be justified by him, even by trusting to what he hath done by himself in the days of his flesh, and suffered when he did hang on the tree.' I asked him further, how the man's righteousness could be of that efficacy to justify another before God. And he told me he was the mighty God, and did what he did, and died the death also, not for himself, but for me; to whom his doings, and the worthiness of them should be imputed, if I believed on him. (p.192-3)

The next step for him was to *embrace this salvation by faith* and ask God to reveal his Son to him. This was a personal act of faith expressed in repentance. This is Hopeful's prayer:

God be merciful to me a sinner, and make me to know and believe in Jesus Christ; for I see that if his righteousness had not been, or I have not faith in that righteousness, I am utterly cast away: Lord, I have heard that thou art a merciful God, and hast ordained that thy Son Jesus Christ should be the Saviour of the world; and moreover, thou art willing to bestow him upon such a poor sinner as I am (and I am a sinner indeed), Lord take therefore this opportunity, and magnify thy grace in the salvation of my soul, through thy Son Jesus Christ. Amen. (p.193)

It took a while however until he understood what it means to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ to be saved. Bible verses helped him:

'My grace is sufficient for thee.' (...) 'He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.' (...) 'And him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.' (...) 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. He is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believes. He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. He loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood. He is mediator between God and us. He ever liveth to make intercession for us.' From all which I gathered that I must look for righteousness in his person, and for satisfaction for my sins by his blood; that what he did in obedience to his Father's law, and in submitting to the penalty thereof, was not for himself, but for him that will accept it for his salvation, and be thankful. And now was my heart full of joy, mine eyes full of tears, and mine affections running over with love, to the name, people, and ways of Jesus Christ. (p.194-5)

Hopeful's testimony is the same as Christian's experience; and both reflect Bunyan's own testimony (see chapter 5.1).

What characterises the way of salvation in *The Pilgrim's Progress*? The first amazing fact is that the doctrine of election is not even mentioned in the whole book. Bunyan is frequently charged with an obsession with the idea of divine predestination, but this teaching is not discussed at all in his masterpiece. I do not say that it cannot be deduced from the work - it certainly can -, but the focus is somewhere else.

The salvation that Bunyan teaches is definitely not a salvation of works. It is a salvation by grace through faith in the work of Christ. The main principle is justification. The formal element of justification is a declaration: the sinner is declared righteous. This is realised by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ to the sinner. Hence the basis of justification is not something that the sinner does, but something that Christ did on the Cross. The centre of salvation is thus the Cross of Christ where he made atonement for the sins of all who believe in him. The justified sinner can be assured of his salvation and has a right to heaven when he dies.

When we compare the way of salvation, as taught in this book, to the unanimous teaching of the apostle Paul, St. Augustine, the Reformers, and the Puritans, as I summed it up in chapter 2, we find that the two perfectly correspond to each other.

Here we find Bunyan repeating the same gospel that was preached by the apostles and his spiritual ancestors.

CONCLUSION

Two allegories, one theme. The theme of both works is the way of salvation. In both works the need for salvation is established: sin, death, judgement and damnation. In both works salvation is salvation *from* sin, and *for* a new life with a heavenly hope. Yet, how different the ways that lead to salvation are!

In *Everyman* we have a way that has to be trodden by man. It is a salvation by works, with a terminology that still reflects something of the New Testament gospel (Christ's sacrifice, grace, election, etc.), but which is emptied of its meaning. This way of salvation is the semi-Pelagian gospel of the pre-Reformation Roman Catholic church.

In *The Pilgrim's Progress* we have a way that was trodden by Jesus Christ. It is a salvation by faith in the finished work of the Saviour, a salvation which is in harmony with the teaching of the New Testament. This way of salvation is the gospel that the Reformers read in the books of the Bible, in accordance with their *sola Scriptura* principle.

To understand the didactic intention of the two allegories, we should keep these distinctions in mind.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

¹ C.S. Lewis, "The Vision of John Bunyan" in *Selected Literary Essays*, Cambridge, CUP, 1969, p. 146.

² In N. Denny (ed.), *Medieval Drama*, London, Edward Arnold, 1973, p. 41.

³ Davenport, for example, makes the didactic aim and the too many characters responsible for the weaknesses of *Everyman*. W.A. Davenport, *Fifteenth-Century English Drama*, Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 1982, p. 34.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 42.

⁵ Szenczi Miklós, *English Drama during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1990, p. 22.

⁶ F.P. Wilson, *The English Drama 1485-1585*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969, p. 5, 32.

⁷ J.A. Froude, *Bunyan*, MacMillan and Co., 1895, p. 1.

⁸ Lewis, p. 146.

⁹ A.C. Cawley (ed.), *Everyman and Medieval Miracle Plays*, London, Dent-NY Dutton, 1970, p. 205.

¹⁰ E.K. Chambers, *Malory and Fifteenth-Century Drama, Lyrics and Ballads*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990, p. 64.

¹¹ H. Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 385.

1. ALLEGORY

¹ Gay Clifford, *The Transformation of Allegory*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, p. 3.

² *Ibid*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid*, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 4-5.

⁵ Quoted by Clifford in *The Transformation of Allegory*.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 3-4.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 3.

⁹ Neuss, in Denny, *Medieval Drama*, p. 42.

¹⁰ A. Nicoll, *British Drama, An Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Present Time*, London, Georg G. Harrap and Co., 1925, p. 47.

¹¹ Clifford, p. 5.

¹² C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936, p. 48.

¹³ Clifford, p. 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 15.

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- ¹⁵ Ibid, p. 28.
- ¹⁶ Lewis, *Selected Literary Essays*, p. 148-9 (emphasis mine).
- ¹⁷ Ibid, p. 149.
- ¹⁸ Clifford, p. 10.
- ¹⁹ Lewis, *Selected Literary Essays*, p. 148-9.
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Clifford, p. 33.
- ²² Ibid, p. 7.
- ²³ Ibid, p. 6.
- ²⁴ Ibid, p. 15.
- ²⁵ "[Allegory] is the traditional vehicle of didacticism." (from William Righter's general preface to the *Concept Of Literature* series in Clifford, *The Transformations of Allegory*, p. vi.)

2. SALVATION IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

- ¹ Acts 16:30 in *Holy Bible, NIV*, Colorado Springs, Colorado, IBS, 1973.
- ² J.I. Packer, *Rediscovering Holiness*, p. 45-46.
- ³ Exodus 11-13 in *Holy Bible*.
- ⁴ R.K. McGregor Wright, *No Place for Sovereignty*, Downers Grove, Illinois, IVP, 1996, p. 20.
- ⁵ Virág Jenő, *Dr. Luther Márton önmagáról*, Ordass Lajos Baráti Kör, 1988, p. 66-68 (my translation).
- ⁶ A.E. McGrath, *Kálvin*, Budapest, Osiris, 1996, p. 59-60.
- ⁷ J.I. Packer, *The Quest for Godliness - The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life*, Crossway Books, Wheaton, Illinois, 1990, p. 152.
- ⁸ Abelard's Commentary on Romans 3:19-26, in *A Scholastic Miscellany*, ed. Eugene Fairweather, p. 284. Quoted in J. Stott, *The Cross of Christ*, Downers Grove, Illinois, IVP, 1986, p. 217-8.
- ⁹ Stott, *The Cross of Christ*, p. 220.

3. THE WAY OF SALVATION IN EVERYMAN

- ¹ S.J. Kahrl, *Traditions of Medieval English Drama*, London, Hutchinson University Library, 1974, p. 103.
- ² R. Mackenzie, *The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory*, Boston and London, Ginn and Company, 1914, p. 9. Quoted in S. Feldman, *The Morality-Patterned Comedy of the Renaissance*, The Hague, Mouton, 1970, p. 41.
- ³ F. Schelling, *English Drama*, London, J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1914, p. 24. Quoted in Feldman, p. 41.
- ⁴ Nicoll, *British Drama*, p. 41.
- ⁵ D.M. Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlow*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1962, p. 9.
- ⁶ D.M. Zesmer, *Guide to English Literature from Beowulf through Chaucer and Medieval Drama*, "College Outline Series", New York, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1961, p. 269. Quoted in Feldman, p. 41-42.
- ⁷ Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages*, p. 341.

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- ⁸ Feldman, p. 42.
- ⁹ Ibid, p. 44.
- ¹⁰ Bevington, p. 8-9.
- ¹¹ Feldman, p. 48.
- ¹² Ibid, p. 62 (emphasis mine).
- ¹³ Bevington, p. 17.
- ¹⁴ Chambers, *Malory and Fifteenth-Century Drama, Lyrics and Ballads*, p. 62.
- ¹⁵ Craig, p. 350-1.
- ¹⁶ Davenport, *Fifteenth-Century English Drama*, p. 32.
- ¹⁷ Feldman, p. 44.
- ¹⁸ Chambers, p. 51.
- ¹⁹ Szenczi, *English Drama during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, p. 18.
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Cawley, *Everyman and Medieval Miracle Plays*, p. 205.
- ²² Chambers, p. 62.
- ²³ See Zelenka's unpublished thesis *Elckerlijc-Everyman-Akárki* (ELTE).
- ²⁴ Chambers, p. 63.
- ²⁵ Cawley, p. 205.
- ²⁶ Davenport, p. 34.
- ²⁷ Zelenka, *Elckerlijc-Everyman-Akárki*.
- ²⁸ Wilson, *The English Drama 1485-1585*, p. 32.
- ²⁹ Szenczi, p. 19.
- ³⁰ Nicoll, p. 43.
- ³¹ Cawley, p. 205.
- ³² Wilson, p. 32.
- ³³ J.M.R. Margeson, *The Origins of English Tragedy*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967, p. 32-33.
- ³⁴ Ibid, p. 33.
- ³⁵ Chambers, p. 62.
- ³⁶ Feldman, p. 41.
- ³⁷ Davenport, p. 33-34.
- ³⁸ Feldman, p. 41.
- ³⁹ Bevington, p. 9.
- ⁴⁰ Davenport, p. 34.
- ⁴¹ Feldman, p. 44.
- ⁴² Feldman: "The didactic function of all these moralities is so important that in all four plays a statement of didactic intention frames the action." (Feldman, p.43) The four plays that she has in mind are: *Wisdom, Castell, Mankind* and *Everyman*.
- ⁴³ Szenczi, p. 18.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Craig, p. 348.
- ⁴⁶ Feldman, p. 43 (emphasis mine).

⁴⁷ Kahrl, p. 103 (emphasis mine).

⁴⁸ Zelenka, p. 11.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 12.

⁵⁰ Go, sinners, into eternal fire.

⁵¹ Romans 2:25; Galatians 3:10, 5:3; James 2:10 in *Holy Bible*.

⁵² This definition is taken from *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary*, OUP, Oxford, 1989.

⁵³ See: *Biblikus Teológiai Szótár*, Szent István Társulat, Budapest, 1970 (Roman Catholic); *Keresztyén Bibliai Lexikon*, Kálvin Kiadó, Budapest, 1995 (Protestant); *New Bible Dictionary*, IVP, Leicester, England, 1996 (Ecumenical).

4. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

¹ Packer, *The Quest for Godliness*, p. 12.

² Ibid, p. 35.

³ Clouse, R. G., Pierard, R.V., Yamauchi, E.M., *Two Kingdoms - The Church and Culture through the Ages*, Chicago, Moody Press, 1993, p. 342.

⁴ Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages*, p. 386.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid, p. 383.

5. THE WAY OF SALVATION IN *THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*

¹ Froude, *Bunyan*, p. 1.

² H.A. Talon, *John Bunyan*, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1956, p. 7.

³ W. Tindall, *John Bunyan: Mechanick Preacher*; J. Lindsey, *John Bunyan: Maker of Myths*; both referred to in F.R. Leavis, *The Common Pursuit*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, Penguin, 1978, pp. 188-192, 204-210.

⁴ Leavis, p. 208.

⁵ Max Weber, *A protestáns etika és a kapitalizmus szelleme*, Cserépfalvi, 1995, pp. 109-112.

⁶ McGrath, *Kálvin*, p. 261.

⁷ Froude, p. 16.

⁸ Roger Sharrock's Introduction to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Penguin Books, London, 1987, p. 13.

⁹ Ibid, p. 8.

¹⁰ Quoted in Froude, p. 2.

¹¹ From *Grace Abounding*, quoted in Froude, p. 50-51.

¹² J. Hoad, *The Baptist*, London, Grace Publications, 1986, pp. 101-4, 255.

¹³ Leavis, p. 188.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 190.

¹⁵ Lewis, *Selected Literary Essays*, p. 152.

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- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Talon, p. 23.
- ¹⁸ Ibid, p. 9.
- ¹⁹ Packer, *The Quest for Godliness*, p. 21-22.
- ²⁰ McGrath, p. 160.
- ²¹ Froude, p. 23.
- ²² Ibid, p. 49-50.
- ²³ Talon, p. 26-27.
- ²⁴ Ibid, p. 91.
- ²⁵ Lewis, p. 147.
- ²⁶ You can find a list of these as an appendix of H.A. Talon, *John Bunyan*.
- ²⁷ Quoted from Sharrock's Introduction to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 7.
- ²⁸ Ibid, p. 20 (emphasis mine).
- ²⁹ Ibid, p. 26.
- ³⁰ Ibid, p. 27.
- ³¹ Ibid, p. 25.
- ³² Froude, p. 91.
- ³³ Sharrock, p. 27.
- ³⁴ T.B. Macaulay, *Biographical Essays*, Leipzig, Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1857, p. 113.
- ³⁵ T.B. Macaulay, *Literary Essays*, London, OUP, 1923, p. 1.
- ³⁶ Leavis, p. 206.
- ³⁷ Talon, p. 14.
- ³⁸ Ibid, p. 31.
- ³⁹ Froude, p. 95.
- ⁴⁰ Talon, p. 27.
- ⁴¹ Lewis, p. 150.
- ⁴² Ibid, p. 146.
- ⁴³ Leavis, p. 206.
- ⁴⁴ Froude, p. 19.
- ⁴⁵ Sharrock, p. 19.
- ⁴⁶ See e.g. John Owen, *Christian's Are Forever!*, London, Grace Publications, 1987.
- ⁴⁷ Lewis, p. 146.

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