

*The Whole Story*  
**Language, Narrative and Salvation in Bunyan, Defoe,  
Grimmelshausen and Schnabel**

Janet Bertsch

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Department of German  
University College London  
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## ***Abstract***

The period from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, a time of social, scientific and religious transition, witnesses the gradual birth of the modern novel. Four works from this transitional period, John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), Hans Jakob Christoph von Grimmelshausen's *Der Abentheurliche Simplicissimus Teutsch* (1668), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and Johann Gottfried Schnabel's *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer* (1731-1743) share a common, Scriptural structure (Paradise - Fall - Wandering in the Sinful World - Salvation - Return to Earthly Paradise). The protagonists of these works seek to understand their position within the comprehensive divine plan for creation, perceiving the pattern of the Scriptural narrative which encapsulates the story of all of humanity on a microcosmic level. Their final movement to narrate their own stories is predicated on a recognition that each of these individual narratives participates in and, in a sense, rewrites the larger story, leading to self-reflexive narration which transcends pure self-referentiality in its appeal to a greater, shared literary framework.

This thesis examines the search for spiritual assurance through reading and interpretation, in relation to certain central concerns: the nature of language and signification, man's position in creation, the value of worldly experience, and the effort to create an harmonious community. All of these issues appear against the background of the transition from an holistic to a more secular and fragmented world view, leading to tensions in the effort to reach, and to depict, a state of rest - the spiritual homeland or earthly paradise. The examination of the common elements of these four proto-novels is intended to deepen our understanding of the development of the novel, and of the literary and spiritual concerns amidst which the modern novel first appears.

## ***Table of Contents***

	<b><i>Abstract</i></b> .....	2
	<b><i>Table of Contents</i></b> .....	3
	<b><i>Acknowledgements</i></b> .....	6
I.	<b><i>Introduction</i></b> .....	8
II.	<b><i>The Interpretive Journey</i></b> .....	16
	A. <i>Bunyan</i> .....	18
	B. <i>Schnabel</i> .....	43
	C. <i>Grimmelshausen</i> .....	53
	D. <i>Defoe</i> .....	76
III.	<b><i>The Scriptural Landscape</i></b> .....	95
	1. <i>The Pilgrimage Motif</i> .....	95
	A. <i>Bunyan</i> .....	95
	2. <i>The Island Motif and the "Robinsonade"</i> .....	105
	B. <i>Schnabel</i> .....	111
	C. <i>Grimmelshausen</i> .....	118
	D. <i>Defoe</i> .....	123
IV.	<b><i>The Spiritual Continuum and the Nature of Man</i></b> .....	139
	A. <i>Bunyan</i> .....	141
	B. <i>Schnabel</i> .....	143
	C. <i>Grimmelshausen</i> .....	148
	D. <i>Defoe</i> .....	156
V.	<b><i>The Narrative Community</i></b> .....	164
	A. <i>Bunyan</i> .....	164
	B. <i>Schnabel</i> .....	183
	C. <i>Grimmelshausen</i> .....	191
	D. <i>Defoe</i> .....	200



VI.	<i>The Eventual Ending?</i> .....	212
1.	<i>The Universal Language</i> .....	212
A.	<i>Bunyan</i> .....	215
B.	<i>Schnabel</i> .....	219
C.	<i>Grimmelshausen</i> .....	223
D.	<i>Defoe</i> .....	228
2.	<i>Ambiguities and Conundrums</i> .....	233
A.	<i>Bunyan</i> .....	235
B.	<i>Schnabel</i> .....	239
C.	<i>Grimmelshausen</i> .....	240
D.	<i>Defoe</i> .....	243
3.	<i>Conclusions</i> .....	246
	<i>Bibliography</i> .....	249

To my husband, Daniel Morrison

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The Pilgrim's Progress FROM THIS WORLD, TO That which is to come: ...  
Wherein is Discovered, The manner of his setting out, His Dangerous Journey; And  
safe Arrival at the Desired Countrey.<sup>1</sup>

When he came again to me, I entred into a long Discourse with him upon the Subject  
of the Redemption of Man by the Saviour of the World, and of the Doctrine of the  
Gospel preach'd from Heaven, viz. of Repentance towards God, and Faith in our  
Blessed Lord Jesus. I then explain'd to him, as well as I could, why our Blessed  
Redeemer took not on him the Nature of Angels, but the Seed of Abraham, and how  
for that Reason the fallen Angels had no Share in the Redemption; that he came only  
to the lost Sheep of the House of *Israel*, and the like.<sup>2</sup>

Solcher Ursachen halber wurde er auch desto eyfriger / mich in allem Guten  
anzuführen / er machte den Anfang seiner Unterrichtungen vom Fall Lucifers / von  
dannem kam er in das Paradeis / und als wir mit unsern Eltern darauß verstossen  
wurden / passirte er durch das Gesetz Mosis / und lernet mich vermittelst der zehen  
Gebot Gottes und ihrer Außlegungen (von denen er sagte / daß sie ein wahre  
Richtschnur seyen / den Willen GOTTes zu erkennen / und nach denselben ein  
heiliges Gott wolgefälliges Leben anzustellen) die Tugenden von den Lastern zu  
unterscheiden / das gute zu thun / und das böse zu lassen: Endlich kam er auff das  
Evangelium / und sagte mir von Christi Geburt / Leiden / Sterben und  
Aufferstehung; zuletzt beschlosse ers mit dem jüngsten Tag / und stellet mir Himmel  
und Höll vor Augen / und solches alles mit gebührenden Umständen / doch nit mit  
gar zu überflüssiger Weitläufftigkeit ...<sup>3</sup>

GOTT gebe, versetzte sie, daß eure zukünfftige Lebens-Zeit vergnügter sey, allein  
darff ich euch wol bitten, mir euren ausführlichen Lebens-Lauff zu erzehlen, denn  
mein seel. Ehe-Herr hat mir einmals gesagt, daß derselbige theils kläglich, theils  
lustig anzuhören sey.<sup>4</sup>

*It is a Relation of the work of God upon my own Soul, even from the very first, till  
now; wherein you may perceive my castings down, and raisings up; for he woundeth,  
and his hands make whole. It is written in the Scripture (Isai. 38:19), The father to  
the children shall make known the truth of God.*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to That which is to Come*, eds. Roger Sharrock, James Wharey (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960) facing xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Defoe. *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson, of York, Mariner [...]*, ed. J. Donald Crowley (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 219-220.

<sup>3</sup> Hans Jakob Christoph von Grimmelshausen, *Der Abentheurliche Simplicissimus Teutsch und Continuatio des abentheurlichen Simplicissimi*, ed. Rolf Tarot (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967) 28 (Book I, Chapter ix).

<sup>4</sup> Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer [...] 1731*, Vol. I (Hildesheim: Olms Press, 1973) 259-260. Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Insel Felsenburg*, eds. Volker Meid, Ingeborg Springer-Strand (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1979) 235.

<sup>5</sup> John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, ed. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 1-2.

## I. *Introduction*

The primary purpose of any novel is to tell a story. In the twentieth-century novel, storytelling, *how* the story is told, itself becomes a central theme of the narrative. This dimension of self-reflexivity is not an exclusively modern or postmodern creation. Novelistic narrative, particularly in the early modern period as genre distinctions begin to be defined and delineated, frequently contains moments of sophisticated self-reflexivity. Cervantes' *Don Quixote* is perhaps the most obvious example of this tendency. The theoretical concerns and basic assumptions on which seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts are founded are, however, very different from those of our later era. My close examination of texts by John Bunyan, Hans Jakob Christoph von Grimmelshausen, Daniel Defoe, and Johann Gottfried Schnabel reveals the thematisation of narrative against the background of a religious understanding of the world and the role of the novel.

Perhaps because these texts appear between 1666 and 1743, a period of transition throughout Europe, their depiction of the narrative process and of its relationship to the underlying Scriptural paradigm is not clear-cut or straightforward. The strain of simultaneously representing the traditional tenets of faith and the complexity, density and variety of human experience pervades the works. Even explicitly religious texts like Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* or *The Pilgrim's Progress* contain narrative tensions, particularly with respect to the understanding of language and the problem of closure. Examining *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus Teutsch*, *The Pilgrim's Progress Parts One and Two*, *Robinson Crusoe Part One*, and Schnabel's *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer (Insel Felsenburg) Volumes One, Two, Three and Four* in relation to each other reveals the common story, expressed in multiple variations, underlying each of these texts. At the same time, certain common paradoxes, problems, and tensions appear and reappear in each text, the result of the difficulty in reconciling the variations in individual experience to a common narrative model, the Bible.

The idea of a text rewriting and reconfiguring a previous text provides a paradigm for the shifting relationship between individual experience, on the one hand, and a universal framework of signification on the other. This is true for the four authors examined in this thesis and for the wider spectrum of Baroque religious interaction with the text of the Bible. Early reformers in German-speaking territories

and in England understand their reforms according to an historical typology,<sup>6</sup> in which figures in the Old Testament appear as precursors for events in the New Testament, but which goes beyond traditional Catholic exegesis by reading figures in the New Testament as foreshadowing subsequent, non-Scriptural history, applying New Testament figures to political events and situations. By the seventeenth century, this tendency has been intensified as a large number of sectarian and political groups attempt to assume Biblically-sanctioned authority by demonstrating, in books, broadsheets, almanacs, speeches and sermons, the significance of their self-generated narratives as the fulfilment of Scriptural paradigms.<sup>7</sup> The frenzy of interpretation and revision occurs on an individual, as well as a group basis, and provides the fundamental structure (as well as some of the fundamental paradoxes) of the spiritual autobiography.<sup>8</sup> The spiritual autobiography, in turn, lies at the heart of the didactic component of much early modern first- and even third-person fictional narrative.<sup>9</sup>

Spiritual autobiographies, including Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, follow a basic pattern very much founded upon a Scriptural understanding of the nature of man. The use of the imagery of the death of the "Old Adam" and the rebirth of the "new Adam" through conversion appears throughout seventeenth-century religious didactic literature, regardless of confession.<sup>10</sup> The

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<sup>6</sup> See also:

Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenaries and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (London: Pimlico, 1993).

Erich Auerbach, "Figura," *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1973).

Katherine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979).

Earl Miner, ed., *Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1977).

<sup>7</sup> Stephen E. Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1973) 59.

<sup>8</sup> N.H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Avon: Leicester UP, 1987) 264-265.

<sup>9</sup> See especially:

G.A. Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1965).

Gertrud Kalb, "Travel Literature Reinterpreted: *Robinson Crusoe* und die religiöse Thematik der Reiseliteratur," *Anglia* 101 (1983): 407-420.

Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins UP, 1987).

John J. Richetti, *Popular Fiction before Richardson: Narrative Patterns 1700-1739* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

J. Paul Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and Quest for Form in Robinson Crusoe* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins, 1966).

<sup>10</sup> Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989) 237.

pattern of individual autobiographies is based on the structure of Scripture itself: creation, original sin, the wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness, and the movement from the Old Testament Law to New Testament Grace through the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ, which results in the salvation of all believers and their final entry into the Heavenly Jerusalem. The perceived relationship between the Old Testament and the New Testament is of central significance to narratives based on this universal pattern. This reading of Scripture views the New Testament as a positive revision of the Old Testament, completing the Old Testament narrative as the fulfilment of its promises and prophecies and re-enacting historical events in a context which makes manifest their hidden, spiritual meanings. The Bible, read as a single story<sup>11</sup> according to this interpretation, roughly follows a parallel pattern of descent and ascent, represented in the diagram on the following page.

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<sup>11</sup> Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (London: Routledge, 1982).

Outline A reveals the basic structure of the Old Testament, in which events subsequent to the Fall are read as a carnal foreshadowing of the spiritual salvation outlined in B. The common tendency of Baroque religious works of all confessions to concentrate on certain portions of the text and to read the Bible as a single story conflates the two parallel structures and reveals the outline portrayed in C and summarised in the previous paragraph:

*A. Old Testament*

Paradise		The Promised Land
Fall		Wandering of Israelites
	Sin and Captivity	

*B. New Testament*

Divine Unity		Resurrection
Incarnation		Crucifixion
	Teaching and Fulfilment of Old Testament Prophecies (Christ wandering through world)	

*C. Combined Narrative Read as a Whole:*

Paradise		The Heavenly Jerusalem (Man's reentry into paradisaal state, either earthly or transcendent)
Fall (Old Adam)		Salvation through Christ (New Adam) (Incarnation, Resurrection, Crucifixion)
	The Law	Grace
	Sin and Spiritual Captivity (Wandering in the wilderness of the world)	



The pattern visible in “C” can be easily adapted on an individual level to a pattern of birth, sin, and worldly seeking, conversion through Grace, entry into the spiritual community (the Church militant), and death (the Church triumphant). It appears in the prototype spiritual autobiography, St. Augustine’s *Confessions*. The use of such a pattern is not merely an imitation of an arbitrarily-chosen narrative framework, however. Instead, spiritual autobiography seeks to reveal the *living* Word, to reveal the Scriptural narrative as felt and experienced on the individual level. Particularly within the sectarian context, where the invocation of Scripture is often intended to reinforce the authority of the speaker, this may appear as a speaking *through* Scripture, an immediate identification with Scriptural events. Individual experience is described directly in Scriptural terms. This form of “pregnant metaphor,”<sup>12</sup> the use of Scriptural language or Scriptural paradigms as a model for individual experience, appears in all of the works with which I am concerned.

The use or reworking of a Scriptural structure as a voice for spiritual experience provides a wealth of metaphors and images. Each individual image is full of meaning derived from its position within the comprehensive Scriptural narrative. Invoking a single passage or description brings to mind the whole story. The conflation of structures A and B, for example, results in the merging of images and metaphors from both narratives. The “Kingdom of Heaven” is perceived in connection with the “Garden of Eden” and with the “Earthly Paradise” from the beginning of time, with the Israelites’ “Canaan” “Zion” and “The Promised Land,” and with “The Holy City” and “The New Jerusalem” from the Book of Revelation. A reference to any of these phrases immediately recalls their relation to the others, as well as their significance in connection with the beginning and the end of the narrative as a whole. Because of the particular focus of Calvinism and movements related to Calvinism (Pietism, for example) on the Old Testament histories,<sup>13</sup> certain events and metaphors appear more frequently than others. I will address the significance of some of these, particularly of the motifs of wandering or journeying and of the Promised Land, in my treatment of the allegorical landscape.

Novelistic plot, in its simplest form, strives to trace a path from the state of disintegration, of disjunction between the individual and his or her circumstances

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<sup>12</sup> William Haller, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963) 53.

<sup>13</sup> Haller, 53.

and surroundings (social, physical, spiritual, psychological) to a final state of integration, either through the successful resolution of this disjunction (the marriage takes place, the mystery is solved) or through a radicalisation of the problem, to the point that the only resolution possible is the negation of the individual at its centre, thus finally reasserting a state of integration. In *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Simplicissimus*, and the *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer*, the path from disintegration to integration follows the Scriptural pattern which I outlined above. Examining the common elements of these narratives reveals a framework, summarised roughly as follows: Birth into a world tarnished by the sin of Adam creates a situation of homelessness in the world; banished from Paradise, man's life is a pilgrimage, a continual effort to return to a state of rootedness in and unity with the divine will. In order to make this journey successfully, it is imperative that the individual learn to recognise the role of God in creating, maintaining, and regulating the world, and, more specifically, in exerting his power as Providence on a personal level. Such recognition necessarily involves constant attention to experience and to the empirical world, the "Book of Nature," in order to uncover the divine purpose immanently present in all things. The success of these efforts, in each of our works, is confirmed when an individual regains the state of Adam, successfully reentering the earthly paradise as represented either in an allegorical landscape (*The Pilgrim's Progress, Parts I and II*) or as a desert island, in which characters operate directly under divine guidance (*Simplicissimus*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Insel Felsenburg*). In each case, the attainment of the paradisaical state is enabled by interpretive activity and confirmed by narration, a movement from reader to *writer*, as re-creator and as a second God, able to reorganise the material world into an order which reveals its divine substance.

All of these texts are centrally concerned with what I will call "The Whole Story," the chronicle of creation from its beginning to its end. In its most ideal and complete form, the individual text is an individualised re-creation of Scripture, a reading of Scripture from the point of view of a single person. By writing their stories according to the Scriptural paradigm and by focusing their interpretive journeys on the discovery of a divine order, individual narrators come to a consciousness of themselves as participants in the comprehensive story of all creation. Each of our texts is permeated by the consciousness of creation as the manifestation of the divine narrative, and it is the effort to comprehend and to enter

this discourse which impels each character in his or her journey to salvation. The texts are written during a period of transition and of secularisation,<sup>14</sup> and three of them are not primarily religious texts. Because of this, they also reflect, consciously and unconsciously, the difficulties of perceiving the universal narrative in their empirical surroundings and of understanding the significance of individual experience in this framework.

*The Pilgrim's Progress, Parts I and II* are the most explicitly religious texts, fiction with a central didactic purpose, so within each section of my argument I have treated them first, as bridging the territory between spiritual non-fiction and the novel, a form that seeks to be both entertaining and didactic. Because Bunyan's fictional work appears, in many ways, to parallel his spiritual autobiography, I will also make occasional references to *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*. Within my analysis of each text, I have necessarily placed more weight on the spiritual than on the secular aspects of the narrative, although I recognise that *Simplicissimus*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and the *Wunderliche Fata* all display a significant concern with the secular realm, a concern which has been investigated by other critics. I have placed my treatment of Schnabel's *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer (Insel Felsenburg)* after the treatment of Bunyan's works in each chapter, simply because the text is extremely straightforward in representing the division between the unregenerate European world and the regenerate Felsenburg community. The explicit division of Schnabel's account forms an interesting prelude to a discussion of Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, the most difficult text in terms of the extreme tensions and ambiguities surrounding its depiction of the relation between the worldly and the divine. Each chapter concludes with a thematic reading of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, which, more than any of the other texts, emphasises the value of human effort in regaining the paradisaal state, the human ability to transform the environment.

My readings are intended to reflect the fact that the four authors address similar issues, but with different weight given to each issue in the narrative, and with plots and narrative modes dissimilar in many specific aspects. As such, the readings in each chapter tend to address a number of common elements, for example the role of memory, of examination scenes, and of prophetic knowledge in the first main

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<sup>14</sup> Timothy J. Reiss in *The Discourse of Modernism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1982) examines this secularisation in terms of a changing understanding of signification.

chapter, but they also look at aspects of the narrative specific to each text, and at the specific role of each common element in the plot of the work as a whole. The thesis is structured so that a reading which skips from chapter to chapter to address only one of the four works is possible, but readers will find the comprehensive view attained by reading the whole dissertation more rewarding, simply because the common concerns and devices of the texts gloss each other so effectively.

## II. *The Interpretive Journey*

From the first days of the Protestant Reformation, issues surrounding the reading and interpretation of Scripture were a central concern. Indeed, Luther's doctrine of justification by faith was based solely upon his reading of Scripture, a reading that challenged the position of the Catholic Church as mediator between man and salvation. The assertion of an individual's interpretation of Scripture, no longer mediated by the official body of the Church, and no longer vouchsafed by the historical continuity of the traditional Church in its role as the guardian of apostolic truths, resounded dramatically throughout Europe. With the rejection of the inheritance and tradition of the Church, the Bible became the sole visible article of religion for the reformers. The relative success of any of the Reformation groups lay in the creation and promotion of a system of signification and understanding (of the individual self, of the individual nation, of these two in connection with Scripture and salvation) to rival that of Rome. Hence the printing press played such a fundamental role within the Reformation. Books and the Book replaced the visible Incarnation within the Mass, and the interior understanding of words which comes with reading and memorisation, mental digestion of the Word, superseded the outward understanding present in the visual observation of the Mass and the physical digestion of the Sacrament. Norman Cohn summarises the paradoxes inherent in this development:

As against the authority of the Church of Rome the Reformers appealed to the text of the Bible. But once men took to reading the Bible for themselves they began to interpret it for themselves; and their interpretations did not always accord with those of the Reformers. Wherever Luther's influence extended the priest lost much of his traditional prestige as a mediator between the layman and God and an indispensable spiritual guide. But once the layman began to feel that he himself stood face to face with God and to rely for guidance on his individual conscience, it was inevitable that some laymen should claim divine promptings which ran as much counter to the new as to the old orthodoxy.<sup>1</sup>

Naturally, subsequent debates and dogmatic unrest focused on the weighing of Scriptural authority, on rival interpretations of Scripture, and on the relations between Scripture and things outside Scripture: political events, individual lives, the reading of the Book of Nature according to Scriptural themes or as a rival to

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<sup>1</sup> Cohn, 108.

Scripture, the role of reason and interior illumination and their relation to the physical Book.

In those groups where written and oral interaction became the main vehicle for religious expression, rather than sacramental liturgy, narration and narrative reception by the individual replaced Catholic institutional mediation between man and God, and even replaced the early Protestant notion of a self-interpreting Scripture containing the truths necessary to salvation. Individual allegorical readings of Scripture, of experience, and of the natural world occurred as parallel and interrelated responses to a loss of mediation and recognised interpretive authority, and intensified with the effects of social and political displacement, underlining the general disorientation which accompanied the questioning of a uniform and theologically based view of the cosmos. The use of disparate interpretations raised questions of truth and relativity - whereas the Bible had hitherto been viewed as a repository of truth and mystery, the appearance of rival Biblical interpretations brought the relationship between word and meaning, signifier and signified, into question. These problems with language and interpretation form the background of the early modern novel. They are central concerns of those four works selected for analysis, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and Schnabel's *Wunderliche Fata*, and lie at the heart of the desire to perceive and to understand the significance of empirical experience in each text.

Each of the main characters in our four texts must undergo a journey which, like Bunyan's journey to spiritual enlightenment in *Grace Abounding*, is as much an interpretive as a physical movement. Faced with a world whose order and meaning remains hidden, a corrupt and fallen world whose inhabitants strive to deceive, rather than to assist each other, the greatest possible danger is one of mistaken reading, the failure to learn from experience which leads, in the end, to damnation. In three of these works (Bunyan, Grimmelshausen, Defoe), the process of learning to read Scripture is explicitly depicted and becomes a device to measure a character's ability to read other aspects of his existence. An excessively literal understanding of Scripture accompanies an interpretation of experience which fails to move beyond the sensory realm or to uncover the hypocrisy which masks worldly discourse. In this context we will encounter some of the basic tensions present in each text between a state of innocent ignorance and a state of sinful, but necessary, experience. Movement through the world is a movement through sin. The process of learning to

recognise sin all too frequently involves participation in it, and, for the majority of our characters, the dilemma underlying their narratives is the need to reconcile their overwhelmingly chaotic, deceptive experiences and perceptions with their hidden spiritual significance. Such tension, intimately connected with the theodicy problem, throws into question the entire process of signification and the nature of language, creating the urgent drive to draw out and stabilise the manifold, hidden meanings of everything - Scripture, the Book of Nature, past experience, the discourse of others, riddles, emblems - a desire which, beyond these texts, pervades the culture of the entire Baroque period.

In the texts by Schnabel, Bunyan, and Defoe, the interpretive drive culminates in the discovery of a single, hidden, true interpretation, and in the end each narrative seeks to objectify this truth, whether as a book or as a physical memorial. In Grimmelshausen's text, where communication is much more problematic, such an interpretation is never achieved. Instead of rejecting the deceptive world of appearances in favour of an immanent divine order, interpretive success for Simplicius consists in the ability to see all of the levels of meaning simultaneously. This ability, acquired only in the final pages of the novel, is closely linked with the process of writing. Grimmelshausen's text functions as a counter-example to the other three works. Each of these, in its own way, attempts to depict the movement towards a successful, comprehensive interpretation of worldly experience, an interpretation which strives to reject the sinful ambiguity of empirical appearance in favour of the single meaning present in the hidden, divine order, the substrate of the empirical world. This order may be characterised as the narrative of creation, the story written and sustained by God, in which each object and each experience possess a hidden significance.

#### A. Bunyan

It is possible to perceive in *The Pilgrim's Progress* Bunyan's attempt to bring out the universal and symbolic aspects of his own experiences,<sup>2</sup> "the process of becoming a spiritual *exemplum*," which, according to Robert Bell, is never fully realised in his autobiography.<sup>3</sup> Certainly the account of Christian's journey shares

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<sup>2</sup> Joan Webber, *The Eloquent "I": Style and Self in Seventeenth-Century Prose* (Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 1968) 36.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Bell, "Metamorphoses of Spiritual Autobiography," *ELH* 44 (1977): 115.

the general pattern and many of the concerns present in *Grace Abounding*. *The Pilgrim's Progress*, like Bunyan's autobiography, is an account of the process of learning to interpret and to reconcile the text of Scripture and earthly experience, depicting a movement from worldly to divine discourse on the part of the protagonist.<sup>4</sup> Within *Grace Abounding*, Bunyan's battles with individual texts play a role similar to that played by the examination scenes in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, or by Crusoe's conversations with himself in *Robinson Crusoe*. His initial dilemmas are resolved variously, with each step indicating an evolving understanding of the reading process.

According to Valentine Cunningham, in *Grace Abounding*, Bunyan's ultimate confidence in his ability to read Scripture comes from his faith in the unity and univocity of Scripture, the realisation that the text possesses a single message and may be read as a whole.<sup>5</sup> The stress on Scripture as a complete narrative, and as a universal narrative, is, according to Maxine Hancock, reflected in the Scriptural references in *Grace Abounding*:

Every reference represents a text which should be understood in the light of its context in the Bible, and which represents the total truth of the entire text of the Bible. Each reference is thus a synecdoche for

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<sup>4</sup> See particularly:

David J. Alpaugh, "Emblem and Interpretation in *The Pilgrim's Progress*," *ELH* 33 (1966): 299-314.

Dennis Danielson, "Catechism, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and the Pilgrim's Progress," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 94 (1995): 42-58.

Nick Davis, "The Problem of Misfortune in *The Pilgrim's Progress*," *The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views*, ed. Vincent Newey (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1980) 182-204.

Stanley Fish, "Progress in the *The Pilgrim's Progress*," *Self-Consuming Artifacts*, Stanley Fish (Berkeley: U of California P, 1972) 224-264.

Dayton Haskin, "Bunyan's Scriptural Acts," *Bunyan in Our Time*, ed. Robert G. Collmer (London: Kent State UP, 1989) 61-92.

John R. Knott, "Bunyan's Gospel Day: A Reading of *The Pilgrim's Progress*," *Bunyan: The Pilgrim's Progress: A Casebook*, ed. Roger Sharrock (London: Macmillan, 1976) 221-243.

John R. Knott, "'Thou must live upon my Word': Bunyan and the Bible," *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus, Tercentenary Essays*, ed. N.H. Keeble (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) 153-170.

Thomas H. Luxon, "Calvin and Bunyan on Word and Image: Is There a Text in Interpreter's House?" *English Literary Renaissance* 18 (1988) 438-459.

Vincent Newey, "'With the eyes of my understanding': Bunyan, Experience, and Acts of Interpretation," *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus, Tercentenary Essays*, ed. N.H. Keeble (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) 189-216.

John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

Kathleen M. Swaim, *Pilgrim's Progress, Puritan Progress: Discourses and Contexts* (Chicago: U of Illinois P, 1993).

Carolynn Van Dyke, *The Fiction of Truth: Structures of Meaning in Narrative and Dramatic Allegory* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1985).

<sup>5</sup> Valentine Cunningham, "Glossing and Glozing: Bunyan and Allegory," *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus, Tercentenary Essays*, ed. N.H. Keeble (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) 226.



the whole of the text and for the whole late-Reformation attitude concerning it.<sup>6</sup>

Bunyan's task, in order to read successfully, is to understand this fundamental agreement and his own role as an individual participating in it, the significance of his own, personal narrative in the context of the history of creation.

*The Pilgrim's Progress* is also concerned with the problem of reconciling the passages of Scripture to each other, in particular the rule of law in the Old Testament to that of Grace in the New Testament.<sup>7</sup> This does not stand by itself in the narrative, but rather, commensurate with Bunyan's intensely personal relation to Scripture, is intermingled with the depiction of the entire interpretive journey, and the relation between individual characters and the Scriptural framework through which they travel. The very depiction of the landscape of the pilgrimage may be seen as this effort made tangible, Bunyan's reading of the canons as a unified narrative, to be followed by each Christian in his or her path through life.

Dayton Haskin confirms this view of *The Pilgrim's Progress*:

The very attempt to weave together various biblical sources into a unified narrative seems sufficient to confirm that Bunyan accepted the prevailing notion that the numerous stories contained in the Bible comprise an interrelated world with a unified temporal sequence. He also accepted the correlative idea that the Bible embraces in principle the experience of every generation. In view of these assumptions it is unremarkable that he should have taken it as the interpreter's task to discover a single cumulative story in the Bible as a whole and to fit the individual Christian's experience to an authorized paradigm.<sup>8</sup>

This view is confirmed by an explicit example in the text, Faithful's short summary of his own story. At the base of Hill Difficulty, Faithful meets Adam the First, the allegorical representative of original sin and carnal imprisonment. He is tempted by Adam the First to embrace the three primary types of sinful behaviour, "*The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life.*"<sup>9</sup> Faithful almost accepts the offer from the old Adam, but manages to escape. He is beaten almost senseless by Moses,

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<sup>6</sup> Maxine Hancock, "Bunyan as Reader: The Record of *Grace Abounding*," *Bunyan Studies* 5 (1994): 72.

<sup>7</sup> Within the narrative the relation between the law and Grace is frequently problematic for Christian, as when he is sidetracked by Worldly-Wiseman to seek justification through works, or in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, when the sides of the path may signify reliance on works and antinomianism respectively. Roger Sharrock, "Notes," in John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. Roger Sharrock (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987) 283.

<sup>8</sup> Haskin, "Bunyan's Scriptural Acts," 71.

<sup>9</sup> *PP*, 69.

the figure of the Law, who punishes him for allowing himself to be tempted by the carnal world. The Law is then supplanted by the appearance of Jesus Christ, the embodiment of Divine Grace, who pleads for Faithful and enables him to continue on his journey. In this brief relation, Faithful encapsulates the history of mankind as a whole according to Scripture (original sin, judgement, pardon, and salvation), the relation between the Old and New Testaments, in the movement from Law to Grace, and the basic journey, from carnal sin, to fear of judgement, to spiritual salvation, required of every individual. This basic and universal structure is also the structure of Christian's story, although Christian's much longer account is more complex and more detailed. *The Pilgrim's Progress* represents Christian's exemplary journey from a state of ignorance to salvation, a salvation described as the consummation of his efforts to understand and discern the Biblical story of creation, and to reconcile all of the aspects of his own narrative to it.

The attempt to interpret personal experience according to Scriptural norms requires, first, an understanding of the Bible, an ability to read and to comprehend the text itself. The "Good Book" appears in various guises throughout the text, Christian and Christiana's progress in successfully overcoming the dangers of their physical journey through an allegorical landscape is intermingled with their progress in learning to read books, maps, and rolls, all allegorical representations of Holy Writ. Christian's initial awakening occurs as a result of his reading; he understands the text well enough to recognise the disparity between the sanctity it recommends and his own, sin-burdened life, but requires the assistance of Evangelist in order to understand the remedy for his sinfulness. Evangelist, who "represents the ideal Christian minister,"<sup>10</sup> according to Roger Sharrock, can also be seen as the representative of the teaching of the Gospels, an interpretation which is reinforced by Christian's careful examination of Evangelist himself to discern his spiritual direction.<sup>11</sup> In either case, his function is exegetical, distilling the teachings of Scripture into a single, practical message, "*Fly from the wrath to come*,"<sup>12</sup> and guiding Christian in the correct direction, despite the limited comprehension symbolised by Christian's obscured sight.

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<sup>10</sup> Sharrock, "Notes," 280.

<sup>11</sup> *PP*, 10.

<sup>12</sup> *PP*, 10.

Christian reads in the book as he travels, entertaining Pliable with a Scriptural account of the joys of the Celestial City. The book provides Christian with the words to describe his own spiritual visions: "I can better conceive of them with my Mind, then speak of them with my Tongue: But yet since you are desirous to know, I will read of them in my Book."<sup>13</sup> Like Bunyan in *Grace Abounding*, Christian is unable to describe things transcendent when they are revealed to him, and turns, instead, to the words of Scripture in order to convey his visions. Scripture provides a language for spiritual experience. The final goal of the journey is the state in the Celestial City, when Christian's thoughts, his experiences, and his words are mediated through Scriptural discourse. Rather than progressing away from Scripture in the course of the text, towards a clearer and more personal articulation of his interior illumination, Christian travels towards a use of the general words of the Bible which encapsulates these visions. This process requires both a complete understanding of Scriptural language and a complete understanding of his own nature according to this language; the better he understands the words of the Bible, the better he understands himself.

The looking-glass requested by Mercy in the second volume expresses this relation. Glossed as "*the Word of God*,"<sup>14</sup> it enables an individual to see his or her self correctly, but at the same time displays all of the detail of Christ's visage:

It would present a man, one way, with his own Feature exactly, and turn it but an other way, and it would shew one the very Face and Similitude of the Prince of Pilgrims himself. Yea I have talked with them that can tell, and they have said, that they have seen the very Crown of Thorns upon his Head, by looking in that Glass, they have therein also seen the holes in his Hands, in his Feet, and his Side. Yea such an excellency is there in that Glass, that it will shew him to one where they have a mind to see him; whether living or dead, whether in Earth or Heaven, whether in a State of Humiliation, or in his Exaltation, whether coming to Suffer, or coming to Reign.<sup>15</sup>

The Bible mediates between the individual and salvation, enabling an interpretation of the experiences of the first in the light of the second, and allowing self-examination in relation to Christ, as the End of creation as a whole. The nature of Christ as Word, as the underlying *logos* of creation, is reflected in the comprehensive vision which the mirror provides. It covers all of the possible variations in the

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<sup>13</sup> *PP*, 13.

<sup>14</sup> *PP*, 287.

<sup>15</sup> *PP*, 287.

depiction of Christ, but, almost more importantly, the mirror of the Word anticipates the moods of its viewer. The vision shown in it is always applicable to the situation of the individual. The story presented in Scripture, the nature of Christ, is visible in all experience, if that experience is only read correctly, as a manifestation of one aspect of this comprehensive narrative.

Christian's roll is the sign of his personal election, but it is also "to comfort me by reading,"<sup>16</sup> as he describes it, and seems to replace the book which he no longer reads. As a token of personal election, it provides Christian with an objective certainty regarding his final destination, a specific application of the general promises of Scripture to his individual case. This more personalised text represents a higher level of understanding, the replacement of the general fears and general indications of the way to salvation derived from the earlier text with the depiction of a specific and experiential interaction with the divine discourse. When Christian travels alone, reading in the roll replaces conversation with his companions, and its ability to refresh him physically is an indication of the power, truth, and authority of the text. The most dangerous moment in Christian's entire journey is the moment when he forgets the roll, a moment of reliance purely on himself, rather than on the tokens and teachings provided by God. This mistake carries the potential to transform him into a character like Ignorance, one who fails to measure his view of his experience against the witness of Scripture.

The Word as text appears in further guises throughout the work, most frequently as a map, like Great-Heart's map in the second volume, or as a note of warning or direction, like that given by the shepherds to Hopeful and Christian. Evangelist demonstrates the correct manner of reading the Bible and its capacity for providing directions on the journey, in his exegesis of the text as it will apply to Christian and Faithful's experiences in *Vanity Fair*. Evangelist's prophetic abilities indicate the nature of Scripture as a divine narrative, extending into the future, as well as into the past. His predictions consist in applying the lessons of the text of the Bible to Christian and Faithful's travels:

My Sons, you have heard in the words of the truth of the Gospel, that you must through many tribulations enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. And again, that in every City, bonds and afflictions abide in you; and therefore you cannot expect that you should go long on your Pilgrimage without them, in some sort or other. You have found

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<sup>16</sup> *PP*, 41.

something of the truth of these testimonies upon you already, and more will immediately follow ...<sup>17</sup>

Evangelist's statement makes the function of the text as a map or predictor of experience explicit; personal experience follows the path laid down by Scripture. The truth lies in the text itself when read correctly, as Hopeful reports, retelling the story of his conversations with Faithful: "Then he gave me a Book of *Jesus* his inditing, to encourage me the more freely to come: And he said concerning that Book, That every jot and tittle there of stood firmer then Heaven and earth."<sup>18</sup> As the narrative which structures all experience, represented in the landscape through which they travel, the firm foundation of the allegorical path which Christian and his companions follow is the Bible. I will return to this aspect of the text in the following chapter.

The final textual representation of the Bible which I would like to address in the present context is the letter received by Christiana at the beginning of the second volume. This letter functions in a similar manner to Christian's roll, guaranteeing Christiana admission at the Wicket Gate and providing her with encouragement and refreshment on her journey. As is demonstrated by Mercy's lack of a letter, it is not a certificate of election. Instead, the text functions as a figure for Christiana's receptive reading of the divine discourse. Prepared by the example of her husband, she is willing to understand and believe the promises of the letter, i.e. the promises of Scripture. Just as Christian, earlier, subjects Evangelist to close observation, reading him as he would read a text, Christiana is urged "that thou put this letter in thy bosom," internalising and cherishing its message and "[t]hat thou read therein to thyself and to thy children, until you have got it by root-of-heart."<sup>19</sup> For Bunyan, memorisation as an internalisation of the text, which transforms the subject, is an immensely important process. It is reflected again in the feast at Gaius' Inn, where understanding Scripture is equated with eating, as an experience which transfigures the actual substance of the individual.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *PP*, 87.

<sup>18</sup> *PP*, 141.

<sup>19</sup> *PP*, 263.

<sup>20</sup> This is a relatively common metaphor of the time, appearing in Quaker texts (see Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1992).) and in the Book of Common Prayer, in the exhortation to "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" the words of Scripture. (1662 B.C.P., Collect for the Second Sunday of Advent, 49)

Christian's journey is prompted by his awareness of his own guilt, an awareness awakened by his reading of Scripture. His desire to reconcile his conduct to the conduct recommended by the book becomes a part of a broader necessity of first, learning to act, and, second, learning to interpret these actions, both in a manner commensurate with a hidden divine order and discourse. This is accomplished, in part, by a series of interviews, which Kathleen Swaim describes as follows:

Through these assisted examinations, Christian develops a progressively more integrated articulation of his history and begins to see the pattern within his past and for his future, the rhythms of repentance and hope. Each stage adds details and re-presents more and more earlier data in a widening circle of progressively interpreted and redesigned retelling.<sup>21</sup>

There are two elements to this process, first, recalling and second, interpreting experience. Christian is interviewed and asked to review his experiences no less than eleven times by positive characters in *The Pilgrim's Progress*.<sup>22</sup> The interviews by Good Will, Interpreter, Porter Watchful, Discretion, and the shepherds all begin with questions as to "*Who was there? and whence he came? and what he would have?*"<sup>23</sup> The repetition of the formula at the various stages of the journey emphasises, on the one hand, the steadiness of Christian's purpose, figured in his renaming (from "Graceless" to "Christian") and redefinition of himself according to his ultimate goal, and, on the other hand, the progression Christian has made in terms of dangers passed and experiences evaluated. He represents his past in a slightly different fashion at each interview as he becomes more competent in his interpretation. Thus, he explicitly evaluates his action in following Worldly-Wiseman as sinful when he relates it a second time, after having been rescued and assisted to understand his danger by Evangelist. According to Swaim, this process reaches completion when Christian is led by Piety in the House Beautiful to select the most significant providences from his story.<sup>24</sup> This representation of the process of reinterpreting and reorganising his narrative, in the house commonly understood as an allegorical vision of the church congregation, clearly displays the catechetical aspect of the exercise.

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<sup>21</sup> Swaim, 150.

<sup>22</sup> Evangelist (9, 20), Goodwill (25), Interpreter (28), Porter (46), Discretion (46), Piety (47), Prudence (49), Charity (52), Evangelist (86), and the Shepherds (119-120).

<sup>23</sup> *PP*, 25.

<sup>24</sup> Swaim, 150.

In his review of past experience, Christian is asked to describe his own conduct, good and bad, and draw lessons from it. Further, he must observe and learn from the conduct of others, Obstinate and Pliable, for example, during the examination by Good Will. This emphasises the moral lessons of the text to the reader of *Pilgrim's Progress*, and awakens Christian (and, through him, the awareness of the reader) to the fact that even banal or negative empirical experience may possess an educational aspect when observed correctly. As in other cases, Good Will is able to assist Christian in his interpretation by providing him with an overarching perspective concerning the dangers of Mount Sinai, emphasising that its threat is not one to Christian singly, but "has been the death of many."<sup>25</sup> Later, Charity, by comparing Christian's family to Cain, brings out the general significance of their actions. In general, although the questions asked in the interviews may be leading ones, Christian is left to relate his story correctly and is rewarded for his correct answers.<sup>26</sup> As a token of his increased glimpse of a divine order, emphasising the benefits of properly interpreting the past for understanding the future, he is provided with warnings and directions for the next portion of his journey.

The episode at the Interpreter's House is a favourite among critics of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, many of whom point to a sense of progression in the emblems which accompanies Christian's progressively escalating understanding and interpretive ability. David Alpaugh points to a general progression throughout the work from a focus on sensory experience in emblems to a focus on intellectual understanding of the sensory experience.<sup>27</sup> Looking specifically at the Interpreter's House, which Swaim calls "a site that dramatizes textual supply and processing, the interaction of the Word and the illuminating Holy Spirit,"<sup>28</sup> David Robinson sees the emblems as reflecting the path of the text, and provides an interpretation of each as remembering or foreshadowing one stage of Christian's journey.<sup>29</sup> John R. Knott and a number of other critics view the episode as a set of lessons instructing Christian in

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<sup>25</sup> *PP*, 27.

<sup>26</sup> For example, when interviewed by the shepherds, he is allowed to rest in the Delectable Mountains at first, but not until he has been successfully examined is he truly welcomed and shown wonders.

<sup>27</sup> Alpaugh, 300.

<sup>28</sup> Swaim, 85.

<sup>29</sup> David Robinson, "Bunyan's House of the Interpreter and the Structure of *The Pilgrim's Progress*," *Dutch Quarterly Review of Anglo-American Letters* 7 (1977): 101-113.

understanding Scripture.<sup>30</sup> Thomas Luxon observes that the emblems Christian views move from a two-dimensional picture to three-dimensional scenes, to the Cage of Despair emblem, in which Christian can actually converse with the man in the cage.<sup>31</sup> He interprets this as a part of Christian's growing ability to *experience* the Word, and points out that Christian's ability to read the emblems does not mirror his growing ability to read Scripture, since the images are not themselves Scriptural events or quotations. Instead, Luxon observes that the emblems are interpreted by Scripture, citing the numerous Scriptural quotations in the Interpreter's glossing of them, and therefore concludes that the goal of this episode is to train Christian's ability to interpret the world of things in light of the Word, using Scripture to correct man's skewed perception of the Book of Nature since the Fall.<sup>32</sup> It is not, however, enough merely to *read* Scripture:

Without the experience of the Spirit, even the words of Scripture remain mere things, inky images on a page. Experimental knowledge of the Word is a matter of more than interpretation; it is more experiential, a process whereby words give way to the living Word itself.<sup>33</sup>

According to Luxon's theory, it is Christian's realisation that all things and all words are signifiers, all living images of the Word, experienced by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, which results finally in the burden falling from his back at the sight of the Cross, the ultimate experience of the Word made Flesh.<sup>34</sup>

In general, the important aspect of the Interpreter's House is its role in schooling Christian in the methods of interpreting moral examples, whether static and figurative, or experiential and living, in the world which surrounds him. The first emblem, the picture of the visage of Christ, governs all of the interpretations, just as, according to the Interpreter, it must govern every step of Christian's journey, although Christian is unable to view Christ's countenance directly. The four short, exemplary plays are general moral emblems, through which the Interpreter instructs Christian in how to understand exemplary events, as well as explaining the direct, moral lessons, which each example provides. Christian's discussion with the fifth object for interpretation, the man in the iron cage, is important for its verisimilitude,

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<sup>30</sup> Knott, "'Thou must live upon my Word'," 166.

<sup>31</sup> Luxon, "Calvin and Bunyan ...," 453.

<sup>32</sup> Luxon, "Calvin and Bunyan ...," 448-449.

<sup>33</sup> Luxon, "Calvin and Bunyan ...," 449.

<sup>34</sup> Luxon, "Calvin and Bunyan ...," 456-459.



a model for interpreting a general lesson from the experience of a companion. The allegorical device of the iron cage makes the general import of this specific, psychological experience explicit, illustrating the connection between the immediate state of the mind and the moral and spiritual situation of the individual. Christian is instructed to question the man directly, and to interpret his spiritual state from the answers to his questions. The vision provides a specific warning to Christian, who is always prone to doubt and despair, and, perhaps more importantly, instructs him in discerning lessons from the stories of others, as well as from his own mistakes. The episode is a “watershed” in the narrative, as the moment when Christian has acquired enough knowledge, confidence, and authority to move from being questioned to being the questioner. The remainder of the text is a fairly equal mixture of interviewing and being interviewed, focusing mainly on Christian’s conversations and debates with his fellow travellers rather than on examination scenes.

In the Preface to *Grace Abounding*, Bunyan emphasises the beneficial aspects of remembering conversion experiences for maintaining subsequent faith. Indeed, his entire account is written to encourage himself and others through the memory of things past and their significance. Memory plays an important role in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, both for the reader, who may use the mnemonic devices of the allegory to sustain him or herself in spiritual conflict, and from Christian’s point of view, from which past events act as warnings against future mistakes. Stanley Fish provides an insightful account of the importance of memory, depicting the entire text as backward- rather than forward-looking, with an impetus towards revising the assessment of past events rather than making progress in Christian’s physical journey. Memory, according to Fish, is central to the process of transcending the literal reading, the physical landscape, and the limited perspective of the moment; the successful reading of the work, for the reader and for Christian, is one which moves beyond observing literal progress and uses a correcting perspective which reads the past in the light of transcendental expectations which cannot be contained within the literal text:

Remembering ... is directly analogous to faithful seeing (or reading) in that it involves a rejecting of the meaning conferred on things and situations by immediate contexts. Deeds of memory and deeds of faith are based on the same formula - an inverse relationship between what is seen and what is to be relied upon.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Fish, 251.

It is the memory of Christ's promise while crossing the River of Death, says Fish, which changes the river's water into the water of baptism:

This is the power of memory, because it is the power of faith, not only to move mountains, but to *remove* them, to see through the significances they bear in the light (memory) of God's infinite love and mercy.<sup>36</sup>

Likewise, Swaim points to the role of memory in the Doubting Castle episode.

Hopeful, by urging Christian to remember his own history and previous victories over misfortune shows "how to derive strength, confidence, and inspiration in times of trouble from one's own history,"<sup>37</sup> and demonstrates how to remember and utilise the message of Bunyan's text. Swaim continues:

Like the Bible, each person's biographical text demands continuous exercises of memory and reinterpretation and provides openings and progressive revelations. Self-study awakens Christian to God's will as inscribed in his own history.<sup>38</sup>

The allegorical structure of *The Pilgrim's Progress* allows each reader to associate his or her own experience with that of Christian, and to use Christian's experiences as a mnemonic device to organise and name elements of spiritual significance. It functions, in fact, in much the same way as the "scheme" which Piety gives to Christiana in Part Two, "Upon which thou mayest look when thou findest thy self forgetful, and call those things again to remembrance for thy Edification, and comfort,"<sup>39</sup> as a vehicle through which to read and remember one's own biographical text. I will return to the exemplary function of the text in the chapter on the narrative community.

Christian's interpretation focuses on his judgement of his own past experiences. In addition, through figures like the examiners, the reader of *The Pilgrim's Progress* becomes aware that memory extends forward as well as backward. The text of the story is based on the narrative of creation, sin and eventual salvation, which comprises the text of the Bible. Because this narrative is understood to be true and to be a product of the omnipresent divine mind, all of the individual moments of the story, in a sense, exist at one and the same time. On this

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<sup>36</sup> Fish, 260.

<sup>37</sup> Swaim, 153.

<sup>38</sup> Swaim, 153.

<sup>39</sup> *PP*, 236.

basis, because he possesses a perspective which enables him to survey the entire narrative, Evangelist is able to predict Christian and Faithful's fates in *Vanity Fair*. From their limited, experiencing perspectives, the warning appears almost miraculous, while for Evangelist, who represents a truth which transcends time, the prediction is merely a matter of remembering the events of the narrative and perceiving their specific manifestation in the situation of the two men. Memory, in the case of the individual traveller through the temporal realm, is an exercise concerned with interpreting and reinterpreting the past. For those who already know the story, however, memory is also concerned with recalling the truths of the narrative and with perceiving their manifestation as they occur on the individual level. This reflects the importance of knowing the actual text of the Bible, of getting it "by root-of-Heart,"<sup>40</sup> as Secret urges Christiana.

Christian's religious dilemmas are the products of his difficulties in reading his own nature and the nature of the world which surrounds him, in discerning the correct path. As such, they are centrally concerned with signs and the process of signification. Because the landscape through which Christian travels is founded on the Scriptural narrative, its substance is, in essence, linguistic, and questions concerning language, human and divine, pervade the text. In order to understand Bunyan's attitude towards language and its influence on *The Pilgrim's Progress*, it is important, at this point, to examine some passages from the introduction and the main text of *Grace Abounding*, which explicitly represent the central qualities of what, in Bunyan's view, is true and sanctified signification.

"*The Philistians understand me not.*"<sup>41</sup> writes Bunyan in the preface to *Grace Abounding*, emphasising from the first a distinction between the divinely-sanctioned discourse of the converted and the discourse of the worldly. For Bunyan, as for other nonconformists, spiritual redemption is also a linguistic redemption: "Conversion brought metaphor inevitably after it. The New England Puritan John Cotton defined a regenerate person as 'He that hath a new mind, and a new heart, new affections, new Language'..."<sup>42</sup> Bunyan's account of his gradual conversion is an account of his progress in reading and understanding the Bible, a movement from an unregenerate worldly language only problematically connected to Truth, to

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<sup>40</sup> *PP*, 180.

<sup>41</sup> *GA*, 1.

<sup>42</sup> Keeble, *The Literary Culture ...*, 251.

mastery of the discourse of the elect, assisted by the Holy Spirit. It is, likewise, a progression from mere reading of a text to expounding it by preaching, and, later, by writing. In reconciling his own, individual experience with the truths he perceives in Scripture, by means of his reading and writing, Bunyan seeks to depict his own story as one aspect of the continued Biblical narrative, which, for him, is the foundation of empirical creation.

The Preface to *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* is a central indication of the heights of understanding to which Bunyan has risen by the time the work is written. This passage illustrates the endpoint to which the entire narrative is directed. Here, Bunyan speaks, as in his title, according to the paradigm of the Pauline epistles,<sup>43</sup> emphasising the similar functions of, and the correspondences between, his individual account and its universally recognised Scriptural model. In this, he moves beyond mere simile. He does not quote Biblical passages so much as speak them. They do not appear separated from his own discourse, but deeply embedded in it. He speaks not *of*, but *through* Scripture. This tendency is shared by other nonconformists, and will also be observed in the examination of our fictional texts. According to N.H. Keeble:

[S]o complete was the nonconformists' sympathetic identification with biblical texts that they often ceased to express themselves by likening their situation to a biblical precedent and came instead to speak through, and in the words of, such precedents.<sup>44</sup>

Bunyan encapsulates the significance of his imprisonment in Scriptural metaphor: "*while I stick between the Teeth of the Lions in the Wilderness*,"<sup>45</sup> illustrating his complete identification with the text. He addresses his readers directly, emphasising the intimacy of the elect community ("*Children*"), in which shared religious experience redefines relationships, as well as emphasising his own preaching role in the community by presenting a text and providing an interpretation.<sup>46</sup> In justifying his purpose in writing the account, he draws on both Old and New Testament parallels, applying Moses' commandments to remember the forty years in the wilderness to his own erring journey and once more invoking Paul's example. This

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<sup>43</sup> W.R. Owens, "Introduction," in John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, ed. W.R. Owens (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987) xviii-xix.

<sup>44</sup> Keeble, *The Literary Culture ...*, 251-252.

<sup>45</sup> *GA*, 1.

<sup>46</sup> *GA*, 1. (The drop of honey from the carcass of the lion represents wisdom derived from temptations overcome.)

illustrates his own reading abilities. He is able to read Old and the New Testament examples in terms of their thematic relation to each other, and is able, in addition, to apply these exemplary texts to his own position. Bunyan reflects on the importance of memory; remembrance of past struggles, “the treasure of your first and second experience of the Grace of God toward you,” provides warning, inspiration, and assurance for the future. Foreshadowing one of the major themes of this text and of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, he connects the activity of memory and of interpretation to the Scriptural landscape: “*When God had brought the children of Israel thorow the Red Sea, far into the wilderness; yet they must turn quite about thither again, to remember the drowning of their enemies there, Num. 14. 25. for though they sang his praise before, yet they soon forgot his works, Psal. 106. 12, 13.*”<sup>47</sup> As a physical manifestation of previous experience, Bunyan’s text, like a familiar geographical location, becomes a reminder of a past state of spiritual wandering.

Bunyan ends with a comment on the style of his account which is important enough to be quoted at length:

*I could have enlarged much in this my discourse of my temptations and troubles for sin, as also of the merciful kindness and working of God with my soul: I could also have stepped into a stile much higher then this in which I have here discoursed, and could have adorned all things more then here I have seemed to do: but I dare not: God did not play in convincing of me; the Devil did not play in tempting of me; neither did I play when I sunk as into a bottomless pit, when the pangs of hell caught hold upon me: wherefore I may not play in my relating of them, but be plain and simple, and lay down the thing as it was [...].*<sup>48</sup>

Bunyan does not view his use of metaphor in the Preface primarily as an aesthetic achievement, as “play.” Rather, he is concerned in his account, and in his discourse, with eliminating gratuitous adornment and maintaining a basic connection of words to their meanings. Bunyan views the metaphor and Scriptural language which he uses as fundamental linguistic connections between the truth of empirical experience and divine truth, not as “vain” embellishments. His use of language, both in reading and in writing, is depicted as a progressive discovery of hidden truths, rather than as the superficial rhetorical manipulation of meaning. The whole of *Grace Abounding* is concerned with the process of developing and maintaining the connections between the empirical and the divine realms through the linguistic activity of

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<sup>47</sup> GA, 2.

reading, writing and narrating. The final goal of conversion is bringing these discourses into a complete unity, seen in the individual fulfilment of the Scriptural model.

Bunyan emphasises, by example, the difference between unregenerate and regenerate language. Just as, in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, he depicts reprobate characters, in *Grace Abounding* he describes different varieties of reprobate discourse. For Bunyan, the primary linguistic sin appears in language which is without meaning, which negates its meaning, or which is somehow disconnected from its real meaning. Thus, he particularly condemns his former habit of swearing, "from a childe, ... I had but few Equals, ... both for cursing, swearing, lying and blaspheming the holy Name of God,"<sup>49</sup> as a habit which betrays his ignorance of the true meaning of the words he speaks. When he indulges in it knowing that what he says is blasphemous, not merely idle words, his sin is worse. According to Vera J. Camden, "men might fully participate in [God's] creative power if they use language as a sacred trust. Cursing, then, is the blasphemous inversion of ministering to others through the Word."<sup>50</sup>

The condemnation of empty words underlies Bunyan's condemnation of hypocrisy; even when at his most ignorant and most sinful, "yet hearing one to swear that was reckoned for a religious man, it had so great a stroke upon my spirit, as it made my heart to ake."<sup>51</sup> Elspeth Graham views the fear of hypocrisy as a characteristically Calvinist concern with the disjunction between inner meaning and outer sign.<sup>52</sup> When he first begins to long for religion, Bunyan manages an outward reformation of his conduct, but betrays his unregenerate nature by falling into hypocritical pride prompted by the praise of others. As a "brisk talker ... in the matters of Religion,"<sup>53</sup> Bunyan, like Talkative in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, mistakes his own outward display for an essential change. This belief is equated with the

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<sup>48</sup> GA, 3-4.

<sup>49</sup> GA, 6. Regarding the significance of blasphemy in the seventeenth century, Vera J. Camden sees cursing as a vehicle to promote the curser's authority. "But this authority properly belongs to God by whose Word all things were created. Men rightfully participate in this creative power if they use language as a sacred trust. Cursing, then, is the blasphemous inversion of ministering to others through the Word." Vera J. Camden, "Blasphemy and the Problem of the Self in *Grace Abounding*," *Bunyan Studies* 1:2 (1989): 9.

<sup>50</sup> Camden, 5-21.

<sup>51</sup> GA, 7.

<sup>52</sup> Elspeth Graham, "Authority, Resistance and Loss: Gendered Difference in the Writings of John Bunyan and Hannah Allen," *John Bunyan and His England, 1628-1688*, eds. Anne Laurence, W.R. Owens, Stuart Sim (London: Hambledon, 1990) 122.

outward displays of institutional religion; without a felt sense of conviction of sin, Bunyan participates in set services and reveres church property, turning for salvation towards physical assurances, when he should be seeking spiritual communion. His rejection of bell-ringing, like his departure from the institutional church, is a rejection of the creation of noise without meaning, rejecting the gratuitous pleasure of an aesthetic experience without connection to any spiritual substance.

It is the encounter with the poor people of Bedford which provides the first example of regenerate language. In his relation of the incident, it is the self-awareness of the language of the speakers which appears most striking, emphasising “*their* souls,” “the work of God on *their* hearts,” “how *they* were convinced,” “with what words and promises *they* had been refreshed,” “*their* own wretchedness of heart.”<sup>54</sup> Awakened to this extremely personal and interior aspect of religious experience, Bunyan also remarks on the quality of their language: “And me thought they spake as if joy did make them speak: they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture language, and with such appearance of grace in all they said.”<sup>55</sup> Here, it is not the speaker who determines the sound of his or her voice; rather God-given joy prompts and blesses the discourse. The speakers have moved beyond merely reading Scripture to speaking through internalised Scriptural language, the personalised repetition and regeneration of Scripture through their mouths indicating the regeneration of their souls. The central aspects of this discourse are the congruity of language and meaning - as well as conflating individual experience and Scriptural discourse, this is an honest and sincere language - its interiority, and its appearance as an exclusive discourse which cannot be understood by those who do not share a similar understanding.

I would now like to return to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The bad or reprobate characters whom Christian meets on his journey, when not embodying abstract sins or aspects of Christian's own personality, like the Giant Despair, tend to be examples of bad or rival discourses rather than bad or rival actions. Ignorance, By-ends, Talkative, Mr. Hold-the-World and the others, with very few exceptions (those who are bad in action stray physically from the path, like Simple, Sloth, and Presumption, rather than pretending to tread the right way) are those whose discourse remains

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<sup>53</sup> GA, 14.

<sup>54</sup> GA, 14. My italics.

<sup>55</sup> GA, 15.

contrary to Scriptural discourse and the divine order, whether from a lack of experience of the Word, a simple failure to proceed along the proper interpretive path, or from having become trapped in a circle of self-reference,<sup>56</sup> like Ignorance, who looks only to himself as guarantor of the connection between words and their substance, his own suppositions and their truth. Christian's interpretive task is to read the discourses of those he comes across properly. When he meets two men who warn him against the dangers of the Valley of the Shadow of Death,<sup>57</sup> he takes this as a confirmation that he is indeed on the proper way, through hardship and danger, rather than, as in the episode with Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, becoming dissuaded from his path and purpose.

If the process depicted in *The Pilgrim's Progress* is a movement from earthly experience to experience of the Scriptural Word, then Talkative's sin is one of a lack of experimental knowledge of Christian behaviour. His ready words are not perceived as false by Faithful, or indeed by the reader, although we may be alerted to a possible flaw by his frantic list-making and his name. It is only when Christian makes known the relativity of his discourse ("This man is for any company, and for any *talk*"<sup>58</sup>) and its lack of connection to his action that a closer and more discerning examination of his words is possible. This reveals the impersonality of his discourse; Talkative speaks in general platitudes, none of them heretical, but not of a personal, felt truth. Because his words are not backed up by experience, when challenged Talkative is not confident in his misinterpretations, and blushes.<sup>59</sup> Faithful distinguishes between two kinds of knowledge:

*Knowledge that resteth in the bare speculation of things, and knowledge that is accompanied with the grace of faith and love, which puts man upon doing even the will of God from the heart: the first of these will serve the Talker, but without the other the true Christian is not content.*<sup>60</sup>

Intellectual understanding properly derives its function and substance from God, as guarantor of truth. "The Soul of Religion is the practick part"<sup>61</sup> is the moral of this episode, referring not to mere works (which the reader, like Christian, has learned from the Worldly-Wiseman episode to distrust), but to the entire gamut of

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<sup>56</sup> Danielson, 56.

<sup>57</sup> Knott, "Bunyan's Gospel Day," 234.

<sup>58</sup> *PP*, 78.

<sup>59</sup> Alpaugh, 306.

<sup>60</sup> *PP*, 82.



experience represented in *Grace Abounding*, the life of holiness vouched for by an experimental confession. To put the matter rather harshly, only the “true Christian” is able to speak a language in which meaning and sign, experience and word are connected, and the meeting with Talkative is a warning to beware of the company of those who do not share in this language, as well as a warning against imitating Talkative. I will discuss this aspect further in the chapter on social integration.

The episode with By-ends, Money-love, Hold-the-World, and Save-all is in many ways similar to the Talkative episode. It is interesting to note that By-ends is himself “*loth to tell his name*,”<sup>62</sup> and is thus obviously aware of its negative import, using language and bad company to justify what he knows to be wrongful conduct. These characters, more explicitly than Talkative, relativise both language and religion, attempting to justify situations in which religious belief is not an end in itself, but rather a means to an end, as though worldly riches might lie beyond the Celestial City. Their use of a sermon or tract-like format of argument in the debate with Hopeful may be designed to echo debates between opportunist Anglicans and the stricter non-conformists in Bunyan’s own time.<sup>63</sup> The manipulation of this form illustrates the elasticity of the argument which results from its lack of grounding in concrete, textual or practical example. Referring to the final words of Money-love’s argument, Roger Sharrock remarks:

Bunyan shows how moral softness and ambiguity introduce an element of falsification into language and into thought itself. As quite distinct meanings of the word ‘good’ are blurred and shaded into one another, a kind of new-speak is generated: ‘So then, here is a good wife and good customers, and good gain, and all these by becoming religious, which is good.’<sup>64</sup>

The word “good” has Biblical connotations, in this usage by its relative definitions in relation to the material enjoyment of the subject subverting, almost parodying the substantial, all-encompassing, and objective “it was good” of the creation story. In the face of an argument made in the spirit of merry self-congratulation:

This answer ... was highly applauded by them all; wherefore they concluded upon the whole, that it was most wholesome and

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<sup>61</sup> *PP*, 79.

<sup>62</sup> *PP*, 98.

<sup>63</sup> Isabel Rivers, “Grace, Holiness, and the Pursuit of Happiness: Bunyan and Restoration Latitudinarianism,” *John Bunyan: Conventicle and Parnassus, Tercentenary Essays*, ed. N.H. Keeble, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) 63-67.

<sup>64</sup> Roger Sharrock, *John Bunyan: The Pilgrim’s Progress* (London: Edward Arnold, 1966) 38, quotation from *PP*, 104.

advantageous. ... they joyfully agreed to assault them with the question ...<sup>65</sup>

Christian punctures the discourse with numerous Biblical examples and comparisons, devastating in their serious condemnation. The reply to his condemnation is silence, "Then they stood staring one upon another, but had not wherewith to answer *Christian*."<sup>66</sup> He thus exposes the lack of substance in an argument based on the surface manipulation of language and the pursuit of transitory and worldly rewards. Such activities hold no truth in themselves and are not grounded in man's ultimate goal, God. Bunyan does not take kindly to language games.

The encounter with Ignorance is concerned with the sinfulness of extreme self-reliance, self-definition, and self-reference, all of which display a lack of true knowledge of the nature of the self and the nature of God. Ignorance is not damned because of an extreme reliance on his own perceptive abilities (Atheist's sin), but because of a lack of awareness of himself, his failure to recognise his own insufficient and faulty nature. Although he believes in justification by Christ, he fails to feel himself convicted by his own sinfulness, and defines the criteria for his salvation by the promptings of his own heart, and the agreement of his life with his heart's discourse and not by any "*judgment of the Word of God*."<sup>67</sup> Ignorance's inability to transcend his subjectivity, which should be achieved by negating his estimation of himself through fear and despair, causes his failure to have "Christ revealed to him from Heaven."<sup>68</sup> He has not fully passed through the narrative passage to conversion, has not compared his own discourse with Scriptural discourse, and, having avoided these difficulties, cannot understand Christian and Hopeful's references to conviction of sin as the missing element in his conversion narrative. Ignorance's confidence, which has been linked to the interior assurance and the perfectionist doctrine of the early Quakers,<sup>69</sup> is the very opposite of Bunyan's despair in *Grace Abounding*. His damnation could, somewhat cynically, be seen as a further attempt by Bunyan to emphasise the objective nature of his own

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<sup>65</sup> *PP*, 104.

<sup>66</sup> *PP*, 106.

<sup>67</sup> *PP*, 146.

<sup>68</sup> *PP*, 148.

<sup>69</sup> Richard F. Hardin, "Bunyan, Mr. Ignorance, and the Quakers," *Studies in Philology* 69 (1972) 496.

election by reinforcing the strength of the conversion narrative criteria as objectively ordained and necessary for salvation.

A question throughout *The Pilgrim's Progress*, both Part One and Two, is whether characters are aware of their own exemplary and allegorical significance. Ignorance's ignorance of his own name is a sign of his lack of self-awareness; if he did know his own name, and recognise its significance, he would lose his damaging self-confidence. Even when Christian explicitly condemns his state as reflected in his name, Ignorance does not reply, or seem to acknowledge this statement. The issue of naming is a key one in this respect: do characters know their own names, and what their names signify? Christian is aware of his own name change, from Graceless to Christian, and this change of identity marks his departure from the worldly city and entry into the allegorical landscape. It is confirmed by the new raiment, mark, and roll given to him by the Shining Ones at the foot of the cross. His awareness of his new name and his new role is accompanied by a more general self-consciousness, reflected in his ability to interpret his own nature and his own experiences. It is this potential self-consciousness, a self-knowledge present in knowing one's own name, which differentiates Bunyan's elect characters from the reprobate exempla. For the elect characters, to know their own names and to appreciate their allegorical significance is to understand their role within the universal narrative. Such a level of self-awareness is impossible for the characters who remain bound in carnal sin.

Like Ignorance, a majority of the reprobate characters in Part One do not seem to know their allegorical names, instead remaining blinded to their own sinful natures and prevented, through this blindness, from assuming a sincere, individual relationship with God. Christian is responsible for identifying Talkative by name to Faithful, indicating that his increased interpretive awareness includes an ability to see the truth in the names of these characters. This is commensurate with the idea that in the divine discourse, towards which Christian is progressing, names are essentially related to the truth of their meanings. By-ends, like Ignorance, displays his refusal to acknowledge the negative part of his own nature by his refusal to acknowledge his own name; as he manipulates the meaning of language in the context of ethical argument, so he manages to manipulate the condemnation of others by shuffling perspective and emphasising the subjective elements of meaning:

The worst that ever I did to give them an occasion to give me this name, was, that I had alwayes the luck to jump in my Judgement with the present way of the times, whatever it was, and my chance was to get thereby; but if things are thus cast upon me, let me count them a blessing, but let not the malicious load me therefore with reproach.<sup>70</sup>

In Part Two, with the increased list of characters and increased social interaction, names possess further connotations. In the opening scene, Mr. Sagacity reports that Christiana receives her name when she sets out on pilgrimage. It is the visitor, Secret, who first addresses her by this name, and the change in name is associated with her placing herself under the protection of divine discourse, “*If thou comest in God’s name, come in.*”<sup>71</sup> Christiana’s neighbours do not address her by name, but rather generically, as “neighbour.” Mercy’s name, by contrast, seems more generally recognised, and is even uttered by Mrs. Timorous, indicating perhaps that her conversion has its origin in her pre-existing merciful nature.

Most interesting with respect to naming is the figure of Honest, who cannot tell his own name out of a worthy shame, and who (in agreement with his name) seems to possess some power in discerning the truth of the names of others. His comment “Not Honesty in the *Abstract*, but *Honest* is my Name, and I wish that my *Nature* shall agree to what I am called.”<sup>72</sup> seems to indicate that both the reprobate and elect pilgrims receive their names because they are fellow pilgrims characterised by certain aspects of their characters, and not because they are embodiments of abstract qualities experienced by the main pilgrim, Christian. Thus, the idea that the damnation of Ignorance in Part One occurs because Christian leaves his ignorance behind when he enters the Celestial City would seem to be mistaken. Honest’s linguistic power seems to reside in making meaning explicit, stating the connection between name and meaning in a descriptive simile. He interviews the boys, and draws out the significance of their names, their connections to the text of Scripture, and the boys’ duty to realise the potentially true nature present in their names by their actions (“*James*, be thou like *James* the *Just* ...”<sup>73</sup>). Similarly, hearing Mercy’s story, he remarks:

*Mercie*, is thy Name? by *Mercie* shalt thou be sustained, and carried thorough all those Difficulties that shall assault thee in thy way; till

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<sup>70</sup> *PP*, 100.

<sup>71</sup> *PP*, 179.

<sup>72</sup> *PP*, 247.

<sup>73</sup> *PP*, 248.

thou come thither where thou shalt look the Fountain of Mercie in the Face with Comfort.<sup>74</sup>

By separating the specific person from the abstract quality which denotes each person's essential nature, Honest emphasises what a Platonist might call the Good, in one aspect of which each of these good natures participate and to which, as their source, they strive to return. His extraordinary insight into truth also seems to provide him with some foresight, a further example of successful interpretation of the past and the present leading to foreknowledge of the future. I will return again to the importance of naming in my treatment of the narrative community.

The episode at Gaius' inn, with its allegorical feast and postprandial riddles, is again illustrative of Bunyan's attitude towards language. Nick Davis reads both parts of *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a journey through a series of riddles, in which the solution to each riddle progressively reveals an inherent and hidden order, to be released only by discovering the truth in language. The riddle is an example of ambiguous words which, through their solution, are resolved into one single meaning, and not a form of word-play which emphasises the possible different ways of understanding a word or phrase. According to Davis, Bunyan uses riddles but avoids puns because:

It would be against Bunyan's purposes to capitalize on the ambiguities latent in speech, because the work rests rather on an implicit theory of language which accords every word a single, true meaning.<sup>75</sup> ... Riddling as pressed into the service of Bunyan's narrative might be regarded as the antithesis of punning: instead of making play with language's multiplicity of meaning, it points to the presence of a single, true meaning partly obscured by language in its familiar forms and habitual associations. The vanquisher of a riddle gives the impression of having released a truth previously hidden from common awareness, and of having reaffirmed the power of language to deal directly with what is enigmatic in human experience.<sup>76</sup>

His comments are confirmed by the fact that, in the text, riddle-solving and interpreting difficult Scriptural texts are placed in close association to one another. Gaius solves riddles as the group crack textual "nuts," and attributes his success to experience, the role of which I have already addressed previously. Success at riddle-solving is analogous to Honest's ability to perceive the truth in names, and represents

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<sup>74</sup> *PP*, 248.

<sup>75</sup> Davis, "The Problem of Misfortune in *The Pilgrim's Progress*," 193.

the final goal of the interpretive process through which Christian and his family proceed, a validation of the divine discourse by vanquishing the accidental and relativistic elements of human language.

Answering riddles resolves the ambiguous meanings present in a question into one single solution. Similarly, the process of narrative generation moves beyond interpretive activity which seeks out numerous possible meanings, and which must continually be revised with changing perspectives. Narrative in its ideal form, once spoken or written, provides a single, consistent interpretation of the experience it recounts, fixing the meaning of each episode according to its relation to the final outcome. It is thus the natural extension of interpretation, a complete recounting of a situation according to the meaning it has been given by interpretive activity. My analysis of the role of interpretation in each text necessarily moves beyond simple interpretation into the realm of narrative generation, a topic which will be further addressed in the following chapters.

To conclude, for the present, the examination of Bunyan's texts, I would like to view the effects of the Land of Beulah and the Enchanted Ground on discourse in both Part One and Part Two of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The danger of the Enchanted Ground is sleepiness, and in Part One Christian and Hopeful successfully avoid this by "good discourse."<sup>76</sup> They discuss Hopeful's conversion, in particular, keeping the mind awake in the present by remembering past difficulties and successes. The conversation is systematic and reasoned; it conforms to the usual pattern of the conversion narrative, and retraces Hopeful's mental processes in logical order. Christian's questions assist Hopeful in organising his account, just as the interviews of others help Christian to evaluate his past. While Hopeful's story is presented as a positive example, Ignorance appears as a negative example, and Christian and Hopeful analyse his mistakes as a warning to the faithful. Their discourse is mutually reinforced by complementary knowledge, as when, for example, Hopeful outlines the reasons for backsliding and Christian the manner in which it occurs.

In Part Two, by contrast, the pilgrims observe two men who have fallen asleep on the Enchanted Ground. Heedless and Too Bold sleep in the Arbour, and, when shaken, speak but do not awake. Unlike Christian and Hopeful, their discourse

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<sup>76</sup> Davis, "The Problem of Misfortune in *The Pilgrim's Progress*," 195-196.

<sup>77</sup> *PP*, 136.

is not logical or systematic, “not governed, either by Faith or Reason.”<sup>78</sup> Their words are in no harmony with each other, rather each discourse is isolated. Likewise, their speech does not convey the function of memory, but is in the future tense, full of promises whose falsity appears in the inaction of the speakers. Great-heart explains that “There is an *Incoherencie* in their Words *now*, as there was before betwixt their going on Pilgrimage, and sitting down here.”<sup>79</sup> The falsity of speech is, in a way, true; the failure and reprobate nature of these pilgrims, presumably inherently present from the beginning of their journeys, is made manifest on the Enchanted Ground. Unlike Hopeful, they have failed to form the story of their journey into the narrative necessary for salvation; their story has not proceeded coherently and has not been systematically remembered and related in the exercise of mind and memory which signify spiritual wakefulness.

To provide a contrast to the slumber of Heedless and Too Bold, we must return to Part One, and examine Christian and Hopeful’s slumbers in the Land of Beulah. Having eaten the fruit of the King’s vineyards, “they talked more in their sleep at this time, then ever they did in all their Journey.”<sup>80</sup> The dreamer does not relate this discourse, and, indeed, marvels at it. We may assume that it is a revelatory discourse inspired directly by partaking in the fruits of divinity, and as such beyond the grasp of the dreamer, who remains limited in his perception of things divine. There is, however, a certain mirroring effect, by which the dreamer, himself a recipient of the revealed discourse which is the text of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, observes the subjects of his revelation themselves undergoing a similar process. It is no accident that it is at this moment that a sort of hole opens in the text, and the dreamer is himself, in his dream, directly addressed by the gardener, who provides an explanation of Christian and Hopeful’s speech. If “It is the nature of the fruit of the Grapes of these Vineyards to go down so sweetly, as to cause the lips of them that are asleep to speak,”<sup>81</sup> we infer that the dreamer himself has progressed to the point of eating of these same grapes, and that the text which we read is the product of this illumination. Unlike the words of Heedless and Too Bold, the words Christian and Hopeful utter are governed by faith and reason, and, if we take the

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<sup>78</sup> *PP*, 298.

<sup>79</sup> *PP*, 298.

<sup>80</sup> *PP*, 155-156.

<sup>81</sup> *PP*, 156.

dreamer's report as an example, form a coherent and true narrative, speaking through the true and revelatory discourse of Scripture.

When Christiana's group of pilgrims reach the Land of Beulah, they do not sleep and do not experience the spontaneous, unconscious speech experienced by Christian and Hopeful. Beulah is, however, characterised by a change in discourse. The pilgrims cannot sleep because of the sound of bells and trumpets, and because of the continuous, joyful reports of the inhabitants. These reports accord with the more social nature of Part Two. Instead of individual revelation, shared narrative is the focus of the Earthly Paradise. These pilgrims are the originators of a discourse and they also participate in the reports of others, as listeners. They hear present narratives, as well as those of the pilgrims of old. During the rest in Beulah, the specific identities of the pilgrims are for a time lifted. They are referred to collectively, in company with the other nameless inhabitants of the land, and only regain their specific names when summoned to cross the River of Death. The namelessness emphasises the common elements and universality of the discourse in this land; its inhabitants possess a shared set of referents, and all partake of the true Word. Individual definitions and meanings no longer exist, and the identity of the speakers of a universal narrative is of less importance than the shared narrative itself. As with the dreamer, Christian and Hopeful, these individuals are not so much the originators of a personal discourse as the recipients of a universal discourse. The state of harmonious discourse represented in the Land of Beulah mirrors the reconciliation of narrating and narrated self, the state of integration which characterises the ideal end of the spiritual autobiography. The rest which accompanies entry into a narrative community is the result of a successful process of interpretation, resulting in a narrative based on common referents, an example of successful social integration which will be addressed in a subsequent chapter.

## B. *Schnabel*

Johann Gottfried Schnabel's *Wunderliche Fata Einiger See-Fahrer* depicts the ideal community of the elect, built on a shared discourse and on shared interpretive and narrative activity. Like Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, it is a novel written primarily to entertain, but also containing a significant didactic and religious/moral element, which is, to some extent, used to justify the entertaining portion of the text. The structure of the



narrative is more complicated than that of our other texts, at certain points containing up to four first-person narratives within the editorial fiction introduced by Gisander in the *Vorrede*. Lemelie's story, for example, is told to Albertus, who tells it to Eberhard, who writes it down, whereupon it is edited by Gisander. Despite this complex structure, Schnabel's depiction of the world and its relation to the earthly paradise, the Insel Felsenburg, is based upon a simple moral dichotomy, which may be summarised roughly as follows:

<i>Empirical World</i>	<i>Insel Felsenburg</i>
Sin	Virtue
Movement	Rest
Deception	Honesty
Disorder	Order
Danger and Destruction	Stability and Construction
Passion	Reason
Social Alienation	Social Integration
Roman Catholics and Calvinists	Pious Lutherans and (occasionally) Anglicans
Bad	Good

Throughout the four-volume work, the story shuttles between Eberhard's account of happenings on the island, the final location of each individual narrative, and the first-person, frequently anecdotal accounts of the lives of characters before they arrived on the island. The final location of the story, the perfected civilisation in the earthly paradise, is present almost from its beginning, so the narrative is not centrally focused on the effort to create an earthly paradise, as is the case in *Robinson Crusoe*. Because the island is unknown to the sinful world, and more concrete and less allegorical than Bunyan or Grimmelshausen's paradisaal locations, the individual life-stories also do not focus primarily on the effort to reach a certain destination, whether physical or spiritual, but instead portray a tortured and aimless wandering through the sinful world, a problematic (although, to the reader, frequently entertaining) state, which characters escape only through the intervention of Divine Providence to bring them to the island.

The prerequisite for entry and successful settlement on the island is a conversion experience involving, first, despair and second, the resignation of self-reliance in favour of trust in Providence. Because the individual narratives are

shorter, less psychological and more anecdotal than those which appear in our other texts, they do not tend to describe the mental aspects of the conversion experience at length. The focus on plot, however, does emphasise the common elements and the conventions of each narrative, in much the same way as a huge compendium of spiritual biographies or autobiographies such as Johann Heinrich Reitz's *Historie der Wiedergebohrnen* tends to stress the common elements of the conversion experience.<sup>82</sup> Interpretation is not depicted in the same depth, or as a step-by-step psychological process, as for Crusoe and Christian. Instead, the characters must engage in interpretive activity as a part of the conversion experience, recognising their helplessness and sinfulness and relinquishing their will in order to participate in a greater plan. The importance of this interpretive movement from ignorance to recognition is reflected in the narrative which each character who enters the island provides, thus effecting his or her acceptance into the community.

The pattern of the conversion narrative, here roughly:

1. sinful experience
2. danger and crisis
3. fear of death and recognition of helplessness
4. relinquishing of the individual fate to divine guidance

structures the majority of the life stories of the individuals who arrive on the island. For the characters who relate their stories in the first volume, and for those who arrive through shipwreck and disaster in the third and fourth volumes, the moment of physical and the moment of spiritual salvation coincide. The experience of despair occurs as a part of the *Robinsonade*-situation, as a part of the disaster which leads characters to the island, frequently a storm which seems to tear the curtain of contingent appearance away from the world, revealing the divine order and causality behind it. In this context, as in our other *Robinsonaden*, the shipwreck situation takes on an emblematic significance, based in the conventional imagery, literary, philosophical, religious, and artistic, of the time. The sea becomes the symbolic manifestation of the chaotic state of mental uncertainty, doubt, and despair, the radical embodiment of the homelessness and rootlessness present throughout the text, while the island, the place of salvation from peril, is the rock of certainty provided by divine grace, the spiritual homeland and state of rest which proceeds from a recognition of the hidden action of God in creation.

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<sup>82</sup> Johann Heinrich Reitz, *Historie der Wiedergebohrnen*, Vol. 1, Parts 1-3 (1698-1701), ed. Hans-

For Captain Wolfgang, Virgilia van Cattmer, Amias Hülter, Robert Hülter, and Judith van Manders and her companions, physical peril and the psychological despair which accompanies it, a visible “Todes-Angst,”<sup>83</sup> are resolved by their arrival among the righteous elect. The recognition of extreme evil is quickly followed by the vision of extreme good, to the extent that both Captain Wolfgang and Amias and Robert Hülter mistake the Felsenburgers for angels:

O du gütiger Himmel, welch ein schönes Paradies ist dieses? saget uns doch, o ihr glückseeligen Einwohner desselben, ob wir uns unter Engeln oder sterblichen Menschen befinden? denn wir können biß diese Stunde unsere Sinnen noch nicht überzeugen, ob wir noch auf der vorigen Welt leben; Oder durch den zeitlichen Tod in eine andere Welt versetzt sind?<sup>84</sup>

Thanksgiving for the apparent intervention of Divine Providence in their salvation prepares these naturally virtuous characters (conveniently, apart from Lemelie and Don Cyrillo de Valaro’s companions, the naturally reprobate characters tend to die soon after arriving at the island) for life under the divinely-legislated norms of the island society. The basis of this conversion is a recognition of moral extremes and negative possibilities, similar to Crusoe’s law of opposites, which I will discuss later in this chapter. Reviewing her experiences, Virgilia van Cattmer writes “Solcher Gestalt war nun mein Jammer-Stand abermahls auf der höchsten Stufe des Unglücks, die Hülffe des Höchsten aber desto näher,”<sup>85</sup> an example of the dichotomy according to which the narratives tend to operate: the highest good can only be understood after experiencing the greatest evil. Encompassing these extremes, the conversion experience provides a vision of the structure of creation, which enables the newcomers to understand the natural reason, moderation, and the divine benevolence, which are the sources of the Felsenburg state, and to consciously reject the unbridled and bestial passions, which are its enemy.

The route to the earthly paradise, although it follows a similar pattern, occurs in a slightly different fashion within the narratives of the tradesmen who relate their life stories in the second volume of the *Wunderliche Fata*. Because, like Eberhard

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Jürgen Schrader (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982).

<sup>83</sup> *WF I*, 290 (261 Reclam). I have followed the modernised script used in the Reclam edition for my quotations from Volume One, and have transcribed subsequent editions according to the same principles. I have provided Reclam page numbers for Volume One throughout the text to aid those who have difficulty finding the Olms Press reprint of the first edition.

<sup>84</sup> *WF I*, 292-293 (263 Reclam).

<sup>85</sup> *WF I*, 415 (367 Reclam).

Julius, the men have all intentionally set out for the island, their arrival is not immediately associated with a moment of extreme danger, fear, and despair, as is the case for earlier immigrants. Instead, the moment of fear and despair, and of conversion, tends to occur earlier in their lives, resulting, in part, in a sense of alienation and disgust with their sinful surroundings, which leads them to embrace the opportunity of escape. Even Eberhard Julius only receives an invitation to the island after he entrusted himself to God following his father's bankruptcy and his own mental collapse. This is described, significantly, as "das ungestüme Meer meiner Gedancken."<sup>86</sup> His prayer is the model for entrance into the island, encapsulating as it does the values of Felsenburg society, particularly the virtues of its members as living in the manner most pleasing to God:

Mein GOTT, ich verlange ja eben nicht reich an zeitlichen Gütern zu seyn, ich gräme mich auch nicht mehr um die verlohrenen, setze mich aber, wo es dir gefällig ist, nur in einen solchen Stand, worinnen ich deine Ehre befördern, meinen Nächsten nützen, mein Gewissen rein erhalten, reputirlich leben, und seelig sterben kan.<sup>87</sup>

The pattern set by Eberhard's narrative is followed in the narratives of his travelling companions. Whereas the characters in the first volume, with the exception of Captain Wolffgang, tend to appear as victims of sin, naturally virtuous rather than naturally sinful, the European tradesmen in the second volume relate their stories as moral exempla, frequently referring to the "Affecten"<sup>88</sup> or passions to which they have been prone in the past. Müller Krätzer, in particular, relates his story as an explicit conversion narrative, enumerating his violent deeds of the past and recounting the story of his sickness, fear, and progressive religious awakening following his recovery in terms reminiscent of Bunyan in *Grace Abounding*:

Nun fiel mir auf einmahl wieder ein, was ich in meiner Jugend von dem jüngsten Gerichte, von der ewigen Höllen Quaal und Straffe der Gottlosen, predigen, singen und sagen hören, ingleichen praesentirten sich vor meinen Augen alle diejenigen Personen, die ich im Zorn ums Leben gebracht, verwundet, bevortheilet, oder sonsten beschädiget hatte<sup>89</sup>

Like Bunyan's Scriptural voices, Krätzer's visions appear to him from outside himself. In his sickness he becomes the passive reader of his own experience. The

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<sup>86</sup> *WF I*, 7 (20 Reclam).

<sup>87</sup> *WF I*, 7 (20 Reclam).

<sup>88</sup> Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer, Zweyter Theil [...] 1732*, Vol. II (Hildesheim: Olms Press, 1973) 99.

subject-matter of the revelation is central; Krätzer is presented with a vision of hell which causes him to recognise the poles of his experience and, most importantly, to perceive his experience in relation to these poles, organising and judging it according to its position within the divinely-legislated norms of virtue and vice.

Krätzer's recognition of his own sinful nature is the necessary precursor for his conversion, as it is the necessary precursor of the conversion of all the characters in all of our texts. His subsequent spiritual battle against his own sense of despair, like that of Christian or, for that matter, Bunyan himself, is decided only through the reassurance provided by the priest and by religious texts, objective assurances of salvation which overcome his subjective doubts.

Nunmehr war die Haupt-Sache zwar gehoben, jedoch erregte der Satan fast täglich noch einen zweifel in meiner Seelen, an der vollkommenen Begnadigung GOTTes und Vergebung meiner Sünden, derowegen besuchte ich den Frommen Priester fast täglich ein oder ein paar Stunden, unn bekam von ihm die allerkräftigsten Tröstungen, ein Gesang-Buch, worinnen er mir die kräftigsten Buß- und Trost-Lieder ordentlich bezeichnete, Joh. Arends Paradies-Gärtlein, dann noch das vortreffl. Buch: Mayers verlohrenes und wieder gefundenes Kind GOTTes, recommendirte mir auch über diese noch einige andere erbauliche Bücher, die er schriftl. aufsetzte. Ich folgte seinen gegebenen Rath aufs allergenaueste und habe nach der Zeit fast keinen Tag versäumt, in dergleichen Büchern sehr fleißig zu lesen und meinen Lebens-Wandel darnach einzurichten, wie ich denn auch alle dieselben mit auf diese Insul gebracht habe, und sie vor meinen allerbesten Schatz halte.<sup>89</sup>

For these characters, religious conversion and an interpretation of the past which recognises the sinful or mistaken nature of their previous actions occur prior to the encounter with Captain Wolfgang. The appearance of this pattern in all of the narratives indicates that religious conversion and repentance are the necessary precursors of travel to the island. The narratives, particularly their common structure and the manner of their telling, possess further significance for Schnabel's depiction of the island, which I will address in the following chapters.

Krätzer's reference to the use of devotional texts closely aligns reading, even the reading of non-Biblical works, and religion, an association visible in *Grace Abounding* and a number of our other texts. Even where it does not assume an explicitly religious character, the process of learning to read is described in several

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<sup>89</sup> WF II, 394-395.

<sup>90</sup> WF II, 396.

of the life stories, in Drechsler Herrlich's account, for example, when he contrasts his initial naïveté and reputation for stupidity with his cunning and satirical, though not scholastic, wit after he has been educated. Descriptions of education and schooling, both in the European world and on the island, appear more frequently, and in more detail, than in any of our other texts, in part because of the middle-class social standing of most of the narrators. Book-learning and reading are closely associated with the rational behaviour and ordered existence which is the substance of the Felsenburg lifestyle, to the extent that printing presses are imported to the small settlement in the later volumes, while folly is frequently satirised through the insertion of comical letters written by unenlightened acquaintances of the main narrators. The emphasis on reading the written word is a logical extension of the militant Lutheranism on the island, as is the text's tendency to describe the subject matter, conclusions and applications of Magister Schmeltzer's sermons, and to provide the lyrics for religious music and festive cantatas. As a much less subtle work than the others with which I am concerned, Schnabel's text does not reflect on the psychological aspects of the interpretive path in specific and personal detail, but it does maintain the structures of the interpretive journey in the autobiographical narratives and, in addition, ascribes similar moral values to the elements which it does share with other works. Reading is a positive and necessary activity, possessing, like the narrative process as a whole, a constructive potential.

I have examined the structure of the many examples of first-person narration in order to outline the rather one-dimensional, but still important, depiction of the necessary path from ignorance to religious faith, which is the vehicle for admission to the island. I would now like to shift my focus slightly, in order to examine the depiction of interpretation, language, and discursive interaction on the island itself, especially within the lengthy narrative of Albertus Julius in the first volume of the text. Schnabel's depiction of linguistic interaction on the Insel Felsenburg elaborates on the ideal aspects of life in the earthly paradise described by Bunyan only in passing. As in Bunyan's texts, physical movement, here the movement from the outer world into the world of the island, becomes a movement from the discourse of the world to the discourse of the elect. Whereas experiences in the European outer world are influenced by picaresque narrative, and often do not appear causal or particularly interpretable even from the island perspective, upon the island characters are directly governed by God, in an unmediated, Old Testament-style causal

relationship with Providence.<sup>91</sup> Interpreting experience and natural phenomena in their connection to the harmonious natural and divine order is necessary for the maintenance of the paradisaal Felsenburg state. A constant exertion of interpretive faculties is necessary in order to discern the divine plan for the island society as a whole as for its individual members. The idea of direct governance presupposes an honesty inherent in the discursive systems on the island: natural occurrences *must* possess a significance which may be discerned and learned from, and the social structures and governance of the society must be based in a trustworthy divine, not human, system. Trusting in these principles, the inhabitants of the island reply to threats, both natural and man-made, with prayers and fasting, invoking divine protection and repenting of their sins, sins for which, as in the Old Testament, they see the misfortune of the whole community as the punishment.

In the early criticism of the *Wunderliche Fata*, Fritz Brüggeman has drawn attention to the character of the island as an “Insel der Redlichen”, in contrast to the lies and intrigues of the outside world.<sup>92</sup> By contrast, F.J. Lamport points out that the island is not purely a home to the virtuous, because, in their relations to the outside world, inhabitants of Felsenburg are just as likely as other worldly characters to lie or intrigue.<sup>93</sup> This is simply an aspect of the discourse of the corrupt world, and an “Insel der Redlichen” is formed, not because of any particular pre-existing virtues of its settlers, but because those admitted to Felsenburg are members of the righteous elect, with a shared and honest discourse in which language and meaning are linked by a divine guarantor. Although the entire pattern of creation is still not known, the Felsenburgers may at least be certain that a pattern exists and that they act for the most part together with it. The foundations of this certainty are displayed in moments of insight and linguistic power, in supernatural messages and prophecies from Don Cyrillo de Valaro’s ghost, in the efficacy of the Altvater’s curse on deceivers as a result of his God-fearing ways (“NB. Der Fluch sehr alter Leute, die da Gott fürchten, thut gottlosen und betrügerischen Leuten Schaden.”<sup>94</sup>) and in the Altvater’s ability to foresee events like his own death and the future of the island.

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<sup>91</sup> Janet Bertsch, *The Hand of Heaven, the Blows of Fate: Providence, Fate and Fortune in Schnabel’s Insel Felsenburg*, Unpublished Master’s Thesis (Halifax, NS: Dalhousie U, 1997).

<sup>92</sup> Fritz Brüggeman, *Utopie und Robinsonade: Untersuchungen zu Schnabels Insel Felsenburg (1731-1743)* (Weimar: Alexander Duncker, 1914) 43.

<sup>93</sup> F.J. Lamport, “Utopia and Robinsonade: Schnabel’s *Insel Felsenburg* and Bachstrom’s *Land der Inquiraner*,” *Oxford German Studies* 1 (1966): 13.

<sup>94</sup> *WF* I, 22 (33 Reclam).

All of these examples hint at the existence of a divine “master plan” for the island, a destiny greater and more comprehensive than the individual fates described in the personal life stories.

Numerous critics<sup>95</sup> have drawn attention to the unpleasant and deceitful nature of European society in the *Wunderliche Fata*. Conspicuous in this context is the extent of pretence in this world. Not only is it not safe to betray one’s own identity and background, as numerous stories and an overwhelming mistrust of humanity attest, but many of the individual life histories involve further elements of pretence and disguise, either on behalf of the protagonists or antagonists.<sup>96</sup> Lemelie, despite his presence on the island, is, from his initial cursing of God in the first hours of shipwreck, the epitome of corrupt discourse. This is true to the extent that the virtuous castaways, van Leuven, Concordia, and Albertus, are not even constrained to honesty in their conversation with him. The fact that Lemelie’s actions and emotions are impossible to interpret is, for Albertus, highly problematic, and he appears in marked contrast to Albertus, for whom oaths are always metaphysically binding. His final confession is honest, but undertaken in order to provoke Albertus to murder. When this does not succeed, the very honesty of his confession turns the corruption of his discourse in upon itself, exposing it as so insurmountably evil that he, as a listener to his own narrative, must commit suicide in order to rescind it. By committing suicide rather than dying naturally of his wounds, Lemelie frees Albertus from the sin of murder.

Lemelie may, in this context, be understood allegorically. As an embodiment of original sin, he represents an ambiguous and unpredictable danger, which accompanies the settlers, and is responsible for murdering van Leuven, the most worldly and sinful of the group. His sins are always sexual, contraventions of the natural order which Schnabel depicts as particularly despicable, and it is because of Concordia’s resistance to Lemelie’s sexual advances and her virtue that she is able to reverse the (frequently depicted as sexually significant) sin of Eve. Lemelie, as sin,

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<sup>95</sup> Brüggeman, Martin Greiner (“Nachwort,” *Die Insel Felsenburg In der Bearbeitung von Ludwig Tieck*, ed. Martin Greiner (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1959)), Dietrich Grohnert (“Schnabels *Insel Felsenburg*,” *Weimarer Beiträge* 35 (1989): 606-617), and Lamport.

<sup>96</sup> Including: pretense of harbour cruise in story of Judith van Manders; disguise as a student in story of Schimmer; disguise of parents in story of David Rawkin; disguise of lover and of knights in tournament in story of Don Cyrillo de Valaro; disguise of Albertus and later Concordia to effect Concordia’s escape in story of Albertus; disguise of van Bredals in escape from Turkish prison episode; disguise of Lemelie’s sister as his wife; disguise as nobility in Wolfgang’s account and many other examples.



kills the old, worldly, corrupt Adam (van Leuven<sup>97</sup>), and then, by appearing naked and undisguised in his confession, that is, by being recognised, acknowledged for what he is, and repudiated, kills himself. The episode of Lemelie's death is followed by Concordia's birth pangs and the birth of the new Concordia, all of which contributes to a reading of the episode as a symbolic representation of the conversion experience on the level of the new society as a whole. The death of sin and the old Adam through confession and recognition of sin leads to rebirth into man's new nature - here, effectively, man's new paradisaal nature, reenacting and regaining the constellation of the first family. This reading is reinforced by later reenactments on a social level of the temptation of Eve, in Volume Four for example, when Eberhard, Wolfgang and others on the island are irresistibly tempted to shoot the birds which their pastor companions recognise as omens.<sup>98</sup> Even without such a reading, it is extremely significant that, as I shall examine further in the next chapter, narrative and successful interpretation serve both to promote positive social integration into the island society, through a character's recognition of his or her relation to the ruling power of Divine Providence, and to eliminate dangers from the society, for example by forcing Lemelie to recognise that, in his sinful corruption, he does not act in measure with the divine will and thus may not continue exist.

On the whole, the situation on the island is much the same as that ideal situation towards which Bunyan strives in the course of *Grace Abounding* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*. As for Bunyan and for seventeenth-century Quakers, this includes a repudiation of gratuitously ornamented and artificial, unnatural language, as in Concordia's rebuke of Albertus' flowery love speech.<sup>99</sup> This rejection is an

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<sup>97</sup> The initial shipwreck of the second group of settlers onto the island (i.e. second after Don Cyrillo de Valaro) occurs as a direct result of van Leuven's deceit of Concordia's parents. This intrigue is verbally deceitful and also involves, significantly, a change of clothes, connected to personal identity as a signifier. Perhaps even more significant than the mere change of clothes, it also contains several sexual role changes. First Albertus pretends to be van Leuven's young wife, and later Concordia escapes from home dressed as a man. Through his intrigues, which prompt these deceptions, van Leuven has negated the divinely-legislated relationship between child and parent (punished by Concordia's brother's being drowned, as Providence itself negates a blood relationship in retribution) and he has also obscured the relation between man and wife. These relationships of blood and marriage are sacred to the Felsenburgers. As in the Bible, the relations between the sexes and the family structure are the fundamental structures of the paradisaal society, which develops according to a patriarchally-structured natural law rather than political conventions and is therefore dependent on blood and marital relations for stability. Van Leuven's pretence goes completely against natural and divine law, and thus, in just retribution, he later meets his death through Lemelie's deceitful manipulation of relationships, through a pretence at affectionate brotherhood and friendship.

<sup>98</sup> Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer, Vierdter Theil [...] 1743*, Vol. IV (Hildesheim: Olms Press, 1973) 243-244.

<sup>99</sup> *WF I*, 264 (238 Reclam).

explicit repudiation of upper class and bureaucratic, polite language, in favour of the bourgeois directness which characterises discourse on the island. Beyond its general hyperbolic tone, Albertus' speech is flawed in its indirectness; according to his words, Concordia does not act herself to assure his happiness, but rather "eure schönen Hände haben sich gestern bemühet an meine schlechte Person einen Brief zu schreiben ... ." <sup>100</sup> His claim that words cannot express the worth of her person does not prevent him from attempting to do so, a denial of the communicative abilities of language which trivialises the truth he attempts to convey. According to Concordia in her rebuke, Albertus' virtuous conduct is sufficient proof of his worth. Their situation requires mutual trust and honesty, the identity of signifier and signified, which mirrors the unmediated relation to Providence and the divine discourse which governs the island. The ideal form of discourse within the island society is encapsulated in the Felsenburg song: "Hier ist ja, ja und nein ist nein. / Hier wird durch falschen Schein / Kein zugesagtes Wort gebrochen." <sup>101</sup>

The stories in the *Wunderliche Fata* are less allegorical and more purely fictional than *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and virtuous discourse is quite removed from the world, effective only on the island, an imaginary, although in many ways realistic, realm. With a weaker moral impulse for the text, in many cases true narration takes on a primarily sensational, rather than a didactic character. Conversely, because on the island a fairly straightforward "virtue rewarded, evil punished" scheme operates, according to which action is prescribed or forbidden, and because this ethic simply does not function when disconnected from the island, the text is much less ambiguous than *Simplicissimus* or *Robinson Crusoe*, in which the relation between reality and the divine order is more complex than this simple separation between the corrupt and the regenerate world. The interpretive path in the *Wunderliche Fata* is depicted in less detail than in our other texts, but the attempt to move from a world of deception and uncertainty to a world governed by Scriptural norms remains a central focus of the work.

### C. *Grimmelshausen*

In contrast to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* or Schnabel's *Wunderliche Fata*, which clearly depict the separation between godly (virtuous) and worldly (sinful)

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<sup>100</sup> WF I, 264 (238 Reclam).

<sup>101</sup> WF II, 448.

discourse, the problems of language and interpretation in relation to this dualism are ambiguous in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*. The discourse of the world is satirically depicted, as is to be expected in a text which is intended to function in part as a moral exemplum, but each of the spiritual aspects of the narrative remains trapped in the problematic territory between the divinely ordered and the sinfully disordered world. Like the previous texts, Simplicius' narrative is a product of the interplay between theoretical knowledge of spiritual ideals and practical, often sinful experience; unlike *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in which sinful experience appears as a deviation from the path of necessary hardships, in *Simplicissimus* sinful experience is so thoroughly unavoidable that it becomes a necessary precursor to salvation. Despite various attempts at withdrawal, Simplicius' wandering through the world is not primarily directed towards escaping its sinfulness, simply because he shares so strongly in the fallen nature which is the lot of mankind. Rather, his journey, physical as well as interpretive, depicts a continuous attempt to create a space on the borders of the world, at once affirming the necessity, even the value, of worldly experience and acknowledging the spiritual signification which underlies empirical manifestations. Interpretive success occurs not in the movement from outward "Schein" to hidden "Sein," so much as in the ability to perceive both levels of signification at the same moment. Simplicius' task is to recognise and, with humour and "Weltklugheit" to negotiate (frequently deceptive) empirical phenomena while simultaneously, "mit andern Augen,"<sup>102</sup> attending to the spiritual meanings and universal parameters of the phenomena.

The first book of Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* presents a criticism of the shortcomings of a view of experience solely material or solely spiritual. The deceptive aspects of each are most clearly represented when Simplicius encounters the hermit. The terrified child sees the hermit as a wolf, which for him signifies destruction on the material level, "a solcher feyerboinigter Schelm un Dieb / der Menscha und Vieha frisst,"<sup>103</sup> and the hermit, concerned with his own spiritual rather than material welfare, fears devilish ghouls which have come to disrupt his meditations. Each character is deceived by his focus on only one aspect of reality, rather than possessing the ability to recognise both aspects and, through this dual recognition, to detect the truth behind the flux of appearance. The insufficient nature

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<sup>102</sup> ST, 508 (VI, ix)

<sup>103</sup> ST, 14 (I, ii).

of such a focus then appears throughout the novel, frequently in Simplicius' attempts to achieve a state of material or of spiritual well-being. It is contrasted with the synthesis of the two which he at last achieves on the island, and which will be explored in a later chapter.

As a child, Simplicius is an example of man in his natural state, uncivilised and ignorant. Such figures also appear frequently in the later *Robinsonaden*. In this case, Simplicius' appearance as an innocent in the wilderness is connected to the figure of the Satyr or of the wild man "als eine Verkörperung der unverdorbenen Menschennatur."<sup>104</sup> Such a nature, like the cannibal Friday's in *Robinson Crusoe*, is not wilfully sinful, but, trapped in ignorance, is unable to achieve salvation without the assistance of divine revelation. Unenlightened, Simplicius appears bound to the world as it outwardly appears, to the extent that the only section of the hermit's pious prayer which he recognises and to which he responds is that concerned with the satisfaction of hunger:

da ich aber hörete / daß dessen / der sie redete / Hunger und Durst  
gestillt werden solte / riethe mir mein ohnerträglicher Hunger / mich  
auch zu Gast zu laden / derowegen fasste ich das Hertz / wieder auß  
meinem holen Baum zu gehen ...<sup>105</sup>

Later, hearing the Lord's Prayer, Simplicius adds cheese to the daily bread (Gelt du / auch Käß darzu?<sup>106</sup>) again displaying a literal understanding of a spiritual text.

In the course of his education, this literal understanding is extrapolated from the material to the spiritual realm, not in the sense that Simplicius gains an ability to perceive a spiritual sense embedded in the material, but simply that his literal understanding of the world is informed by a literal understanding of the Bible as containing the undeniable laws and parameters of material existence. This is paralleled in his mimetic activity. Writing, for the young Simplicius, is not creative. It does not relate to things abstract or transcendent, but consists in imitating exactly the appearance of the printed word,<sup>107</sup> a material imitation of what should be understood spiritually. The young Simplicius is unable to recognise any difference between art and nature. He attempts to converse with pictures in the Bible and

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<sup>104</sup> Hans Rosenfeld, *Das deutsche Bildgedicht: Seine antiken Vorbilder und seine Entwicklung bis zur Gegenwart: Aus dem Grenzgebiet zwischen bildender Kunst und Dichtung* (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1935) 65.

<sup>105</sup> ST, 21 (I, vi).

<sup>106</sup> ST, 26 (I, viii).

<sup>107</sup> ST, 31 (I, x).

wishes to douse the fictional fire in an illustration with real water.<sup>108</sup> Where the hermit fails to educate Simplicius properly, and where some criticism of his insufficient enlightenment appears, is in his failure to teach Simplicius the more ambiguous relation between empirical perception and spiritual meaning, particularly concerning the frequently deceptive disjunction between appearance and reality. This is a disjunction which, by fleeing from the world, the hermit has, like the inhabitants of the Insel Felsenburg, attempted to escape. Prior to the encounter with the hermit, the “Wolf” is, for Simplicius, the concept which embodies all that is destructive or dangerous. Following the hermit’s instruction, Biblical teachings become the defining parameters of his perception and understanding of the material world. This literal reading is accompanied, as is Bunyan’s initial understanding of Biblical discourse in *Grace Abounding*, by a concept of language as absolute, as essentially connected to the nature of the world as it appears. It is this concept of the Scriptural Law and of language which informs Simplicius’ satirical observations in Hanau.

Entry into Hanau, for Simplicius, provides an initiation into the problematic relation between what is artificial or man-made and what is natural. This is closely related to the appearance/reality problem which pervades the text. Both of these have implications for his concept of language and, later, of narrative. Like Bunyan’s Christian, Simplicius is initially most confused by discrepancies between appearance and meaning. The blasphemous oaths and curses, which he hears in the garrison, are appalling because of their lack of correspondence to truth as he recognises it. Simplicius is particularly scandalised by the “Devil’s Catechism,” which one adulterer creates by relativising the language of the Ten Commandments through puns. He becomes an “Ehebieger” rather than an “Ehebrecher.”<sup>109</sup> Shown two pieces of art, Simplicius prefers a painting of the crucifixion for its relation to Biblical truths, unable to understand the relative, external valuations of appearance and rarity, which, in the view of the art patron, make a painting of a Chinese god more valuable.<sup>110</sup> In this context, it is easy to understand his puzzlement at the feminine appearance of Herman, the so-called Hermaphrodite, and at the process of being cleaned and groomed, only to be artistically made-up to mimic his former

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<sup>108</sup> ST, 30-31 (I, x).

<sup>109</sup> ST, 67 (I, xxiv).

<sup>110</sup> ST, 70 (I, xxiv).

extraordinary appearance.<sup>111</sup> The problem of reconciling the teachings and lifestyle of the hermit with a world focused on material pleasures, despite its knowledge of Biblical truths, appears corporeally, in Simplicius' extensive digestive problems as a result of these very material pleasures. Simplicius can neither entirely reject nor entirely understand and participate in (consume) the worldly lifestyle. A symptom of this, a burst of gas, prematurely ends his conversation with the Secretarius.<sup>112</sup> This conversation depicts Simplicius' own literal reading again (for example: "warumb stehen nur Hoch- Wol- Vor- und Großgeachte da / und keine geneunte?" "ich aber beharrete darauff / daß die Titul nicht recht geben würden / es wäre einem viel rühmlicher / wann er Freundlich titulirt würde / als Gestreng"<sup>113</sup>), but it also carries the potential to reveal to him the relative nature of discourse and the powers of artistic activity to influence and manipulate reality. The interruption of the conversation, which proceeds from a realm all too corporeal and earthy, prevents Simplicius' acquisition of the transformative skills he requires in order to control his surroundings.

Simplicius' initial foray into worldly deception, before the grand deception of his transformation, is explicitly related to art: "ich einfältiger Tropff war selbst geschickt genug / den klugen Commissarium ... zu betrügen / welches ich eher als in einer Stund lernete / weil die gantze Kunst nur in 5. und 9. bestunde / selbige auff einer Trommel zu schlagen ... ." <sup>114</sup> The broad, pre-Romantic understanding of art ("Kunst") as simultaneously artistry or skill (the production of music, narrative, and ingenious mechanical devices<sup>115</sup> in this work) and as artifice, the manipulation, transformation or fictionalisation of the surface level of reality, is important within the text. According to Thomas Browne, writing in 1643, human art in its most positive role is the imitation of divine creativity, able to perfect the empirical world:

Now nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature: Art is the perfection of Nature: Were the world now as it was the first day, there

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<sup>111</sup> ST, 58-59 (I, xxi).

<sup>112</sup> Tarot reads this as the sin of gluttony interrupting Simplicius' acquisition of knowledge. Rolf Tarot, "Nosce Te Ipsum: Lebenslehre und Lebensweg in Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus Teutsch*," *Grimmelshausen und seine Zeit: Die Vorträge des Münsteraner Symposions zum 300. Todestag des Dichters*, eds. G. Weydt, R. Wimmer, *Daphnis* 5. 2-4 (1976): 512.

<sup>113</sup> ST, 77 (I, xxvii).

<sup>114</sup> ST, 104 (II, iv). Attention is drawn to this passage in this context in Friedrich Gaede, "Signeur Meßmahl und das Regelbewußtsein seiner Zeit," *Simpliciana* XV (1993) 18.

<sup>115</sup> For example, Simplicius' inventions, particularly his listening trumpet and backwards shoes (ST, 200-201, III, i) or his skill on the lyre (ST, 297, IV, iii).

were yet a Chaos: Nature hath made one world, and Art another. In briefe, all things are artificiall, for nature is the Art of God.<sup>116</sup>

This positive understanding of artistry pervades the *Wunderliche Fata* and *Robinson Crusoe*, in the obsession with organising and ordering the natural landscape.

Because narration also imitates divine creative activity, it will also become progressively more important in my examination of *Simplicissimus*. The negative potential of human art as deceptive artifice is, likewise, central to the text. In order to make his way through the world, Simplicius must move from artifice, the manipulation of surface appearances, to art as the perfection of nature, the ability to perceive and to make manifest the inward significance and potential of the empirical world.

Simplicius' ability to perceive in a dual manner, that is to perceive the surface appearance of the devils who torture him and to perceive this appearance as deception, as an artificial construct, leads to a new cunning in his interaction with the world. For the first time, Simplicius recognises that things are not as they seem, and begins to develop his ability to take advantage of man's inherent gullibility: "ich aber stellte mich / als wenn ich sie vor rechte natürliche Teuffel gehalten hätte ...ich merckte aber gleich / daß es meines Herrn Fourierschützen waren ..." <sup>117</sup> He recognises the limited perspective of each individual subject. No single truth exists in a given situation; instead, individuals perceive what they wish or are predisposed to see: "die närrische Welt will betrogen seyn." <sup>118</sup> Because of the necessary deception carried out following his tribulations, Simplicius acquires the power to manipulate these perceptions consciously, through his actions and language. His description of the torture episode constantly emphasises the difference between his thoughts and his actions, focusing on the mental calculations and reflections which motivate his dissembling, for example:

Damals fieng ich erst an / in mich selbst zu gehen / und auff mein Bestes zu gedencken. Ich setzte mir vor / mich auff das närrische zu stellen / als mir immer möglich seyn möchte / und darneben mit Gedult zu erharren / wie sich mein Verhängnus weiters anlassen würde. <sup>119</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (1643) (Menston, UK: Scolar, 1970).

<sup>117</sup> ST, 106-107 (II, v).

<sup>118</sup> ST, 114 (II, viii).

<sup>119</sup> ST, 110 (II, vi).

Like the people who surround him, Simplicius's personality is divided between his inner, knowing self and his outward appearance, which tends to disguise the interior character.

The explicit disjunction between the inner (reflecting) and outer (acting) self mirrors, to some extent, the split throughout the text between the narrating and the narrated identity. Both the inner self of Book Two and the narrating self of the entire text connect themselves to the moral commentary of the novel. Simplicius' newfound powers over language, shown in his conscious satirisation of courtly dress,<sup>120</sup> are the means of his absorption into worldly behaviour, his movement away from the moral standpoint. He criticises the imitative art of Zeuxis and Apelles,<sup>121</sup> with its deceptive qualities as "ebenso läer / eitel und unnütz / as die Titul selbst"<sup>122</sup> at the same time as he engages in the deception of those around him by playing the fool. Even amidst moral criticism, he participates in the sinful disjunction between signifier and truth which accompanies movement in the world. He also prays, not sincerely, as taught by the hermit, in order to praise God; but rather, in imitation and appearance only, in order to awaken the guilt and pity of his audience.<sup>123</sup> Religious language has, for Simplicius, become divorced from truth, relativised for earthly purposes. With his sensitivity to outward appearance following his transformation, Simplicius' wish to be rid of the fool's costume is understandable, as is his focus on clothing in the Jäger von Soest episode. Like so many other incidents in the novel, these tendencies reflect his "Weltverfallenheit" as he becomes the victim of his own deceptions, acting in league with, rather than in opposition to sinful society<sup>124</sup> and trusting in that limited, worldly benefit which resides in outward appearance.

Excluding its moments of retroactive reflection, the bulk of Simplicius' narrative revolves around his power to manipulate sensory phenomena. His trickery as the Jäger von Soest involves either physical disguise or a manipulation of other senses, in the case of the listening trumpet,<sup>125</sup> as in his later insight into arcane arts<sup>126</sup> and quack medicine.<sup>127</sup> Ironically, this very manipulation interferes, seductively,

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<sup>120</sup> ST, 117-118 (II, ix).

<sup>121</sup> ST, 122 (II, x).

<sup>122</sup> ST, 123 (II, x).

<sup>123</sup> ST, 131 (II, xiii).

<sup>124</sup> Günter Rohrbach, *Figur und Charakter: Strukturuntersuchungen an Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus* (Bonn: H. Bouvier, 1959) 40.

<sup>125</sup> ST, 201 (III, i).

<sup>126</sup> ST, 439-440 (V, xix).

<sup>127</sup> ST, 313-316 (IV, viii).



with the possibility of escaping the sensory (and frequently sensual!) realm. Simplicius is unable to resist manipulating the world where the opportunity presents itself. He cooks his penitential peas and fabricates complex stories for those who desire to hear them. He uses sweet words and music to indulge his lust with six bourgeois girls, only to fall victim, as a result of his skill at acting, to the lusts of numerous upper class women in Paris.<sup>128</sup> The protean nature of a world which is deceptive, and which itself asks to be deceived, impresses itself on Simplicius' "tabula rasa" consciousness through his participation in it. This occurs explicitly when Simplicius, in imitation of Baldanders, encodes his message in order to satisfy his host. What at first appears as a magical spell is revealed to be the product of a manipulation of language, not a devilish art in its outward appearance<sup>129</sup> but, in a sense, magical in terms of Simplicius' ability to hide and embed meaning, to deceive through the human tendency to seek firm categories in surface perception. Whereas Christian's perils consist merely of detecting and resisting deception, Simplicius runs the risk of becoming the deceiver, himself playing the dangerous game of relativised words and meanings without recognising, indeed sometimes while rejecting, the divine agency behind worldly appearance.

In contrast to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Simplicissimus* never presents language, even religious discourse, as a shared, unproblematic discourse. Instead of a progression in understanding and interpretation, Simplicius' interaction with the world is a progression in disillusionment and his interpretive interactions with his surroundings become more, not less, threatening as his story develops. This is particularly obvious in several examination scenes, which I will address in the following paragraphs. Disrupted communication appears even during scenes of constructive social interaction, as in Simplicius' relations with the hermit or with Herzbruder.

If we recall the examination scenes in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, we remember their catechetical structure. Christian's examiners are responsible for assisting him to remember, organise and learn from his past experiences, they possess a superior spiritual perspective and impart knowledge in the course of their questioning, and, most importantly, they unfailingly ask the right questions to elicit understanding and to impart knowledge. The examination clearly occurs on Christian's behalf, in order

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<sup>128</sup> ST, 304-307 (V, v).

<sup>129</sup> ST, 525-526 (VI, xiii).

to further his participation in the shared religious discourse. *Simplicissimus* is largely concerned with communication of a worldly nature, which Grimmelshausen, like Bunyan, views as the language of Babel; the striking difference to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, however, is that *Simplicissimus* presents only an individual and subjective alternative to worldly linguistic confusion.

Although benevolent and amusing, Simplicius' initial dialogue with the hermit reveals some of the communication problems which are operative in later, more sinister dialogues. During this passage, the young Simplicius does not possess the knowledge necessary to abstract from his own, specific linguistic definitions; as Friedrich Gaede has pointed out, he does not possess general categories into which to organise the knowledge he possesses from his own limited experience.<sup>130</sup> The hermit, despite a certain overarching spiritual knowledge and prophetic ability, which I will discuss later, is unable to ask questions which will elicit the answers he wishes. Simplicius answers each question perfectly correctly, but each answer is to the question as he understands it, not as it is intended by the hermit. His ignorance is essentially ignorance of self, a lack of awareness of himself as a subject, with subjective definitions which need to be mediated through commonly recognised categories. Because of this ignorance of his own subjective nature, in his answers Simplicius tends to raise subjective knowledge to an objective level, expecting the objects of his knowledge or ignorance to be generally recognised and shared:

*Einsid.* Du bist wol ein unwissender Tropff / daß du weder deiner  
Eltern noch deinen eignen Nahmen nicht weist! *Simpl.* Eya / weist  
dus doch auch nicht:<sup>131</sup>

For Christian, this is indeed the case; the examiners appear in order to assist him in abstracting from specific experiences to moral or theological lessons, and they already possess the knowledge he seeks. In Grimmelshausen's novel, however, the most optimistic and constructive examination occurs in the first pages of the text. Following this problematic beginning, Simplicius becomes aware of his own subjective perspective in relation to each examiner, but remains unable to discover a shared discourse which will enable him to reply both honestly and comprehensibly to those who question him. The figures of authority responsible for the interrogations are themselves victims of the fundamentally disrupted communication which

<sup>130</sup> Conversations with Friedrich Gaede, Dalhousie University, 1996-1997.

<sup>131</sup> *ST*, 25-26 (I, viii).

characterises worldly interaction. Even when Simplicius acts virtuously, they are too sinful to understand his innocence.

During his examination by Governor Ramsay, Simplicius is sufficiently aware of his own ignorance not to give answers which will not be understood to the questions he is asked. This, however, is unsatisfactory, and Simplicius again lacks a shared discourse with his examiner. Neither his knowledge nor his language matches the expectations of the governor:

ALs ich vor den Gubernator gebracht wurde / fragte er mich / wo ich  
herkäme? Ich aber antwortet / ich wüste es nicht: Er fragt weiter /  
wo wilstu dann hin? Ich antwortet abermal / ich weiß nicht: was  
Teuffel weistu dann / fragte er ferner / was ist dann dein Handtierung?  
Ich antwortet noch wie vor / ich wüste es nicht: Er fragte / wo bistu  
zu Hauß? und als ich wiederumb antwortet / ich wüste es nicht /  
verändert er sich im Gesicht / nicht weiß ich / obs auß Zorn oder  
Verwunderung geschahe?<sup>132</sup>

He is only rescued when the pastor, mediating here as in other scenes at Hanau, is able to give a recognisable account of his identity and past experience. It is not Simplicius' ignorance which is problematic, so much as language itself. Simplicius can provide descriptions of where he comes from ("im Wald,"<sup>133</sup> for example), but no description which includes a recognisable name, or even a location, in reference to Hanau. The solution is only found when the pastor appears. As eyewitnesses of each other's past, complete with documentation in the form of letters from the hermit, Simplicius and the pastor corroborate each other's stories. The pastor's superior knowledge and his ability to piece together a complete narrative from the confused jumble of facts regarding the hermit's identity is understood by the governor and effects their release.

Simplicius is less lucky when he is discovered in disguise near Wittstock. His initial arrival in Magdeburg is relatively unproblematic, made easier by Simplicius' thorough narration of his past ("Ich erzählte alles Haar-klein ..." <sup>134</sup>), by his having been recognised as the fool from Hanau, and by his ability on the lute. All of these help to defuse the situation and to distract from the report of his inexplicable flight with the witches as mere "Einfäll und Narrentheidungen."<sup>135</sup> After he is discovered in female clothing, however, he is asked questions, but is not

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<sup>132</sup> ST, 55 (I, xx).

<sup>133</sup> ST, 56 (I, xx).

<sup>134</sup> ST, 148 (II, xix).

allowed to answer in a complete narrative by an audience of suspicious soldiers:  
 “Hierauff wolte ich mein gantzes Leben erzehlen / damit die Umbständ meiner  
 seltzamen Begegnussen alles recht erleutern / und diese Fragen mit der Wahrheit fein  
 verständlich unterscheiden könnten.”<sup>136</sup> The questions he is asked are wrong, the very  
 reverse of those asked of Christian, slanted to conform to the expectations of his  
 examiner, but with no direct connection to Simplicius’ experience. Under these  
 constraining questions, without the possibility of a complete explanation,<sup>137</sup>  
 Simplicius is limited to providing intentionally incomplete answers, attempting,  
 without lying, to subvert the expectations of the regimental auditor and provoke  
 further enquiry. Brought before the general auditor, Simplicius is able to tell his  
 story but, because it conflicts with the expectations of his audience and with the  
 visible evidence of his deceit, for which they will not accept an explanation, is not  
 believed. He is betrayed by the one aspect of it which he has sought to keep secret,  
 the money hidden in the donkey’s ears tied to his arms. Verbal narrative may be as  
 ineffective as literal answers to unsympathetic questions. The reception of narrative,  
 however comprehensive, however literal a reproduction of experience, however true,  
 depends on the subjective expectations of the audience, which, if hostile or if  
 habituated to the omnipresent deception in worldly language, effectively subvert any  
 attempt at creating a shared discourse.

Memory is the key aspect of the examination scenes in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. Within Grimmelshausen’s Catholic narrative, it is significant but  
 functions slightly differently, particularly if we accept Breuer’s description of the  
 Augustinian aspects of the text.<sup>138</sup> Whereas the Nonconformist/Calvinist texts focus  
 on a continuous reviewing of personal experience which converts by revealing God’s  
 direct action in the life of the individual, in Grimmelshausen’s text a single narrative  
 review, *if successful*, that is, if followed by true repentance and reformation, seems  
 to be sufficient as an exercise of memory on the personal level. In the text,  
 Simplicius reviews his life several times, but fails to complete the review in order to

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<sup>135</sup> ST, 148 (II, xix).

<sup>136</sup> ST, 174 (II, xxvi).

<sup>137</sup> Gaede draws attention to the need for a complete narrative to answer these questions, whose formal answers without their surrounding context simply do not make sense. Friedrich Gaede, “Das ‘Beschreiben’ bei Grimmelshausen,” *Simpliciana* XII (1990): 182.

<sup>138</sup> Dieter Breuer, “Grimmelshausens simplicianische Frömmigkeit: Zum Augustinismus des 17. Jahrhunderts,” *Chloe* 2 (1983): 213-252.

achieve a comprehensive understanding. According to Paul Böckmann, this failure occurs because the initial reviews reveal only the workings of Fortune:

Je mehr der Mensch sich hier um Selbsterkenntnis bemüht, um so mehr fällt sein Blick auf den ständigen Wechsel von Glück und Unglück, auf die beständige Unbeständigkeit alles irdischen Treibens. Die Rückschau auf das eigene Leben kann deshalb nicht in der Stetigkeit der persönlichen Entwicklung Trost finden, sondern muß sich zutiefst beunruhigt fühlen durch die Macht der Fortuna.<sup>139</sup>

A successful review is dependent upon the action of grace which enables conversion on the island, and which reveals to Simplicius the divine plan, which is immanent in creation. According to Dieter Breuer:

Eine religiöse Dimension erhält diese skeptische Selbstfindung (Selbsterkenntnis) erst im Akt des persönlichen Glaubens. Doch dieser 'andere Zustand' ist keine Willensleistung, ist der curiositas und der erkenntnisfördernden Dialektik von Erfahren und Betrachten verschlossen. 'Wann der liebe Gott auß sonderbarer Barmhertzigkeit nicht hilft', führen Erfahren und Betrachten nicht aus dem sich immer nur perpetuierenden "Wahn" hinaus.<sup>140</sup>

As part of this failure, in only a very small number of cases does Simplicius seem to truly review his *entire* life story.<sup>141</sup> During his trial near Wittstock, he conceals his riches, in Hanau the pastor narrates his story to Governor Ramsay, and he avoids telling his story to Olivier. Likewise, three conversion attempts based on a remembrance of past sins fail after some initial promise of success, one when Simplicius lies, rather than revealing his past, when rescued from drowning,<sup>142</sup> the second in Switzerland when a devil, rather than Simplicius himself, is responsible for reviewing Simplicius' life and past sins,<sup>143</sup> and the third when Simplicius turns from examining his past and future to examining the physical perfections of his future wife.<sup>144</sup> He reviews his story just before the Mummelsee episode, but remains concerned with the external transformations of social role which he has experienced,

<sup>139</sup> Paul Böckmann, "Die Abwendung von Elegantiadeal in Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus*," *Der Simplicissimusdichter und sein Werk*, ed. G. Weydt (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969) 229.

<sup>140</sup> Breuer, "Grimmelshausens simPLICIANISCHE Frömmigkeit," 217.

<sup>141</sup> Bloedau draws attention to the lack of successful retelling of Simplicius' story, particularly once he is "Weltklug" in Carl August v. Bloedau, *Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus und seine Vorgänger: Beiträge zur Romantechnik des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1908) 36.

<sup>142</sup> *ST*, 320-322 (VI, x). Simplicius begins this episode by emphasising the completeness and the didactic realism of his present narrative, "denn ich will meine Untugenden so wenig verhelen / als meine Tugenden / damit nicht allein meine Histori zimlich gantz sey / sondern der ohngewanderte Leser auch erfahre / was vor seltsame Kautzen es in der Welt gibt." *ST*, 319 (VI, x).

<sup>143</sup> *ST*, 378-379 (V, ii).

and in particular with the amount of money he has possessed and lost throughout his life.<sup>145</sup> According to Clemens Lugowski,

“Simplex erfaßt sein Leben rückblickend als eine bloße Kette von Veränderungen, ohne die lastende Macht des Geschehenen durch eine wesensfremde (etwa moralische) Sinngebung zu entkräften. Dieser rückschauende Simplex fügt sich keiner der festabgeschlossenen literarischen Formeln mehr ein.”<sup>146</sup>

Simplicius’ inability to provide his narrative with a form which would give it order and meaning as a whole indicates that he remains trapped in the ever-changing finitude of empirical appearance, lacking the perspective and insight into the significance of his experience which would structure it according to a confessional model. Simplicius’ refusal to remember his past truthfully, to recognise its sinfulness, and, most importantly, to narrate it as a confession is the clearest sign of his near-complete degeneration at the lowest point of the narrative, in Philippsburg: “Ich erzählte oft meine Bubenstück bey gantzen Gesellschaften / und log noch darzu / aber jetzt / da ich mich bekehren / und einem einigen Menschen / an Gottes Staat / meine Sünden demütig bekennen solte / Vergebung zu empfangen / war ich ein verstockter Stumm!”<sup>147</sup> More successfully, Simplicius completely reviews his life at the end of Book Five, moving from this remembrance and repentance to return to life as a hermit; his failure to succeed in this endeavour then results in a final conversion, of which the text itself is the fictional product. This is not the progressive conversion and progressive illumination experienced by Bunyan or by Christian; rather, it is a series of recurring attempts at a comprehensive and definitive conversion through narrative, the first aspect of which is review and repentance on a personal level.

The second important element of conversion in *Simplicissimus* is related to memory in the Augustinian sense,<sup>148</sup> a metaphysical conception of memory which

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<sup>144</sup> ST, 394-395 (V, vii).

<sup>145</sup> ST, 408-409 (V, xi).

<sup>146</sup> Clemens Lugowski, “Literarische Formen und lebendiger Gehalt im *Simplicissimus*,” *Der Simplicissimusdichter und sein Werk*, ed. G. Weydt (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969) 175. (I disagree with the optimistic conclusions which Lugowski subsequently makes concerning this passage.)

<sup>147</sup> ST, 325 (IV, xi).

<sup>148</sup> In addition to Breuer’s essay mention above, Augustinian elements in Grimmelshausen’s novel, particularly as it follows the pattern of the *Confessions*, are mentioned throughout the secondary literature, including the following books and articles: Walter Busch, “Die Lebensbeichte einer Warensseele - Satirische Aspekte der Schermesser-Allegorie in Grimmelshausens *Continuatio*,” *Simpliciana* IX (1987) 58. (The Schermesser story is seen as a satire of Augustine’s narrative)

appears in influential seventeenth-century writings like Johann Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christenthum*. For Augustine, memory involves a review of past sin, but, more importantly, is the force which, through knowledge, impels creation to return to participation in its Source. Peter Triefenbach writes of the hermit's recommendation of self-knowledge in the first book:

Dies ist die Arbeit des Gedächtnisses, die Erinnerung an die Herkunft der Seele, das Abmühen mit der inneren Natur, das Durchstehen der Konflikte mit der äußeren Welt; und daß dies alles noch einmal durchzuarbeiten sei zur Selbstvergewisserung und zum Auffinden des transzendenten Identitätsgrundes, der Imago Dei, sagt die autobiographische Form des Romans ... Die Rekonstruktion seines Lebenslaufs ist noch einmal der Weg zu Gott in der Erinnerung, ist innere Auffindung und *Vergegenwärtigung*.<sup>149</sup>

Memory leads to autobiography, which as a narrative which completely *re-creates* experience in the empirical world, regenerating it in terms of its divine parameters, is responsible for transforming both the inner self and exterior reality at one and the same time. According to Elmar Locher, the unity of narrative and physical world on the island, which I will examine further in the following chapters, is a result of the action of *memoria*. The reinterpretation of one's experience in autobiography reveals the source of creation. By narrative means it reinstates the correspondence between the Book of Nature and the Book of Revelation. By the recognition and re-creation through writing of the divine source of the empirical world, it recovers the forgotten Adamic names and the universal language.<sup>150</sup> The revealed recognition of a Creator through attention to creation is a recognition of man as the image of God. To recognise the Creator is simultaneously to become an author or creator oneself,

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Friedrich Gaede, *Poetik und Logik: Zu den Grundlagen der literarischen Entwicklung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Francke, 1978) 71.

Friedrich Gaede, *Substanzverlust: Grimmelshausens Kritik der Moderne*, (Tübingen: Francke, 1989) 109. (In connection with Simplicius' position on the island, which like his narrative exists on the border between the finite and the infinite.)

Hans Geulen, "'Verwunderungs und Aufhebens werth': Erläuterungen und Bedenken zu Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus Teutsch*," *Grimmelshausen und seine Zeit: Die Vorträge des Münsteraner Symposions zum 300. Todestag des Dichters*, eds. G. Weydt, R. Wimmer, *Daphnis* 5:2-4 (1976): 209.

Hans Geulen, "Wirklichkeitsbegriff und Realismus in Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus Teutsch*." *Argenis* 1 (1977): 33.

Axel Schmitt, "Intertextuelles Verwirrspiel: Grimmelshausens Simplicianische Schriften im Labyrinth der Sinnkonstitution," *Simpliciana* XV (1993): 81-82.

Peter Triefenbach, *Der Lebenslauf des Simplicius Simplicissimus: Figur-Initiation-Satire* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1979).

<sup>149</sup> Triefenbach, 58.

<sup>150</sup> Elmar Locher, "'Die Zeichen sind beieinander': Eschatologie als poetologisches Programm bei J.Chr. von Grimmelshausen," *Simpliciana* XV (1993): 57, 65.

mirroring God's creative and generative activity in the positive artistic production, which is the praise of God. Simplicius' mystical reading of the Book of Nature and the meaning of the hermit's nightingale song,<sup>151</sup> which represents all of creation participating in such praise are both related to the conscious exertion of memory which results in a fulfilment of man's original purpose, together with creation as a whole, of emanating from and returning to participation in the One.

For Simplicius, as for other spiritually enlightened characters in *Simplicissimus*, the successful use of memory is two-fold in nature, entailing awareness of and attention firstly to self, both in the worldly and in the spiritual context, and then to God and things divine. The permutations of this issue will be further addressed in a later chapter, as it relates quite explicitly to the discovery of cosmic place. Within the context of language and interpretation in this chapter, however, it is important to note that spiritual enlightenment in Grimmelshausen's text does not exclude a knowledge of things earthly. Throughout his journeys, Simplicius encounters a series of priests and pastors, all of whom, regardless of confession, possess a knowledge of the earthly world and an ability to travel through it. This ability has its basis in their knowledge of things spiritual and is, at its most basic level, the ability to perceive the relationship between individual, empirical phenomena and a larger, hidden, divinely-ordained pattern. It includes an insight into man's nature and specific sins, as when the reformed pastor in Lippstadt detects Simplicius' lustful preoccupations in literary evidence.<sup>152</sup> It also includes an ability to reconcile the spiritual and the worldly realms, as in the case of the pastor in Hanau who is able to mediate as successfully between Simplicius and the governor as between his pastoral responsibilities and self-preservation. He can help Simplicius by telling his story in terms comprehensible to the governor,<sup>153</sup> and, unlike the naïve Simplicius, knows when to shut his eyes to the sins of his flock.<sup>154</sup> Even the hermit, who explicitly rejects worldly concerns, possesses a knowledge of the world which

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<sup>151</sup> "Im Bild der Nachtigall ritualisiert Grimmelshausen noch einmal die mittelalterliche Auffassung der Geschöpfe: omnis creatura significans, jede Kreatur deutet auf einen höheren Sinn, der sich in ihr verkörpert. Richtig aufgefaßt verweisen die natürlichen Eigenschaften der Dinge und Lebewesen über sich hinaus auf einen spirituellen Bedeutungshintergrund. In diesem Sinne ist die Nachtigall ganz Stimme, bar der Sorge für sich selbst, insofern symbolisiert sie das kreatürliche Schöpferlob." Walter Busch, *Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen: Der abentheuerliche Simplicissimus* Deutsch. Frankfurt a.M.: Moritz Diesterweg, 1988, 45.

<sup>152</sup> Simplicius reads fewer religious works and is preoccupied with sexual temptations in *Joseph*. ST, 263-265 (III, xviii).

<sup>153</sup> ST, 58 (I, xxi).

<sup>154</sup> ST, 74 (I, xxvi).



extends to a prophetic foresight of the trouble that will face Simplicius and the pastor in Hanau. In each case, these spiritual guides appear in conjunction with narrative matters. The hermit relates the entire story of creation and teaches Simplicius to read and to write. The pastor at Hanau acts as narrative mediator between Simplicius and the governor and reveals the hermit's life story. The pastor in Lippstadt reads Simplicius' first literary endeavours and encourages him to pursue his work as an author, and the pastor in Philippsburg desires a confession from him in narrative form.<sup>155</sup> I will return to the connection between spiritual discourse and narration in the following chapters.

Partly in connection with the spiritual guides mentioned above, the motif of prophecy runs through Grimmelshausen's text. These prophetic moments are far from the unambiguous instructions of Don Cyrillo de Valaro in the *Wunderliche Fata*, explicitly depicted as messages from the Almighty. Although in *Simplicissimus* all predictions of future occurrences are correct, this foreknowledge is of limited use to characters, including Simplicius himself, who is frequently blinded to their import by his own sinful nature. The hermit's letter succeeds in saving Simplicius and the pastor in the short term, but faced with the world in all its sinfulness, Simplicius is inevitably unable to follow the hermit's last recommendations and Hanau is an entry into a world that is anything but "bequem."<sup>156</sup> In Hanau, Simplicius clearly understands the pastor's warning against future danger and against pride, but, reading the world alert for hypocrisy and hidden meanings, he ascribes the warning to the pastor's own self interest. This failure indicates that, in learning the art of successful deception, Simplicius has already fallen victim to worldly deceit and the sin of pride. Later, he heeds the predictions of the Wahrsagerin of Soest in order to safeguard his wealth (perhaps because the warnings accord with his desires to secure his treasure), but, once again, this is of only limited use because he disregards (at first because of ignorance, because he does not recognise such a possibility, and later because, lacking self-awareness despite several warnings, he has slipped too far into the sin) her further warnings regarding the dangers of lust. Prognostication, however successful, reveals only a

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<sup>155</sup> Simplicius blames his refusal to pray on his sense of shame; in Philippsburg, he will only narrate worldly exploits. *ST*, 325 (IV, xi).

<sup>156</sup> *ST*, 51 (I, xviii).

portion of an entire truth; the blindness and limited perspective associated with sin further obscure any ability to interpret the future correctly.

Sin is not the only factor which complicates the ability to recognise and avoid future ills. Even the old Herzbruder, one of the most virtuous figures in the novel, who in effect is able to predict all of Simplicius' future for him, is unable to avoid his own predicted death. Indeed, his foreknowledge is responsible for creating the situation which leads to his death, similar to the sailor in the *Wunderliche Fata*, who sails away from Rotterdam to avoid his predicted death there, only to die in a colony called Rotterdam. Despite the fact that Simplicius' inability to escape the dictates of Fate is associated with his ignorant dismissal of predictions or his sinful nature, such predicted events are unavoidable, not to be controlled by any exertion of human will:

Auf die Frag, die sich ereignen möchte, obs einem Menschen nötig, nützlich und gut seie, daß er sich wahrsagen, und die Nativität stellen lasse? antworte ich allein dieses, daß mir der alte Herzbruder so viel gesagt habe, daß ich oft gewünschet, und noch wünsche, daß er geschwiegen hätte; dann die unglückliche Fäll, die er mir angezeigt, hab ich niemals umgehen können, und diejenige die mir noch bevorstehen, machen mir nur vergeblich graue Haar, weil mir besorglich dieselbige auch, wie die vorige, zuhanden gehen werden, ich sehe mich gleich für denselben vor oder nicht: Was aber die Glücksfälle anbelangt, von denen einem geweissaget wird, davon halte ich, daß sie öfter betrügen, oder aufs wenigste den Menschen nicht so wohl gedeihen, als die unglückselige Prophezeihungen.<sup>157</sup>

Grimmelshausen presents a creation which is determinist,<sup>158</sup> in the sense that, like Schnabel's depiction of the European world, it is governed by the malicious action of Fate/Fortune. Earthly abilities to recognise this determinism are limited. The exception is the revelation of the workings of Providence on the island in the *Continuatio*, which, as in the other *Robinsonaden*, depicts Simplicius' understanding of Providence as having been present but hidden behind the workings of Fate/Fortune throughout the novel, and reflects the ability to discern individual fate

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<sup>157</sup> ST, 167 (II, xxv).

<sup>158</sup> Klaus Haberkamm discusses this determinism, but limits it to its connection with the astrology motif, claiming, I think erroneously and with limited textual evidence, that *all* of the prophetic figures in the novel (the hermit, Herzbruder, the pastor in Hanau, the prophetess of Soest) use astrology to make their predictions. Despite the so-called "Planetenthese," determinism in this novel, as in the *Wunderliche Fata*, is revealed as the result of the workings of an unavoidable Fate/Fortune or of Divine Providence throughout an interconnected world, and prophetic activity and astrology appear together with other arcane arts (palmistry, cabbala, hieroglyphs, alchemy etc.) in this greater context. Klaus Haberkamm, "*Sensus Astrologicus*": *Zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Astrologie in Renaissance und Barock*, (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1972) especially 282, 295, 302.

which seems to accompany conversion. Within the European world, such recognition is of little use, a revelation of future ills from a malevolent, rather than benevolent, Fate. Because the entire European world presents an example of fallen creation, it becomes virtually impossible, while trapped within it, to act in concert with a systematic divine plan.

The problem of Simplicius' identity appears in connection with the prophecy motif. He is explicitly<sup>159</sup> told of, and explicitly rejects, his noble birth three times, a three-fold repetition which is significant in connection with Grimmelshausen's parodic treatment of the conventions of the identity problem in high romance and the fairy tale. The old Herzbruder and the Wahrsagerin of Soest include partial revelations of Simplicius' identity with their prophecies, which, however, Simplicius does not believe "da ich doch von niemand anders wußte als von meinem Knan und meiner Meuder, die grobe Boursleut im Spessert waren."<sup>160</sup> Ironically, his rejection of the possibility that he is of noble birth occurs at the very moment when he is most preoccupied with pretending that he *is* noble, longing for livery for his servants.<sup>161</sup> Simplicius' discovery of enchanted treasure fails to fully resolve the identity problem. He focuses on hiding the treasure and thus refuses to complete "die alte Sag"<sup>162</sup>; his identity, like the treasure, remains hidden, and the story remains incomplete. When Simplicius finally does discover the truth of his birth, it is late and the knowledge is of no use. Contrary to the expectations of the *Märchen*-like hidden treasure episode, his noble birth never has positive consequences and his story as a whole is never resolved in the single, simple dissolution of false appearances which solves the problems of hidden identities in the high romance.

Although, in my treatment of the role of interpretation in the other three texts I have, as far as possible, endeavoured to limit my discussion to interpretation, rather than focusing on the portions of the text which concern the generation of narrative, a concern with storytelling is so omnipresent in all of these texts that it is difficult to avoid including some analysis of its role in the interpretive journey. In Simplicius' case, the interpretive path is intimately connected with Simplicius' progression as a narrator; a correct and divinely-sanctioned interpretation of his experiences occurs

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<sup>159</sup> I do not include the hermit's hints that Simplicius is his true son, nor Simplicius' resemblance to Governor Ramsay's sister among these explicit statements.

<sup>160</sup> *ST*, 167 (II, xxv).

<sup>161</sup> *ST*, 237, 244-245 (III, xi, xiii).

<sup>162</sup> *ST*, 242 (III, xii).

only in connection with the writing of his autobiography on the island at the conclusion of the book. The only visible progression towards redemption in the text occurs because of an observable progression in Simplicius' narrative abilities in the *Continuatio*. Unlike the texts of Bunyan and Defoe, it is not a progression with regard to his spiritual insight, through an explicit interaction with Scripture, or his personal piety. For Simplicius, the ability to read the divine narrative is, simultaneously, the ability to rewrite it, to transform it by writing it according to its significance in his own life.

The basis of Simplicius' self-knowledge and recognition of his own nature, and of Simplicius' representation of social and spiritual truths through allegory is the narrative process itself. Despite his previous activities as a writer, it is the *Continuatio* which most clearly depicts Simplicius' path towards narration. The episodes following the Baldanders-episode demonstrate the interpretive competence and the perspective necessary for narrative success, as well as clarifying the role and the purpose of virtuous narration. The lesson taught by Baldanders is the lesson which is the foundation for all of the interpretive functions of narrative: narrative activity, the ability to perceive and narrate the whole story of the self and of creation, possesses the power to reconcile the disparate empirical and spiritual realms, to return man to a paradisaal state of integration and rootedness.

Simplicius' meeting with Baldanders encapsulates the theme of the novel as a whole: "daß Unbeständigkeit / Allein beständig sey."<sup>163</sup> The episode is significant as more than the mere personification of this theme, however. The vision of Baldanders, itself indicated as fictional or allegorical through the reference to Hans Sachs' fictional experience,<sup>164</sup> also indicates Simplicius' ability to give his own experience an intelligible form. Like the previous vision of Julius and Avarus, which reflects Simplicius' consciousness of the nature of sin, this allegory embodies one of those truths general to mankind. Like Bunyan's allegorical figures, for example the Giant Despair, Baldanders is an abstract quality personified in a form empirically perceptible, as an emblematic figure in the narrative rather than as a psychological quality in Simplicius' subjective experience. Despite the fact that Baldanders is a quasi-emblem of the deceptive and ever-changing appearance of empirical reality, the fact that this change is encapsulated by the representation of an emblematic or

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<sup>163</sup> ST, 467.

<sup>164</sup> ST, 506 (VI, ix).

allegorical figure in Simplicius' narrative indicates its constancy as the universal principle which governs human life. As represented by Simplicius the narrator, Baldanders' "Protean nature corresponds to man's subjection through sin to mutability and death."<sup>165</sup> Simplicius' encounter with Baldanders reflects his ability in the *Continuatio* to perceive both the changing appearance and the constant underlying principles of reality, an ability to allegorise, both in terms of generating allegory and in terms of interpreting narrative and the world in an allegorical manner, which is not present in the first five books. He does not demonstrate this insight in the earlier "Ständebaum" allegory, which remains a representation of the social/political state without any explicit moral commentary.<sup>166</sup> Through the figure of Baldanders, this ability is explicitly connected with his authorial activity, with his ability to read and to generate narrative.

Simplicius' suspicions during the Baldanders episode reflect the mistrust of language manipulation which pervades Grimmelshausen's text. Simplicius specifically describes Baldanders' transformations as devilish, and fears the potential effects of the message Baldanders leaves behind him. This is connected to Grimmelshausen's depiction of linguistic competence as potentially evil, which I will examine in a future chapter, in connection with Olivier. Insofar as Baldanders is seen only on the level of his transformations, that is, as long as Simplicius does not understand that he is the very principle of transformation but perceives only his ability to manipulate surface reality, Baldanders is perceived as devilish. Simplicius initially reads the gibberish words in the message as an evil spell,<sup>167</sup> a mistake which reflects his belief in the literal meaning, surface appearance and the power of language in the first book. Baldanders and his message are, however, morally ambiguous, even benevolent. Once Simplicius, using his own abilities to manipulate language and to negotiate the gap between language and meaning ("und weil ich ohne Ruhm zu melden / ein zimblicher Zifferant bin"<sup>168</sup>), has deciphered the message, it reveals authorial activity ("Dichtung") in a hitherto unstated, benign (although still mocking) relation to man:

Magst dir selbst einbilden, wie es einem jeden Ding ergangen,  
hernach einen Discurs daraus formirn und davon glauben, was der

<sup>165</sup> Jeffrey Ashcroft, "Ad Astra Volandum: Emblems and Imagery in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*," *The Modern Language Review* 68 (1973): 846.

<sup>166</sup> I am indebted to private conversations with Dr. Adrian Stevens for this observation.

<sup>167</sup> *ST*, 508 (VI, ix).

<sup>168</sup> *ST*, 508 (VI, ix).

Wahrheit aehnlich ist; so hastu, was dein naerrischer Vorwitz  
begehret.<sup>169</sup>

According to this message, the art of speaking with dumb things consists of imaginative activity. Through narrative, Simplicius may discover “was der Wahrheit aehnlich ist” and finally satisfy his curiosity, the desire to see behind the surface appearance of things which frequently defines his relationship to the world, as in his Mummelsee adventure and in his attempt to see behind the Baldanders statue.<sup>170</sup>

Simplicius’ reading of the life of St. Alexius follows the Baldanders episode with good reason. Like his father’s earlier reading of papist books, Simplicius reads hagiographic texts for their exemplary value. Having internalised Baldanders’ lesson but still lacking the grace which would enable a completely correct interpretation of the text, he believes “was der Wahrheit aehnlich ist,” and comes, if not to a situation of full saintliness, at least to the realisation that his life in the forest is a useless attempt to escape worldly change. Like Bunyan, Grimmelshausen depicts texts as possessing the power to place one individual’s experience into the context of a general morality or cosmic scheme and to act as models for the efforts of other individuals to fit their experiences into such a scheme. This also appears in the relation of *Simplicissimus* to its sequels, *Springinsfeld* and the *Vogelnest* stories, for which *Simplicissimus* appears as an exemplary conversion narrative, and *Courasche*, which has allegedly been written in order to destroy *Simplicissimus*’ exemplary significance.

Simplicius practices Baldanders’ art in the Schermesser episode, but does not fully unleash its potential, remaining instead trapped in the pure materiality of a cause and effect discourse, which ends on a dung heap. His narration remains a chronological narrative of surface transformation, lacking the teleological interpretation and spiritually-enlightened narrative voice, which would both organise it and give it meaning, relating each individual event to a greater whole. Even the book into which the Schermesser is eventually transformed is a journal of accounts, not a narrative, and is used to register and to manipulate the value of material goods. In this capacity it becomes the “Bible” of a steward, who writes in it “zwar nit deßwegen / daß die Rechnung auffrichtig und just seyn: sonder daß er seine Diebsgriff bemänteln: seine Untreu und Bubenstück bedecken: und alles dergestalt

<sup>169</sup> *ST*, Reclam Edition “Notes,” 755.

<sup>170</sup> Gaede, “Das ‘Beschreiben’ bei Grimmelshausen,” 180-182.

setzen möchte / daß es mit dem Journale überein stimme.”<sup>171</sup> The narrative of salvation, which should validate the individual life story, is absent; instead, the steward, like Olivier and the secretary in Hanau, uses his literacy and narrative potential only in order to manipulate surface appearances, to hide his trickery rather than to recognise and repudiate it.

Despite the nihilism of its conclusion in the dung heap, the Schermesser will not be destroyed, but is, rather, once again transformed by Simplicius’ use, part of the endless displacement and motion which is also symptomatic of Simplicius’ journeying through the almost inescapably sinful world. Later in the novel, the spiritual and physical homeland appears as a place providing a narrative perspective, from which God is recognised as the End of existence and, particularly, of the individual’s life story. This appears in contrast to the “bad infinity” of the Schermesser’s existence. Doomed by Simplicius’ lack of mercy to continuing transformation, the story which will reach no end, no point of rest, no concluding perspective which will provide it with meaning. As a piece of used toilet paper, the Schermesser returns to the cycle of decay and transformation which has characterised his entire story:

Ich antwortete / weil dein Wachsthum und Fortzihlung auß Feistigkeit  
der Erden / welche durch die excrementa der animalien erhalten  
werden muß / ihren Ursprung / Herkommen und Nahrung empfangen  
/ zumahlen du auch ohne das solcher Materi gewohnet: und von  
solchen Sachen zureden ein grober Gesell bist so ist billich daß du  
wider zu deinen Ursprung kehrest; warzu dich dann auch dein aigner  
Herr verdampt hat / damit exequirte ich das Urtheil<sup>172</sup>

The terrifying aspect of the story, indeed, is not so much in the threat that Simplicius himself will eventually physically decay, as the inability of the Schermesser’s narrative and, because it is the product of Simplicius’ artistic activity, of Simplicius’ own narration, to move beyond the realm of finite appearance and transience towards the ability to reveal hidden meaning which is the task of imaginative activity: “Als schieres Produkt sozialer Arbeit ist das Schermesser nicht länger vertrauter Träger einer Signatur.”<sup>173</sup> Significantly, Simplicius does not completely assume the role of author as a second God, as a merciful creator; he does not imitate the action of divine grace, but carries out his messy judgement, which failure only emphasises his own

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<sup>171</sup> *ST*, 521 (VI, xii).

<sup>172</sup> *ST*, 521 (VI, xii).

<sup>173</sup> Busch, “Die Lebensbeichte einer Warensseele,” 60.

imprisonment in the earthly, dung-filled world. Although obviously a negative example of a narrative transformation which remains purely material, nonetheless, as a whole story, the Schermesser episode does provide a structure and a comprehensive understanding of the material and the individual identity which is more than the sum of its parts. Although, at the stage of the Schermesser episode, Simplicius has not yet reached a level of insight into the transcendent significance of the *liber mundi*, his ability to encapsulate materiality in a narrative generated by imagination does, at least, indicate a consciousness of his own entrapment in the material world and an increased artistic and interpretive ability. The Schermesser's final message<sup>174</sup> regarding Simplicius' own finite nature is also an important indication of Simplicius' growing ability to apply the moral lessons represented by material objects to himself, to read them imaginatively and to invest them with general significance.

The potential lesson of the Baldanders episode is revealed in Baldanders' "Ursprung auß dem Paradeiß,"<sup>175</sup> as in the echo of the Alpha and Omega of the Book of Revelation which precedes his message. Just as in the *Wunderliche Fata* postlapsarian man lives subject to Fate and time,<sup>176</sup> in *Simplicissimus* Baldanders' "Thun und Wesen bestehet so lang die Welt bleibt."<sup>177</sup> The result of the Fall is the change, transience and subjection to circumstance/Fortune which accompanies man's sinful nature throughout his earthly existence. By perceiving this context, these universal parameters for changeable empirical reality, and by integrating transient individual experience into these parameters (rather than merely rejecting it, as the hermit in the first book does) through narrative, man may reinstate the connection between surface reality and divine order or, in linguistic terms, between signifier and signified, between word and meaning. The inspiration which allows Simplicius to perceive both Baldanders' different forms and the collective meaning of these manifestations is the inspiration which allows him at times to glimpse, and finally, through narrative on the island, to grasp man's potential to return to his paradisaal state. God's grace or Divine Providence, "ein überraschender Durchbruch

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<sup>174</sup> "aber das Scheermesser sagt / gleich wie du jetzunder mit mir procedirest / also wird auch der Todt mit dir verfahren / wann er dich nemblich wider zur Erden machen wird / davon du genommen worden bist; und darvor wird dich nichts fristen mögen / wie du mich vor dißmahl hettest erhalten können." *ST*, 521-522 (VI, xii).

<sup>175</sup> *ST*, 506 (VI, ix).

<sup>176</sup> *WF I*, 182 (169 Reclam).

<sup>177</sup> *ST*, 506 (VI, ix).



zu einer anderen, neuen Sinngebung des Lebens,”<sup>178</sup> places Simplicius on the island and allows him to recognise his presence there as a result of this action. It is, however, Simplicius’ activity in narrating his own story which actually effects his physical and spiritual rootedness, his regaining of a paradisaal homeland, on the island.<sup>179</sup> The island itself, a narrative paradise located on the borders between the geographically-known Baroque world and the supernatural<sup>180</sup> and the allegorical,<sup>181</sup> reflects this integration and reconciliation of the empirical and the theoretical realms. As in the *Wunderliche Fata*, threats to this integration and reconciliation are reflected metaphorically in the earthquakes which shake the islands’ foundations.

On the whole, frustration and ambiguity dog Simplicius’ efforts to interpret and, through correct interpretation, to communicate effectively with his surroundings. His passivity, like the passivity of Schnabel’s characters as they suffer on their journeys to the island, is a passivity induced by a corrupt creation, a creation which actively militates against efforts to understand its order. It is a product of his own corrupt nature, which subverts his efforts at knowledge by obscuring his relation to his creator. As for Schnabel and Defoe, the solution to these difficulties is shipwreck and solitude. The wreck clarifies the main character’s relation to God by revealing him as chosen. The solitude effectively dispels problematic communication with fellow human beings, allowing self-legislated activity, an exertion of will, and a control of the environment, and trammelled only by the limitations imposed on the situation by Providence.

#### D. Defoe

As with Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, literary criticism has documented the role of interpretation in Daniel Defoe’s *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* at considerable length. The numerous treatments of interpretation in the text are mainly concerned with general observations of its

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<sup>178</sup> Breuer, “Grimmelshausens simplicianische Frömmigkeit,” 223.

<sup>179</sup> Despite the idea that artistic activity, specifically narrative, is able to effect man’s return to a paradisaal state, to reverse the Fall and regain the paradisaal language (reflected in Simplicius’ writing activity and in his multilingual inscriptions on the trees), Baldanders’ lesson is not at all the Romantic idea of the transforming qualities of Art, because art still appears subject to, dependent on, and in reference to Divine Grace and to the narrative model present in Scripture, not acting independently and on its own merit. In and of itself “Dichtung” can only discover what is close to the truth; with the assistance of Divine Providence/Grace/Revelation, truth may be approached more closely.

<sup>180</sup> Seen in the appearance of devils (the Abyssinian woman and her dishes) and ghosts (Simon Meron and others) on the island.

<sup>181</sup> As an earthly paradise.

importance, particularly as an ordering force,<sup>182</sup> with readings of the text according to the pattern of the spiritual autobiography,<sup>183</sup> or with allegorical interpretations of key episodes or motifs, the barley episode, the footprint episode, and Crusoe's use of Biblical comparisons being particular favourites.<sup>184</sup> My own treatment of *Crusoe*

<sup>182</sup> Paul Alkon addresses the importance of memory and time in connection with spiritual aspects of the narrative. (*Defoe and Fictional Time* (Athens, GA: U of Georgia P, 1979)) John Bishop provides general comments on the importance of interpretation. ("Knowledge, Action, and Interpretation in Defoe's Novels," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 13 (1952): 3-16) Homer Brown discusses Crusoe's need to order his surroundings through work and writing in order to delineate the borders between self and other. ("The Displaced Self in the Novels of Daniel Defoe," *Daniel Defoe*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea, 1987) 69-94) Anne Carson observes that Crusoe adds interpretation in connection with divine providence when he repeats his story. ("‘Echo with No Door on Her Mouth’: A Notional Refraction through Sophokles, Plato, and Defoe," *Stanford Literature Review* 3 (1986): 247-261) Paul Goetsch discusses the importance of interpretation in ordering Crusoe's experience in his examination of the different versions of the first day on the island, while Eric Jager discusses language as ordering experience more generally. (Goetsch, "The First Day on the Island: *Robinson Crusoe* and the Problem of Coherence," *Modes of Narrative: Approaches to American, Canadian and British Fiction*, eds. Reingard M. Nischik, Barbara Korte (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1990) 190-202; Jager, "The Parrot's Voice: Language and the Self in *Robinson Crusoe*," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21 (1987-88): 316-333) Cameron McFarlane outlines Crusoe's reading of his own experience as a providential narrative and Elizabeth Napier and William Ray also address the interplay of human and providential order. (McFarlane, "Reading Crusoe Reading Providence," *English Studies in Canada* 21 (1995): 257-267; Napier, "Objects and Order in *Robinson Crusoe*," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 80 (1981): 84-94; Ray, "Personal Ordering and Providential Order (*Robinson Crusoe*)," *Story and History: Narrative Authority and Social Identity in the Eighteenth-Century French and English Novel*, William Ray (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1990) 50-73) Erhard Reckwitz discusses the importance of rational reflection to survival activity. (*Die Robinsonade: Themen und Formen einer literarischen Gattung* (Amsterdam: B.P. Grüner, 1976)) John Richetti also addresses the issue generally in *Popular Fiction before Richardson*. Ulrich Suerbaum outlines the role of repetition in the novel. ("‘I repeat and repeat,’ Repetition as Structure in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*," *Telling Stories: Studies in Honour of Ulrich Broich on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, eds. Elmar Lehmann, (Bernd Lenz. Amsterdam: Grüner, 1992) 69-83) Lisa Zeitz discusses Crusoe's need to discern providential order to discover the nature of the self. ("‘A Checker-Work of Providence’: The Shaping of *Robinson Crusoe*," *English Studies in Canada* 9 (1983): 255-271) Everett Zimmerman discusses the failure of Crusoe's ordering attempts. (*Defoe and the Novel*. Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1975)

<sup>183</sup> J. Paul Hunter and G.A. Starr, and other critics, including Leo Braudy ("Daniel Defoe and the Anxieties of Autobiography," *Daniel Defoe*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea, 1987) 107-123), Paula Backschneider, James Foster ("*Robinson Crusoe* and the Uses of the Imagination," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 91 (1992): 179-202), Martin Greif ("The Conversion of Robinson Crusoe," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 6 (1966): 551-574), Gertrud Kalb, Wolfgang Mackiewicz (*Providenz und Adaptation in Defoes "Robinson Crusoe": Ein Beitrag zum Problem des pragmatischen Puritanismus* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1981)), Cameron McFarlane, and Michael Seidel (*Robinson Crusoe: Island Myths and the Novel* (Boston: Twayne, 1991)), who use the spiritual autobiography idea as a full or partial basis for their readings, and who expand on and sometimes criticise Starr and Hunter's valuable work.

<sup>184</sup> Robert Ayers investigates the Prodigal Son motif. ("*Robinson Crusoe*: ‘Allusive Allegorick History’," *PMLA* 82 (1967): 399-407) Edwin Benjamin perceives an emblematic significance in the episodes of the barley and the pottery. ("Symbolic Elements in *Robinson Crusoe*," *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Frank H. Ellis (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969) 34-38) David Blewett mentions the significance of the wolves in the final section of the novel. (*Defoe's Art of Fiction: Robinson Crusoe, Moll Flanders, Colonel Jack & Roxana* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1979) 501) Douglas Brooks draws attention to the role of repetition and numerical patterns. (*Number and Pattern in the Eighteenth-Century Novel: Defoe, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne* (London: Routledge, 1973)) Robert Erickson interprets the birth imagery during Crusoe's shipwreck with reference to early modern midwife literature. ("Starting Over with *Robinson Crusoe*," *Studies in*

will unavoidably partially repeat some aspects of these analyses within the context of the issues raised by the juxtaposition of Defoe's novel with our other three texts, expanding and developing them in order to delineate the role of interpretation in the work.

Bunyan's Christian is prompted to begin his pilgrimage by his awareness of sin, an awareness prompted by his initial reading of Scripture. Simplicius, on the other hand, strays into the world and into aimless wandering through his own limited perspective, an ignorance of the ways of the world and an inability to reconcile worldly activity to his notion of divine order, which dooms him to passivity and to his status as a victim. Like Simplicius, Robinson Crusoe's initial wanderings are associated with the limited perspective to which man is subject as a result of original sin. Crusoe's sin is not limited to his desire to leave the middle state of life and his significant disobedience of his father, defying Biblical injunctions and thus simultaneously disobeying God.<sup>185</sup> Rather, he depicts himself as immersed in the state of sin. This immersion gives rise to his limited perspective and ignorance, which in turn cause his wilful disobedience and the explicit rejection of "religious Awe" and "Sense of ... Duty"<sup>186</sup> which accompanies his rejection of parental authority. According to G.A. Starr, "In a sense, Crusoe's original sin [of disobedience] does cause his later misfortunes; from another point of view, it is merely the first overt expression of a more fundamental source of trouble: the natural waywardness of every unregenerate man."<sup>187</sup> The sea-going urge is described as "that Propension of Nature,"<sup>188</sup> "a meer wandering Inclination."<sup>189</sup> In

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*the Literary Imagination* 15 (1982): 51-73) Daniel Peck discusses island topography and its significance. ("Robinson Crusoe: The Moral Geography of Limitation," *Daniel Defoe*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea, 1987) 95-106) Jean Michel Racault interprets the allegorical aspects of the barley, the cave and the Friday episodes. ("Récit littéral et récit allegorique dans *Robinson Crusoe*," *QWERTY* 1 (1991): 37-55) Pat Rogers discusses the role of biblical comparisons. (*Robinson Crusoe* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979)) According to Manuel Schonhorn, the evolution of island society after Crusoe leaves follows an Old Testament pattern, moving from benevolent patriarchy to encoded law and legislated government. ("Defoe: the Literature of Politics and the Politics of Some Fictions," *English Literature in the Age of Disguise*, ed. Maximilian E. Novak (Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1977) 15-56)

<sup>185</sup> Here I disagree slightly with Ayers, (401), who sees only Crusoe's disobedience as his original sin, and very much with Michael M. Boardman, (*Defoe and the Uses of Narrative* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1983): 49), who sees Crusoe's initial disobedience as a narrative device in order to start the plot, and with economic readings which focus heavily on Crusoe's rejection of the middle station as his original sin. I agree with Pat Rogers (*Robinson Crusoe*, 63, 66) that Crusoe's restlessness is a part of man's fallen nature.

<sup>186</sup> RC, 131.

<sup>187</sup> Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography*, 79.

<sup>188</sup> RC, 3.

<sup>189</sup> RC, 4.

itself, as a potential calling, seafaring is not to be condemned; Crusoe's urge, however, is not easily explicable, and appears as an irrational urge for displacement and a rejection of his surroundings and the moderate and ordered lifestyle of his father. His inability to name his desire and its conflict with all sober thought and reflection indicates the limited perspective and resulting aimlessness and lack of control which Defoe represents as man's fallen and natural state:

I know not what to call this, nor will I urge, that it is a secret overruling Decree that hurries us on to be the Instruments of our own Destruction, even tho' it be before us, and that we rush upon it with our Eyes open. Certainly nothing but some such decreed unavoidable Misery attending, and which it was impossible for me to escape, could have push'd me forward against the calm Reasonings and Perswasions of my most retired Thoughts, and against two such visible Instructions as I had met with in my first Attempt.<sup>190</sup>

The promptings of conscience and reflection, founded in a religious judgement which inclines the young Crusoe to interpret the first storm as a product of divine punishment, are quelled by "Drink and Company."<sup>191</sup> These earthly temptations are conspicuous by their later absence from the island, in which context Crusoe's repentance, reflection, and good resolutions for the future once again return.<sup>192</sup>

Within the first examination scene of the novel, Crusoe's father, who displays a comprehensive vision of the social order in connection with moral norms, recognises Crusoe's desire for what it is: "if I was not very easy or happy in the World, it must be my meer Fate or Fault that must hinder it, and that he should have nothing to answer for, having thus discharg'd his Duty in warning me against Measures which he knew would be to my Hurt."<sup>193</sup> His vision, the product of worldly experience and of religious knowledge, thus possesses a prophetic significance and is confirmed by the predictions of the sea captain, who, as somebody "called" to his station, i.e. situated in it by Providence, shares a similar ability to perceive worldly, specifically, seafaring experience in terms of its moral aspect. Having interpreted Crusoe's experience for him and compared it with that of Jonah, the sea captain foresees "a visible Hand of Heaven"<sup>194</sup> against the young man, predicting that his father's words will indeed be fulfilled.

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<sup>190</sup> RC, 14.

<sup>191</sup> RC, 10.

<sup>192</sup> RC, 9.

<sup>193</sup> RC, 5.

<sup>194</sup> RC, 15.

To Crusoe, this fulfilment appears to occur with his captivity in Sallee, when his miserable state causes a moment of retrospection:

now I look'd back upon my Father's prophetick Discourse to me, that I should be miserable, and have none to relieve me, which I thought was now so effectually brought to pass, that it could not be worse; that now the Hand of Heaven had overtaken me, and I was undone without Redemption.<sup>195</sup>

Within the narrative as a whole, the episode foreshadows Crusoe's island activity, containing many similar motifs (captivity, household drudgery, solitude, a black slave). In addition, in Crusoe's own opinion the episode functions as "a Taste of the Misery I was to go thro'."<sup>196</sup> Crusoe's mistaken reading of his situation is based on his failure to apply what we might call the "Robinson Crusoe law of contraries," that is, on his failure to set his experience within a broader context, to realise that his situation could indeed be worse and to be thankful that it is not. The principle that the contrary possibilities of any situation must always be considered, that an understanding of the whole situation includes an insight into what is possible, as well as what is actual, is also advocated as a form of successful interpretation in the *Wunderliche Fata*.<sup>197</sup> In both texts, virtue consists in avoiding complacency through the vigilant observation of one's condition and of its alternatives.

Crusoe's reading tends towards an interpretation of his father's words which excludes any spiritual element, perceiving the literal fulfilment of his father's prophecy virtually as the fulfilment of a curse, but having still not addressed the underlying ignorance and limited perspective which is at the root of Crusoe's continuing misfortune. Indeed, throughout his captivity Crusoe is concerned only with his physical state, with physical provisions and with physical freedom, despite the obvious potential of the Moorish captivity narrative for the theme of religious conflict. His relationship with Xury, despite references to the affection between them, is based purely on physical need and physical co-operation, with the possibility of conversion mentioned only in connection with the sale of Xury to the Portuguese. Crusoe wishes for Xury's assistance on his plantation and on the

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<sup>195</sup> RC, 19.

<sup>196</sup> RC, 19.

<sup>197</sup> The inscription on Albertus Julius' tomb remembers him approvingly as one who: "im Unglück, an das Glück / und im Glück, an das Unglück, / niemahls als allezeit gedacht." Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Wunderliche Fata einiger See-Fahrer, Dritter Theil [...]* 1736, Vol. III (Hildesheim: Olms Press, 1973) 291.

island,<sup>198</sup> but is then not granted any companionship until Friday's appearance, when the bulk of the physical labour of the narrative has been completed and religious conversation is the focus of their interaction. In fact, Crusoe's failure to move beyond purely utilitarian principles to any form of religious reflection leads to his giving up Xury, which leads to his need for slaves on his plantation, which in turn leads to his shipwreck on the island.

Crusoe emphasises his initial lack of control in his account of what he would have written on the first day on the island, citing the "discomposure of mind," which initially prevented him from writing, which is an ordering, rational activity. Having survived the shipwreck, Crusoe's spontaneous thanksgiving is depicted as the natural product of man's survival instinct, an innate reaction (and, in fact, an intuitively correct interpretation, for the purposes of the narrative) to the direct action of Providence in sparing Crusoe's life. This gives way to extreme distress as the unenlightened Crusoe reflects on the desperation of his physical situation. The first day, according to Reckwitz, is "durch einen völligen Mangel an Methode, an Reflexion und an Aktivität [gekennzeichnet],"<sup>199</sup> reflecting the uncontrolled state of Crusoe's mind, shuttling between joy and despair and unable to settle on a single interpretation of his situation.

After Crusoe has satisfied his most basic needs, the action of reason to some extent stabilises his despair, introducing the division between the experiencing Crusoe and the interpreting, rational, reflecting Crusoe. To achieve some state of rest, Crusoe must balance the relentless shuttling between alternate voices which accompanies this initial, drastic division between his immediate experience and his retrospective reflection in the days after his shipwreck. An equilibrium between the two identities is accomplished by means of the famous balance sheet, which operates in several ways. Like examples of writing and physical memorials which will be treated in the next chapter with reference to our other texts, the external summary objectifies Crusoe's alternating mental states, stabilising their relation to each other so that both may be viewed simultaneously and free Crusoe from his subjection to his own changeable emotions:

This abstract self, a purely discursive construct, enables Crusoe to separate himself to some extent from immediate experience. Crusoe's dual consideration of himself as "Debtor and Creditor" resembles the

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<sup>198</sup> RC, 124-125.

<sup>199</sup> Reckwitz, 35.

complementary self and other of his dialogues, except that, in writing for himself, Crusoe becomes more of an other than in talking to himself - for writing makes his thoughts not evanescently audible but visible and, to an extent, permanent. In utterance, Crusoe externalizes himself only momentarily; in writing (considered as both act and product), he achieves a durable self-representation requiring him to face himself and his situation.<sup>200</sup>

Eric Jager, in this summary of the role of the balance sheet, emphasises its role in Crusoe's self-recognition, a self-recognition which is biased towards establishing and maintaining the authority of the rational, reflective self.

Through the balance sheet, Crusoe is able to recognise the coexistence of possible interpretations of the same situation,<sup>201</sup> for the first time in the text coming to an uninterrupted perspective, which recognises the relativity of human interpretive activity, the presence of alternative states of his own mind. Homer O. Brown views this negatively, as Crusoe's entrapment in an endless subjectivity:

The curiosity of this debit-credit sheet lies in its slipperiness. One *fact* is not registered against another. The facts are the same on both sides of the sheet; each side merely interprets the fact in a different way. There are no true alternatives present. Instead of representing Robinson's ingenuous calculation, the sheet does give a true account of the flux of moods, moods considered as facts, the dizzying back and forth of a subjectivity deprived of an external gauge of truth.<sup>202</sup>

As is obvious from the numerous conflicting versions of his first day on the island, Crusoe's concern is not for a true description of outward circumstances, but to document his own mental state. In fact, Crusoe's main concern is not the representation of the empirical world, but precisely the objectification of the confusion in his own mind. The content of the sheet is less important than the fact that it is made, that it represents a first successful instance of Crusoe's ordering of his experience, in particular his placing it within the greater context of other possible occurrences and interpretations. Crusoe now gives voice to a version of the "Robinson Crusoe law of contraries":

[T]hat there was scarce any Condition in the World so miserable, but there was something *Negative* or something *Positive* to be thankful for in it; and let this stand as a Direction from the Experience of the most miserable of all Conditions in this World, that we may always

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<sup>200</sup> Jager, 323.

<sup>201</sup> Alkon, 188.

<sup>202</sup> Brown, 88.

find in it something to comfort our selves from, and to set in the Description of Good and Evil, on the Credit Side of the Accompt.<sup>203</sup>

The principle is later restated more concisely: “Thus we never see the true State of our Condition, till it is illustrated to us by its Contraries; nor know how to value what we enjoy, but by the want of it,”<sup>204</sup> and encapsulates Crusoe’s idea of the imagination (used primarily to envision negative possibilities) and of negative events as central aspects of the ability to order relative, individual experience within a broader, objective value scheme. Both the real and the alternative, possible aspects of experience must be recognised in order to achieve a complete interpretation of the significance of an event. The final aim of such speculation is the alignment of personal, empirical experience with some recognition of the divine pattern of punishment and mercy which it may conceal.

The balance sheet is weighted towards the positive side of the interpretation, identifying God as the preserver of Crusoe’s life and as the provider of what material comforts he possesses. More importantly, it reflects that self-awareness and the self-conscious exercise of reason which allow Crusoe to control himself and his environment. Through the balance sheet, Crusoe provides the reflecting, reasoning self with a mark of moral approval (“Good”) which continues throughout the text. We might summarise the significance of the sheet in the context of Crusoe’s further experiences in a similar fashion:

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<sup>203</sup> RC, 67.

<sup>204</sup> RC, 139.



**Evil**

Despair because of physical need,  
physical situation

Immediate and uncontrolled responses to  
experience, unreflecting consciousness

Irrational inability to see ends/results of  
activities or circumstances

Chance, chaos

Limited, subjective human knowledge  
which is limited to empirical perception  
and reaction to phenomena in the  
empirical world; “act[ing] like a meer  
Brute from the Principles of Nature, and  
by the Dictates of Common Sense  
only”<sup>206</sup>

**Good**

Thankfulness at physical preservation

Reflection, exercise of rational  
capabilities, self-conscious council,  
interior dialogue

Rational ability to predict cause and  
effect,<sup>205</sup> ability to organise activity  
(work or writing) methodically, according  
to its final purpose/meaning

Order, ability to see reason in experience,  
in particular in relation to Divine  
Providence

Greater knowledge of objective system,  
pattern of creation, arrived at by  
imaginative reflection on real and  
possible experience, allows appreciation  
and thanksgiving for relation of  
individual hardship to divine plan

As in the text of *Robinson Crusoe* itself, in the balance sheet we are presented with three identities: the voice of the “Evil” side, the voice of the “Good” side, and the third voice, the organising and viewing writer who orders the position of the voices in relation to each other. Because the balance sheet is a primarily rational and interpretive format, the reflective voice of “Good” is most congenial to it. The sheet tends to recognise “Evil” but affirm “Good”. This mirrors the approving relation between the narrator Crusoe, reflecting on and organising the whole of his experience into a comprehensive narrative and the reflecting, rational Crusoe on the island, ordering his experience as he develops spiritually. As in the balance sheet, a clear statement of the negatively-valued naïve, experiencing voice is necessary in order to recognise and transcend its shortcomings.<sup>207</sup>

Crusoe’s spiritual development may be measured through several examination scenes in *Robinson Crusoe*, all of which are connected with the fragmentation of his identity mentioned above. In his initial interactions with his

<sup>205</sup> Reckwitz (35-36) draws attention to the importance of systematic observation and “first things first” activity beginning with his discovery of the wreck of the ship and extending throughout the narrative.

<sup>206</sup> RC, 88.

<sup>207</sup> In this positive evaluation of the dual interpretation of events presented on the balance sheet I differ from Foster (190), who writes “It is precisely this built-in doubleness, or duplicity, in interpretation that generates much of the ambiguity of the text as a whole, especially as it informs the conflict between the mimetic and allegorical narrative modes.”

father and the sea-captain, Crusoe, as I have said, clearly displays his ignorance and lack of any comprehensive view of creation and his proper place and role in it. According to Starr, this situation gradually worsens as Crusoe becomes more and more trapped in circumstances: “In addition to the relinquishment, first of rational choice, then gradually of any effective control over the course of events, his progress in sin is marked by a growing obtuseness towards Providential threats and deliverances.”<sup>208</sup> The rational, reflecting voice of conscience, associated throughout the text with Crusoe’s parents<sup>209</sup> appears fully separated from Crusoe himself, in his naïve and unreflecting capacity as the experiencing self. This absence of reflection is constantly condemned by the narrating Crusoe. Upon the island, Crusoe enters a phase of self-examination. Moved by the isolation and by the desperate nature of his situation, he recovers the reflective capabilities instilled in him by paternal authority, which have been driven away by company and by attention to the external world. This leads to the separation of identity as it appears in the balance sheet and, particularly, in Crusoe’s habit of conversing with himself, taking council with his own thoughts, and otherwise representing the internalised paternal role in terms of dissociation from, and dialogue with, Crusoe’s sinful and ignorant experiencing role. The reader is prevented from too extreme or too static an identification with Crusoe’s naïve self by the retrospective narrator’s glosses of his mental conversations, which indicate a teleological progression towards the reflective process by their existence as vehicles of interpretation and by their explicit valuing of the reflective over the experiencing voice.

As Crusoe moves back into social interaction, first with Friday and then with the Spaniard and the English mutineers, his separated identities fuse once more. This time, prompted by long experience, both positive and negative, which has confirmed the primacy and the correctness of the reflective voice, Crusoe assumes the paternal role,<sup>210</sup> as examiner and as imparter of wisdom, in relation to his naïve and more ignorant companions. He now explicitly refers to himself as a father figure, “his very Affections were ty’d to me, like those of a Child to a Father,”<sup>211</sup> and becomes a possessor and imparter of knowledge, maintaining authority by Friday’s

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<sup>208</sup> Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography*, 89.

<sup>209</sup> In Crusoe’s many references to his parents’ attempts to instill a sense of religion in him, including *RC*, 8, 88, 91.

<sup>210</sup> Timothy C. Blackburn, “Friday’s Religion: Its Nature and Importance in *Robinson Crusoe*,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 18 (1984-85): 367.

learning and therefore subordinate participation in Crusoe's discourse and in Crusoe's organisational system, in terms of its linguistic, religious, social, and mechanical/technical elements. Indeed, he is so effective in this role that he usurps it completely when Friday abandons the possibility of returning to life with his own father in order to follow Crusoe to England. I will further develop these ideas in the following chapters, particularly with reference to Crusoe's role as an authority and as the hand of Providence in his contact with other Europeans, and will expand on specific aspects of the examination scenes later in this chapter.

As Crusoe's reflective abilities develop, so too does his interpretive ability expand its scope beyond his present situation. The action of memory<sup>212</sup> as a vehicle for interpretation becomes important in this novel, as in our other texts. The narrative as a whole, apart from the island episode, is relatively lacking in psychological or reflective activity. Events on the island tend to be the central focus of the reflection, as the end which provides meaning to earlier, preliminary events. External events like the Moorish captivity or his father's warning are interpreted as foreshadowing Crusoe's monumental hardships, and whenever Crusoe reviews the sum of his experiences, he begins either with the prophecy or with the shipwreck. The island is the focus of both interpretive activity/reflection and of experience/activity which may be successfully interpreted. The anniversaries of his landing are particularly evocative, and it is possible to trace Crusoe's developing ability to reconcile his experiences with an appreciation of divine aims by examining the progression of his memories. In order to place this progression in the proper context, it is important first to examine Crusoe's conversion, and the specifically religious and Scriptural aspects of his narrative for their impact on his evaluation of his circumstances.

Crusoe's conversion is prompted, like that of Christian, and like the initial conversion of Simplicius at Einsiedeln, by fear. Although the apparition which appears to him during his sickness is commonly described as a fiery angel in the criticism, it possesses undeniable demonic characteristics (blackness, flames) which terrify by their association with eternal damnation. By referring to "all these

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<sup>211</sup> RC, 209.

<sup>212</sup> J. Paul Hunter (*The Reluctant Pilgrim*, 70-71) provides a general outline of the importance of memory and dangers of forgetfulness in seventeenth and eighteenth-century providence literature in connection with *Robinson Crusoe*.

Things,”<sup>213</sup> which ought to have brought him to repentance, the apparition’s death threat prompts Crusoe to review his experience, and to realise that he has not recognised signs from God. Crusoe, the retrospective narrator, interrupts the journal at this point, in order to summarise the events whose significance the experiencing Crusoe has not appreciated and, at this point in the journal, probably does not have the ability to discern. He also describes more clearly the path of his religious crisis, which seems to have been precipitated by sickness as a time of helplessness and enforced leisure and anxiety, leading to the memory of his father’s prophecy. The vision is the embodiment of his extreme anxiety and his remembered guilt, the voice of his sinful conscience; its appearance in such a concrete form serves, like the earlier balance sheet, to objectify Crusoe’s mental distress, clearly identifying the source of his sin in his ignorance and lack of repentance. Similar delusions occur frequently in Grimmelshausen’s *Simplicissimus*, where a readiness to see the devil indicates the internal knowledge of guilt which deludes man’s perception.

Fear and sickness lead to Crusoe’s initial prayers, at first characterised by his lack of religious vocabulary: “I was so ignorant, that I knew not what to say”<sup>214</sup> and recourse to set forms: “Lord pity me, Lord have mercy upon me,”<sup>215</sup> which Merrett describes as “merely formulaic and conventional.”<sup>216</sup> This absence of words indicates a total spiritual ignorance, as does Crusoe’s earlier reference to his misuse of language: “I had very few Notions of Religion in my Head, or had entertain’d any Sense of any Thing that had befallen me, otherwise than as a Chance, or, as we lightly say, what pleases God.”<sup>217</sup> Ironically, the words said lightly and almost blasphemously, with no appreciation of their meaning, “what pleases God,” potentially encapsulate God’s role as the providential mover of all earthly experience, as does Crusoe’s former mention of the name of God in swearing and oaths.<sup>218</sup> Crusoe’s move to reflection in his self-examination scene radicalises the break between his reflecting/reasoning self, now associated with conscience and

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<sup>213</sup> RC, 87.

<sup>214</sup> RC, 87.

<sup>215</sup> RC, 87.

<sup>216</sup> Robert James Merrett, *Daniel Defoe’s Moral and Rhetorical Ideas*, (Victoria, BC: U of Victoria P, 1980) 86.

<sup>217</sup> RC, 78.

<sup>218</sup> RC, 131-132. Merrett (82) summarises Defoe’s idea of relative, socially dependent linguistic conventions which, however, possess one true “sense” or meaning which transcends social mutability and his advocacy of moral responsibility in the use of language in connection with this meaning.

speaking “like a Voice,”<sup>219</sup> and his despairing self, to the point that “I was struck dumb with these Reflections ... and had not a Word to say, no not to answer my self.”<sup>220</sup> Trapped within his own nature, Crusoe alone can make no move out of the simple questioning which insistently returns to his consciousness of his own guilt.

Crusoe’s initial reading of Scripture focuses on the possibility, not of spiritual deliverance from this guilt, but of physical deliverance from his situation on the island, viewed in the self-examination scene as divinely appointed punishment. His doubts, like those of the children of Israel in the wilderness, focus on the physical impossibility of such deliverance, a naïve, literalist reading of Scripture reminiscent of Simplicius’ desire for cheese with his daily bread or Bunyan’s desire to be literally a part of the chosen race of the Israelites in *Grace Abounding*.<sup>221</sup> He first transcends this naïve reading through a realisation of the possible relativity of meaning of the passage; it may be read to mean his deliverance from the affliction of sickness, not to mean his primary deliverance from the island. Now, deliverance as the work of divine mercy does appear as a real possibility, and has, indeed, been experienced, so Crusoe immediately gives thanks. With this new interpretive ability, Crusoe begins to read the Bible systematically, a process which reawakens his sense of his own sinfulness, a necessary precondition for conversion. His reading of Scripture reveals Christ as Saviour, able through grace to endow Crusoe with repentance and with hope. “What has come upon him with suddenness is the grace to repent and the hope of obtaining remission of his sins: the actual work of regeneration is achieved only through a settled change in attitude and behaviour, and clearly requires time.”<sup>222</sup> This revelation first provides Crusoe with words for prayer. Like Albertus and Concordia in the *Wunderliche Fata*, and like Christian and Christiana in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, he regenerates the words of Scripture in a personalised fashion, encapsulating his experience and his consciousness of his condition in them. The narrating Crusoe labels this prayer, which combines the elements of personal conscience/self-knowledge (“a Sense of my Condition”) and universal truths (“a true Scripture View of Hope founded on the Encouragement of the Word of God”) as prayer “in the true Sense of the Words,”<sup>223</sup> reassured by its

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<sup>219</sup> RC, 92.

<sup>220</sup> RC, 93.

<sup>221</sup> GA, 9.

<sup>222</sup> Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography*, 112-113.

<sup>223</sup> RC, 96.

connection to Scriptural meaning that God will listen to him. The experience leads to a further refinement in his interpretive ability, and may indeed be reckoned as the moment of his conversion per se. Crusoe hopes for a deliverance which is not physical or literal, but rather a spiritual, figurative deliverance from his sins, learning to take the passage concerning deliverance “in another Sense.”<sup>224</sup> His knowledge that, through sin, he has become marooned spiritually, without the power to free himself, or indeed to assist himself in any way, completely eclipses his material isolation, to the point that, for much of the remainder of the story, Crusoe finds it imperative to reconcile his spiritual difficulties before he can achieve physical ease and comfort:

I wanted nothing to make it a Life of Comfort, but to be able to make my Sence of God’s Goodness to me, and Care over me in this Condition, be my daily Consolation; and after I did make a just Improvement of these things, I went away and was no more sad.<sup>225</sup>

Crusoe’s reflections on the anniversaries of his landing serve as important exercises of memory and as benchmarks of his spiritual development. These events, like experiences which, by similarity, reawaken the memory of the past,<sup>226</sup> move beyond remembrance to mental reenactment, or repetition within the imagination, in the light of subsequent developments. “To Crusoe as a Christian, ordering the present is not enough; frequent repetition of the past is one of the most important religious duties. The past must be recollected and reflected upon until one learns to see the providential patterns in one’s life,” writes Ulrich Suerbaum,<sup>227</sup> while J. Paul Hunter draws attention to the dangers of forgetfulness in Puritan thought.<sup>228</sup> Crusoe’s first anniversary is kept as a solemn fast of repentance. He acknowledges his presence on the island as a divine punishment and prays for mercy. His second anniversary is spent in humble thanks for physical and spiritual divine assistance, although, tempted to give thanks for being placed on the island in the first place, he denounces his own near fall into religious hypocrisy. Crusoe focuses particularly on the gift of repentance and the dispelling of his former ignorance concerning his own situation. This positive assessment continues in his fourth anniversary, when, having

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<sup>224</sup> *RC*, 97.

<sup>225</sup> *RC*, 132.

<sup>226</sup> As, for example, the plight of the captain and mates of the ship and its resemblance to Crusoe’s former plight.

<sup>227</sup> Suerbaum, 78.

<sup>228</sup> Hunter, 70.

“gain’d a different Knowledge from what I had before”<sup>229</sup> he reflects on aspects of his situation, such as removal from worldly wickedness and worldly rivalries, and becomes thankful. Crusoe’s utilitarian ethic precludes competition, avarice, and other negative aspects of civilisation, represented by money,<sup>230</sup> and his material needs have been amply provided for. As on other occasions, he considers the negative possibilities of the shipwreck, contrasting “in the most lively colours” scenes of imagined distress with his optimistic reality and present achievements, leading him to develop his ‘law of contraries’ in conjunction with his belief in Divine Providence:

These Reflections made me very sensible of the Goodness of Providence to me, and very thankful for my present Condition, with all its Hardships and Misfortunes: And this Part also I cannot but recommend to the Reflection of those, who are apt in their Misery to say, *Is any Affliction like mine!* Let them consider, How much worse the Cases of some People are, and their Case might have been, if Providence had thought fit.<sup>231</sup>

At each anniversary, Crusoe slightly reevaluates and develops his assessment of his own situation and his memory of the past. On this occasion, he reviews his past experiences while considering the punishments he has deserved as a result of his evil past actions, providing a list of iniquities, and considering from his present state of comfort that God may indeed have accepted his repentance. This review, two years after his near fall into false piety, brings about a true thankfulness for his condition (which, if punished as he has deserved, would be much worse). He perceives his life on the island as “a long Series of Miracles,”<sup>232</sup> a continuous reflection of the workings of a merciful Providence in the world, and it is at this moment that he notices the coincidence of remarkable dates. The day that he leaves his father and enters into the spiritual captivity of sin is the same on which he becomes physically captive by the Moors; the day in which he escapes the wreck is the same on which he escapes from Moorish captivity; the day of his physical birth is the day of his rebirth as an island castaway. As a whole, his experiences in the physical, empirical world act as signifiers of important spiritual events; both realms are systematically connected as signposts of a divine order. The discernment of pattern, of a rational

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<sup>229</sup> RC, 128.

<sup>230</sup> Reckwitz, 223.

<sup>231</sup> RC, 131.

<sup>232</sup> RC, 132.

order in the workings of Providence, acts as a confirmation of its activity in his life. It also confirms Crusoe's interpretations of the source of his experience in a universal plan as correct by mathematical proofs.

Despite Crusoe's interpretive ability and knowledge, problems remain in reconciling individual desires with the divine plan until almost the conclusion of the island episode. As his first attempt at boat-making illustrates, immoderate desire tends to cloud judgement. Crusoe loses his hitherto successful ability to come to terms with his surroundings through the exertion of reason, and the boat remains on land, a physical memorial to his folly.<sup>233</sup> Although Crusoe realises that he has made a mistake, he does not extrapolate further to realise the basic imbalance between desire and forethought, the rashness and ignorance<sup>234</sup> which have caused his miscalculation. Failing to observe his surroundings and anticipate the tides and currents accurately, he is carried out of control in his second boat. His sudden predicament illustrates the relative value of his island abode, bringing Crusoe, even more than in his previous imaginative reflections, to realise the negative possibilities of his situation. Crusoe's meeting with Poll, with his own disembodied voice, on the way home, underlines the fact that he has been lost, physically and spiritually, in the course of the episode, and that he has alienated the rational and spiritual portion of his personality in his immoderate desire to escape. Poll appears, literally, as the voice of conscience, bemoaning not, as he has been taught, Crusoe's presence on the island ("*How come you here?*"<sup>235</sup>), but his attempted and mistaken absence ("*Where are you? Where have you been?*"<sup>236</sup>). Crusoe's initial confused and frightened reaction to the parrot's appearance shows that he has reverted to a state of naïve reaction to appearances, reminiscent of Friday's understanding of the gun as a magical instrument later in the novel. His reversion to mere perception of the empirical world is a disruption resulting from allowing his actions to be determined by passion.

The difficulty of maintaining a state of interpretive competence and continued self-knowledge appears even more clearly in Crusoe's contact with the savages. The initial sight of the footprint throws him into a state of confusion, from which his memory and his interpretive abilities become wild and disordered and

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<sup>233</sup> Seidel, 81.

<sup>234</sup> *RC*, 138.

<sup>235</sup> *RC*, 143.



even his basic sensory perceptions and linguistic categories can no longer be trusted. Douglas Brooks reads Crusoe's relapse into the ague to which he was subject prior to conversion as an indication of his spiritual discomposure.<sup>237</sup> His first habitation, once described as "my old Hutch" or "my own House"<sup>238</sup> or even "my little Fortification or Tent,"<sup>239</sup> is from now described in purely military terms: "my Fortification," "my Castle, for so I think I call'd it ever after this,"<sup>240</sup> and "his muskets become cannons."<sup>241</sup> Crusoe's confused mind causes him to mistake natural objects for men, frightened imagination substituting its own visions in the place of his accustomed systematic, rational observation, and obliterates the memory of his arrival at home. Even when he has somewhat regained his composure, his fear interferes with the development of his arts and the continued improvement of his settlement, as he relinquishes plans to invent a method of brewing beer in favour of defensive activities. It is only after prolonged reflections on the matter that he even comes to a hypothesis regarding the origin of the print, and he manages to resign himself to the situation only temporarily by religious contemplation and comforting passages of Scripture. Likewise, the mere presence of the savages reawakens his irrational desire for escape from the island (ironically, his plan is to escape to the mainland, where the savages live), which he associates with his original sin of wandering from his father.<sup>242</sup> Just prior to the dream which prepares him for Friday's arrival, it causes a complete reinterpretation of his memories according to his knowledge that the cannibals have likely been present on the island throughout his previous experiences.<sup>243</sup> I will further examine the significance of Crusoe's interactions with the cannibals in the fourth chapter.

The occasionally problematic weakness of Crusoe's own reflective abilities, revealed in his initial contact with the cannibals, is also revealed in two key examination scenes, Crusoe's examination of himself and Crusoe's examination of Friday. The conversations are central to the understanding of natural and revealed religion, and of the interpretive limits of the individual mind, present in Defoe's text. During his conversion, Crusoe becomes trapped in self-examination, a scene referred

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<sup>236</sup> *RC*, 142.

<sup>237</sup> Brooks, 22.

<sup>238</sup> *RC*, 111.

<sup>239</sup> *RC*, 151.

<sup>240</sup> *RC*, 154.

<sup>241</sup> Merrett (87) for both examples.

<sup>242</sup> *RC*, 194-195.

to earlier in this chapter, which ends in an irresolvable muteness. It begins with the observation of the natural world and leads to a reflection on God as creator, the reflection common to each of our *Robinsonaden*, and from this recognition to a recognition of the possibility that God has not merely created the empirical world, but also guides and sustains it, a recognition of the existence of Divine Providence. The speculations become problematic for Crusoe as he realises the possibility that God, as controller of all earthly events, has sanctioned, even caused his plight, which realisation leads him to the divided state beyond which he cannot move. On the one hand, he bemoans his situation, questioning divine actions in a way which his more enlightened conscience finds blasphemous. On the other hand, the rebuke reveals that his reflective self has been led, by natural religion and the path of logic, to some acknowledgement of his own sinful and ignorant nature. Until Crusoe begins to read the Bible and is granted repentance from outside himself, through divine grace, he is unable to move beyond this state, to overcome the muteness and the break between his two selves. Merely rational thought without the gift of grace is limited to the powerless awareness of one's own deficiencies; Crusoe can recognise his own sinfulness, but cannot move beyond it towards repentance without the saving assistance of Christ.

The second examination scene, in which Crusoe answers Friday's questions about religion, again emphasises the limitations of natural religion<sup>244</sup> and of unassisted human knowledge. The figure of Benamuckee is a mere creator god who, rather than existing eternally, is "old"<sup>245</sup> - older than creation, necessarily, but not transcending time. The habitation of the god is fixed on earth, just beyond the limits of Friday's knowledge, and his powers of intervention are limited to advice to those who visit him in the mountains. Crusoe must effect a second Reformation, wresting religious authority from Friday's tribal priests and investing it in the process of personal interpretation and Scriptural reading, emphasising prayer and God's power to communicate with and act in the life of the individual. By attributing possible evil powers to Benamuckee, however, and opening the problem of theodicy, Crusoe then manages to embroil himself in logical difficulties, which difficulties establish a hierarchy of knowledge in which divine knowledge takes the uppermost place and

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<sup>243</sup> RC, 196-197.

<sup>244</sup> Blackburn, 374.

<sup>245</sup> RC, 216.

Friday's natural knowledge the lowest, with Crusoe's partially illuminated consciousness in the middle. Crusoe's own embarrassed readiness to discontinue the argument, rather than hazarding a non-Scriptural guess as to God's intentions with the devil, may be read positively as an acknowledgement (to God and the reader, if not to Friday) of his own limited knowledge, a self-awareness and humility which does not bend divine things to the demands of human reason. The question is resolved after Crusoe prays for assistance, a proof of the active operation of "the Spirit of God teaching and instructing us by His Word, *leading us into all Truth*, and making us both willing and obedient to the Instruction of his Word"<sup>246</sup> and the efficacy of individual reading of Scripture assisted by the continuing revelations of this Spirit. Like the hermit instructing Simplicius, Crusoe discovers that, in order to help Friday understand religion, he must tell him the *whole* story, beginning with Lucifer's rebellion and the fallen angels, in order to bring about some understanding of man's position between God and the devil, and, particularly, Friday's individual relation to Christ as saviour. The comprehensive nature of this complete narrative, which embraces all of creation from its beginning to its end, leaves no place for alternative narrative possibilities and questions. As an entire system, it precludes the existence of any autonomous discourse and possesses an inherent logic and causality. Crusoe's ability to tell this story is, at one and the same time, his ability to tell his own story as a part of the comprehensive Scriptural narrative.

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<sup>246</sup> RC, 221.

### III. *The Scriptural Landscape*

A basic source of the interpretive drive examined in the last chapter is the sense of displacement. This loss possesses a very real aspect in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly in the tumultuous Baroque context, in which displacement, both physical, as result of war and conflict, and spiritual, in connection with the well-documented melancholia of the age, is a significant socio-cultural issue. Whereas earlier works involving journeys, ancient novels, *The Canterbury Tales*, *Don Quixote*, and medieval romances, for example, tended to presuppose a specific destination, or, failing that, at the least a “home base” to which to return, the four works we are considering are conspicuous in their homelessness. With traumatic physical and social displacement at the outset of each narrative, a central concern of each of our works becomes the search for rootedness, the search for a “home” both personal and universal, for the displaced self and for fallen man. It is in conjunction with the concern with place, the concern with the position of man in the physical world, that the actual content of the Scriptural narrative plays a central role as a paradigm for empirical experience.

#### 1. *The Pilgrimage Motif*

##### A. Bunyan

In his spiritual autobiography, Bunyan’s journey is an interpretive journey which mirrors the erring of the Israelites in the wilderness, a journey through the Bible which Hancock describes as a “physical pilgrimage through print.”<sup>1</sup> Such a portrayal of religious seeking as travel or wandering in search of the Promised Land is the foundation of the later text, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. The role of memory in *Grace Abounding* is to recall and document this journey, assisting others in remembering their own trials:

*Moses (Numb. 33. 1, 2) writ of the Journeyings of the children of Israel, from Egypt to the Land of Canaan; and commanded also, that they did remember their forty years travel in the wilderness. ... Wherefore this I have endeavoured to do; not onely so, but to publish it also; that, if God will, others may be put in remembrance of what he hath done for their Souls, by reading his work upon me.*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hancock, 69.

<sup>2</sup> GA, 2.

The image of life as a journey is widespread throughout early modern Christianity, and the use of this image as one of the defining paradigms for Puritan experience has been widely documented, particularly with reference to its role in the settlement of New England. N.H. Keeble refers in several works to the use of Old Testament deserts and wastelands as metaphors for those travelling to the New Jerusalem:<sup>3</sup>

The Old Testament recounts the history of the election of Israel and the course of its covenant relationship with Jehovah in narratives in which religious dedication and desert journeys are so inter-connected that by the time of the prophets the landscapes of these nomadic wanderings had become symbols of spiritual states ... [The Abraham legends and the Exodus saga contain] the same pattern of decision to leave, journey under divine guidance, testing in the wilderness and covenant. That pattern underlies Puritan story. ... In this complex of Old Testament stories was found a spiritual geography, a symbolic vocabulary, and a structure by means of which not only to apprehend but to recount both 'what the Lord hath done for my soul' (Ps. 66.16) and the 'great and mighty signs and wonders' of God (Dan. 4.3).<sup>4</sup>

According to Keeble, this set of images was focused primarily on a few Biblical episodes, which he examines in detail for the role they play in *The Pilgrim's Progress*: the emigration of Abraham, the image of the way in Old Testament prophecies as applied to Christ, the exodus from Egypt and forty years in the wilderness, the oracles of the exilic prophets, and the interpretation of these events in Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>5</sup> Dayton Haskin has drawn attention to references to Acts in *Grace Abounding*, almost all of which "concern placement, or displacement, that is they have to do with a sense of belonging or fitting in."<sup>6</sup> The lesson Bunyan finally receives from these passages is that man in this world possesses no fixed abode, and that the only stable resting place is a state of spiritual rest.

This lesson is also present, according to Haskin, in Bunyan's reading of Paul's letter to the Hebrews.<sup>7</sup> To gain the metaphorical place of safety, the metaphorical Promised Land, one must live within the Word, both in the sense of dwelling within the Scriptural narrative, and in the sense of embracing Christ as the consummation and end of this narrative. Bunyan's description of the time after his encounter with the poor women of Bedford, "Indeed I was then never out of the

<sup>3</sup> Keeble, *The Literary Culture* ..., 280.

<sup>4</sup> N.H. Keeble, "The Way and the Ways of Puritan Story: Biblical Patterns in Bunyan and his Contemporaries," *English* 33 (1984): 209-210.

<sup>5</sup> Keeble, "The Way and the Ways of Puritan Story," 211.

<sup>6</sup> Haskin, "Bunyan's Scriptural Acts," 74.

<sup>7</sup> Haskin, "Bunyan's Scriptural Acts," 76.

Bible, either by reading or meditation,” is significant. The true believer does not internalise the text; rather, the text internalises the believer. The regenerate individual lives a life *in* the Word, actually living the Scriptural narrative and actively participating at every moment in the master text. Because the Bible is the universal story of *all* creation, and because Christ dies for *all* men, each individual plays a role within the main narrative which must be predicated on this narrative, on the recognition of this participation. Bunyan’s final conversion occurs when, receiving illumination while “passing in the field”, he “went ... home rejoicing, for the grace and love of God”<sup>8</sup> - home to his house, but, more importantly, to the Scriptures and a new recognition of the Gospel. His main narrative ends with a description of his acceptance into the spiritual homeland, Hebrews 12:21-23, “*Ye are come to mount Zion, to the City of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem ...*”<sup>9</sup>

The pilgrimage metaphor, the structuring allegory of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, implies a final destination which is known, albeit obscurely, from the outset of the journey. According to this structure, a right path and a wrong path exist; the task of the Christian is to discern the right path, the “straight and narrow” path of virtue, and to follow it without straying into sin or temptation. Although Bunyan does not provide a map to accompany the text of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, this type of allegory frequently appears in seventeenth-century broadsheet maps of the path of salvation.<sup>10</sup> Even in narrative form, the pilgrimage metaphor presupposes an ethical or moral map, a map based on divine law, whose implied draughtsman is God. Scriptural law and Scriptural exempla provide the central images on which this implied map is based. The characters who travel on a spiritual pilgrimage trace a path through the Scriptural narrative, all sharing the same final goal as the Bible, eternal salvation. In Bunyan’s text, the idea appears specifically in Great-heart’s map of the ways to the Celestial City, which is glossed in the margin as “*God’s Book*” and which is illuminated by the light of Christ.<sup>11</sup> This is, however, also true on a general level wherever the metaphor is invoked, as in the Quaker spiritual autobiography of Susanna Blandford, written in 1698 and entitled:

A SMALL ACCOUNT GIVEN FORTH By one that hath been a Traveller For these 40 Years in the Good OLD WAY. And as an

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<sup>8</sup> GA, 72.

<sup>9</sup> GA, 82.

<sup>10</sup> Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1991) 236.

<sup>11</sup> PP, 297.

Incouragement to the Weary to go forward; I by Experience have found there if a Rest remains for all they that truly trusts in the Lord.<sup>12</sup>

The account begins by invoking the pilgrimage metaphor according to the implied Scriptural paradigm, although, beyond occasional references, it is not elaborated further in the narrative itself:

AND as a *Traveler* to the good Land, of *Rest* and *Peace*, and having in measure attain'd thereunto, by that *Heavenly Guide Christ Jesus* the true *Light*, that hath been my Instructor and Helper, without which I am nothing, nor can do any thing as I ought to do; I am made free to relate something of my attainment thereunto.<sup>13</sup>

Like Bunyan's text, Susanna Blandford's introduction contains all of the basic concepts in the pilgrimage metaphor: the idea of a virtuous path to salvation, travelled with divine guidance. The metaphor implies a departure from the world of sin and results in a state of homelessness. This homelessness is, however, mitigated by the fact that the journey presupposes a set path to a partially known goal; to walk the path is to travel in the "Good OLD WAY." The difficulty of the pilgrim traveller is to discover this preordained path and to stay on it, to move through the world according to Scriptural norms and according to a divine plan. Because Bunyan's text, unlike our other texts, operates according to the pilgrimage motif, Christian's narrative is at all times closely linked to the Scriptural narrative, which provides the topography of his journey. Because a set path exists, although he sometimes fails to discern it, Christian is never subject to the radical placelessness and disorientation experienced by Simplicius, Crusoe and some of the Felsenburgers. Instead, even when he has not yet entered paradise, he at least receives occasional assurances that he is on the right path.

The spiritual search for home leads to a state of physical homelessness; Christian must leave behind his wife and family to travel into the "new world." His journey, although represented as a physical journey with a strong allegorical dimension, is, in fact, a journey through narrative, through the land of Scripture. The very Scriptural quotations which seem to assail Bunyan's senses in his autobiography are here even more physically present, as landmarks and topographical features. The result of this is a constant switching of referents on the

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<sup>12</sup> Mary Garman, Judith Applegate, Margaret Benefiel, Dortha Meredith, eds., *Hidden in Plain Sight: Quaker Women's Writings 1650-1700* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1996) 285.

<sup>13</sup> Garman, 286.

part of the reader, who, on the one hand, follows the physical journey and, on the other, frequently has his or her attention drawn to the very act of narration by the correspondence between elements of this story and elements of the Bible. Lot's wife, the pillar of salt, appears as a concrete, empirical example to Christian and Hopeful,<sup>14</sup> but their failure to heed her warning in their journey then becomes an example of an example. The narration of Scripture as exemplary is emphasised, even as the exemplary role of the story of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is likewise brought to the reader's attention. Perhaps the most memorable of these "skips" between an awareness of the text as a physical landscape and an awareness of the text as text, as a narrative construct in relation to other narrative constructs, is the sight of the man at Mount-Marvel, "where they looked, and behold a man at a Distance, *that tumbled the Hills about with Words*."<sup>15</sup> The oddness of this striking image, and the tension between the compulsion and the difficulty of envisioning it as a physical manifestation emphasise the subjective, allegorical nature of the entire journey, in which words and their correct understanding have the power to manipulate and vanquish the images of physical difficulty and hardship which we, as readers, receive from the narrative. "And he is set there to teach Pilgrims how to believe down, or to tumble out of their ways, what Difficulties they shall meet with, by faith."<sup>16</sup> As for Schnabel's Felsenburgers or Defoe's Crusoe, for Bunyan's characters the use of language and the activity of narration enable the transformation of landscape. Words and the ability to organise language alter the subjective perception of each character's surroundings and a mental fortitude firmly grounded in a narrative-based faith transforms physical difficulties by viewing them in a greater, spiritual context.

Because the landscape Bunyan creates, however clearly depicted, is not essentially realistic but allegorical, it functions very differently from locations in our other three texts, all of which, although possessing significant allegorical elements, are primarily based in the empirical world of the reader. Much more than the other texts, the work of narrative as it constructs and affects the landscape of the journey becomes a theme in characters' perceptions of the landscape itself. Having abandoned hope of physical rescue, Christian is able to stroll out of the dungeon of the Giant Despair when he remembers that he possesses the key of promise. The

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<sup>14</sup> *PP*, 108.

<sup>15</sup> *PP*, 285.

<sup>16</sup> *PP*, 285.



episode has occasionally been maligned in secondary criticism (“Why would Christian not have remembered his key earlier?”), but, as Butler and Campbell<sup>17</sup> point out, it is perfectly consistent as an allegorical action, in which Christian is imprisoned in Doubting Castle by his own scepticism and despair, and rescued by his own recollection of faith. Beyond the variety of obstacles faced by pilgrims, the alteration of the dangers of the main path, depending on who passes through it, reinforces the idea of the landscape as a construct, an area in which every location is subjectively significant for individual travellers. This is further emphasised by some of Bunyan’s confections of the levels of the narrative; in describing “*Mr. Fearing’s troublesom pilgrimage*,” Great-heart says “He had, I think, a *Slow of Dispond* in his Mind, a Slow that he carried every where with him, or else he could never have been as he was.”<sup>18</sup> It must not, however, be forgotten that all of the travellers are obliged to travel a similar path, however variegated its appearance and its dangers, and that there are certain aspects of the landscape, for example the Strait-Gate, which each must pass through in order to travel properly. Individual experience and individual perception may vary dramatically, but the basic structure of the narrative, the Scriptural framework, must remain the same.

Although the dreamer receives only a hearsay report from Mr. Sagacity of the joys Christian experiences in his heavenly home, the sections of Part One which are not concerned with completely transcendent matters are actually, physically present in the narrative of Part Two. Christian’s story has had the power to change and to transform the landscape of his journey. His example has helped to convert Vanity Fair and to fence off the by-paths of Hill Difficulty, and his experiences, in Part Two represented by plaques and monuments referring to them, serve as a physical warning to travellers along the same route, once again recalling the exemplary nature of the narrative to the reader. These dangers are no longer threatening because they have been noted and named. By being clearly identified and encapsulated in words, first in the warnings present in Christian’s experiences in Part One, secondly in the memorials, they have been given a place in the pilgrimage discourse as hardships to be recognised and overcome, rather than as nameless threats. Christiana does not

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<sup>17</sup> George Butler, “The Iron Cage of Despair and ‘The Unpardonable Sin’ in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*,” *English Language Notes* 25 (1987), 37. Gordon Campbell, “The Theology of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*,” *The Pilgrim’s Progress: Critical and Historical Views*, ed. Vincent Newey (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1980) 259.

<sup>18</sup> *PP*, 249-250.

make the mistake, which John R. Knott ascribes to Christian in the Valley of Humiliation, of exaggerating the undefined powers of evil in her imagination:

The indefiniteness of the landscape in which Christian meets him [Apollyon] can be explained by his spiritual condition and his sense of Scripture at this point. In his guilt and fear Christian imagines the power of the demonic forces that oppose God to be greater than it is. ... At a comparable stage in his journey Christian lacks the steady spiritual vision that Christiana demonstrates here; he can see only Apollyon coming 'over the field' and then straddling the way. Thus preoccupied with the monstrous appearance of evil, he cannot experience the foretaste of Canaan that his more tranquil, and humble, wife does.<sup>19</sup>

In other cases, as when Christiana faces the Slough of Despond, the warning nature of Christian's text seems to reinforce the danger of the Slough; Christiana herself is almost lost by comparing her own danger to the earlier danger of her husband. Mercy's encouragement counteracts the warning of Part One, moderating Christiana's reading of Christian's extreme despair in the earlier text and demonstrating the symbiotic benefits of the relationship between evangeliser and evangelised in the community of the faithful. Creating her own, individualised narrative of salvation, whose worries centre upon the problem of acceptance at the gate rather than the dangers of the Slough, Mercy is able<sup>10</sup> to transform Christian's narrative in the same way that he transformed the landscape earlier, defusing its threat for herself and for Christian's family, who, by their close relationship to him, seem to be particularly influenced by his example. As before Scripture provided a textual referent for many of the occurrences and landmarks along the way, now Part One also functions as such a referent, one whose significance is underscored by the very fact that it provokes others to follow its path. As before the text of *The Pilgrim's Progress* served as an exemplary reading and interpretation of Scripture, now Part Two performs the same function for Part One, a continued denial of closure to which I will return to in the final chapter.

As an example of third-person narration, Bunyan's work contrasts with the other, first-person texts. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the final moment of physical rest and stability is not the moment of unity between the narrating and the narrated self. Instead, it is a conflation of the allegorical and the real account of Christian's life, a unity of the allegorical foreground and the implied realistic background of the

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<sup>19</sup> Knott, "Bunyan's Gospel Day: A Reading of *The Pilgrim's Progress*," 232-233.

text. To some extent, this parallels the unity which is the goal of the other texts; the narrator, as an interpreter and organiser of his own experience, parallels the allegorical framework of the text, while the experiencing self, operating in a realistic world in need of interpretation, might be seen to parallel the implied realistic foundation of Bunyan's allegory. As we will see in several of our other texts, the desire for salvation, the desire to achieve an unified ending to the novel, causes some tension. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, these tensions are closely linked to Christian's interaction with the allegorical landscape through which he travels.

On one level, the story concerns Christian's physical journey through a landscape to a physical homeland; on another, Christian's spiritual journey through the universal landscape of Scripture to his spiritual homeland. As we saw a certain connection in *Grace Abounding* between Bunyan's physical and his spiritual depiction of place, in *The Pilgrim's Progress* the literal and the allegorical narrative overlap. Christian's final entrance into the Celestial City is spiritual *and* physical. It occurs as the result of physical death and not as the result of the achievement of some pinnacle of divine illumination. In the earlier parts of the narrative, the main story takes place on physical and spiritual levels, which run parallel and interact. It is at times very easy, and at times rather difficult, to separate out the crises of faith and periods of illumination in the life of one individual which make up Christian's physically-represented journey. In addition to this, we have the marginal commentary providing interpretive guidance to the reader, but remaining separate from the main text, the presence of the dreamer (and, to a lesser extent, of Mr. Sagacity) as a reminder of the story as one perceived and narrated, which at times does interact with the main text, and the presence of Bunyan as author/narrator in the introductions and conclusions, defending and interpreting his book as a finished product, as a whole. These narrative layers change in their relations to each other and to the reader once Christian crosses the River of Death. The union between allegorical foreground and spiritual meaning, which Christian achieves through death<sup>and</sup>, which also join with the Scriptural correspondences pervading the work, is simultaneously a satisfying end to the strenuous shuttling between allegory and interpretation present in the rest of the text, and a vehicle for the alienation of the other levels of narration from the main story.

The story comes to a unified, even happy ending with Christian's entry into the Celestial City, but it is an ending into which even the dreamer gets only an

uncertain peek; the spiritual homeland is not earthly, but wholly beyond perception and the narrative process. The reader, the marginal commentary, the dreamer and even Bunyan as author/narrator are left outside the gates with Ignorance. As long as a certain interpretive tension exists between the levels of the allegory and Scripture, we are able to participate in Christian's journey as a construct of this tension; his hardships and the difficulty of aligning experience and the correct understanding of Scripture are represented in the allegorical imagery. When these hardships disappear through the reconciliation of these elements, the allegorical manifestations virtually disappear, no longer able to convey a subject-matter beyond understanding. The layers of narrative - the dreamer, the marginal glosses, the implied reader - whose fundament is Christian's journey are left without Christian's experiences as the subject matter of their interpretation and thereby lose their reconciling impetus. Christian transcends the narrative in entering the Celestial City but the reader, with the dreamer, remains trapped in narration and awakes in the Den.

*The Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress* is interesting in terms of its reconciliation of the aspect of alienation which is the result of Christian's entry into a transcendent and indescribable realm at the end of the first volume. Here, the search for a spiritual homeland is not merely transcendent. The community of the faithful, living in settlement on the banks of the River of Death, anticipates the Celestial City and foreshadows it in a physical, perceptible manner. The Land of Beulah, which I examined in more detail in the previous chapter, is primarily textually constituted, with all of its components drawn from Scripture. Even more than a representation of the physical home, it becomes a physical living within the text or discourse of the Bible, an harmonious reconciliation of physical action and spiritual ideal. The more relaxed, less frenetic pace of Christiana's journey reflects a lesser division between the physical and the spiritual, as the significance and dangers of the stages of the journey have already been established in the previous narrative. Perhaps most importantly, as inhabitants of an elect community of the faithful, represented as an earthly paradise, the characters in the second volume of *The Pilgrim's Progress* already enjoy a happiness which, although not transcendent, is a foretaste of the joys to come. As a home for the reader as much as the characters, a narrative community towards which the reader is encouraged to travel, according to the exemplary function of the book, the community of the faithful resolves the alienation felt at the end of the first work.

Because Bunyan's landscape is allegorical, its imagery based in the subjective reading of another text, rather than strenuously mimetic, its topography varies according to the perceptions of the characters who pass through it. This leads to occasionally surreal descriptions of the physical journey, the most famous example of which is the man at Mount-Marvel, tumbling the mountains about with words. In fact, the variable qualities of this landscape are not merely the result of the interplay between the allegory and the truth it represents. Bunyan's autobiography reveals a similar degree of surreal displacement at certain points, most famously in his delusions regarding the church steeple, as in the following vision, when, attempting to overcome his soul's "sinking," he sits down:

but methought I saw as if the Sun that shineth in the Heavens did grudge to give me light, and as if the very stones in the street, and tiles upon the houses, did bend themselves against me, me-thought that they all combined together to banish me out of the World; I was abhorred of them, and unfit to dwell among them, or be partaker of their benefits, because I had sinned against the Saviour.<sup>20</sup>

For Bunyan, man's spiritual state affects his very position in the material world. The perception of the allegorical landscape varies according to the person who travels through it. Likewise, the spiritual condition of the individual predicates his or her perception of, and relation to the empirical world. Both the fictional/allegorical landscape of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and the empirical landscape described by Bunyan in *Grace Abounding* share the same, Scriptural fundament. An individual who is not "at home" in the discourse of Scripture remains alienated from his or her surroundings, a victim of the same skewed reading which prevents a proper understanding of the sacred text and of the world. If, for Bunyan, the understanding of Scripture is able to transform the perception of his surroundings, for the characters of the three *Robinsonaden*, all of whom dwell in a landscape partially realistic and partially allegorical, the ability to understand the story of creation enables the physical transformation of the landscape according to the recommendations of divine discourse. This is true whether the nature of this discourse is understood to be primarily rational or mystical.

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<sup>20</sup> GA, 58-59.

## 2. *The Island Motif and the “Robinsonade”*

The journey or wandering motif in the texts which I have, for the sake of convenience, called *Robinsonaden* (*Simplicissimus*, *Wunderliche Fata*, *Robinson Crusoe*)<sup>21</sup> differs in one important respect from Christian's journey in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The wandering portion of the three texts, in contrast to the rooted portions of the narrative once it has reached the island, is characterised by an extreme placelessness and lack of social integration. I will describe the aspects of social alienation and displacement in the following chapter. The physical journeys presented in the texts are chaotic, wide-ranging, and, in general, linear rather than circular. They tend to be undertaken passively, as a result of inhospitable circumstances, rather than from an active motivation. Where undertaken actively, this journeying may be read as an attempt to encompass and experience a world whose order has been lost, an attempt to rediscover this order by travelling through it. This is certainly the case for Crusoe, who attempts to understand and control his fate by exploring his island, by measuring it, and by attaining a comprehensive view of it through physical observation. In fact, his exploratory journeys tend to end in disaster, emphasising that he must look within, not without, towards the spiritual, not the physical, in order to understand the purpose of his story and the nature and significance of the island.

The foundation of these journeys is not the pilgrimage motif, even when *Simplicius* sets out on what is explicitly described as a pilgrimage, simply because their goals tend to be primarily the physical place of pilgrimage, rather than the spiritual benefits supposed to be derived from a pilgrimage. Paradoxically, any progress towards spiritual enlightenment occurs in locations of physical stability, while the empirically experienced journey is characterised by a total lack of spiritual progression. The nature of the preliminary journeys in the *Robinsonade* may thus be seen as a manifestation of the chaotic nature of the sinful world. Scripturally, this has its basis in the wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness as a result of their disobedience, while critics have also drawn attention to the placelessness and episodic nature of the picaresque novel in connection with the journey episodes of all

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<sup>21</sup> German critics frequently, although ahistorically, discuss “*Vordefoeische Robinsonaden*,” and the phrase, although inaccurate, is a convenient descriptive term for texts which include desert island episodes. Although the desert island portion of *Simplicissimus* is proportionally smaller than in the other two works, the general contrast between chaotic and disorganised wandering and systematic and

three narratives. In fact, both of these possible interpretations of the texts are connected: original sin is a state of blind ignorance or wilful disobedience to the ordered and systematic plan of God for creation. To remain in this state is to remain in the realm of chance and of aimlessness, to exist with no pattern or final goal for existence.

In our three texts, escape from this chaotic state comes with the recognition of the role of Divine Providence, the hidden pattern and meaning behind the superficial appearance of the material world. This change is signalled by the movement from the sinful, realistic world to the island, in each case idealised as a physical and a spiritual foretaste of heaven, the earthly paradise. In opposition to the wilderness of the sinful world, frequently depicted as a literal wilderness, full of forests, robbers, wild beasts, and wastelands, nature on these islands is fruitful, benevolent, even blessed. It displays very clearly the characteristics of the Promised Land, but there is little sense in these texts that the main characters have journeyed purposefully towards Canaan. Instead, the entry into the earthly paradise is a sudden movement from the episodic description of empirical realism, which includes an almost total ignorance of Scripture and the divine order, into a fictional landscape predicated on Scriptural characteristics and an unmediated relation to God. Despite the realistic aspects of the descriptions of the islands, particularly of Crusoe's island, references to the earthly paradise in each of the texts reveal them as allegorical spaces on the borders of empirical reality. They enable a "living within" the Scriptural narrative which is simply not possible, even for virtuous characters, in the sinful world.

I have already described some of the historical aspects of the early modern search for the earthly paradise in my master's thesis. I particularly concentrated on the role of the concepts of paradise as a garden (fruitful, peaceful, sheltered, with a community founded on the family structure) and as a city (ordered, a microcosm of the wider world, with a community founded on the Ten Commandments, in which every inhabitant has a specified role and place) as frameworks for the topography of the Insel Felsenburg in the early and later stages of development.<sup>22</sup> The paradisaical character of the island is fundamentally connected to the idea that it is a blessed

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enlightened activity on the island, under the direct governance of Divine Providence, remains applicable.

<sup>22</sup> Bertsch, 73-79.

landscape providentially created for a chosen people, an area of protection for the righteous living under divine rule.<sup>23</sup> Rosemarie Haas has also investigated the connections between the Felsenburg landscape and Biblical descriptions of Jerusalem.<sup>24</sup> Basic paradisaal characteristics are also explicitly described in *Simplicissimus* and *Robinson Crusoe*,<sup>25</sup> so their significance has simply been summarised in my examination of each of these works. To examine the significance of a somewhat narrower topos, however, it is crucial to understand the early modern use of sea and shipwreck imagery in order to understand the basic assumptions of our three shipwreck texts. In comparison with the pilgrimage or path of life imagery used in Bunyan's manifestly allegorical novel, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the significance of shipwreck and of salvation on the desert island appears obscured by the emphasis of the three *Robinsonaden* on empirical realism. It is, nonetheless, present in the texts, especially in the aspects they share with spiritual autobiographies and providence literature.

As I have already noted, Crusoe's first interpretive failure is his failure to heed the divine displeasure which appears in his first shipwreck; he remains a victim of the superficial unrest represented by the storm. Despite being captured by pirates later, it is not until he is actually *immersed* in water, until he actually falls through the surface mutability of the element, that he instinctively and immediately gives thanks to God for his preservation. For those who arrive at the Insel Felsenburg, the experience is similar. Unlike Robinson Crusoe, whose real conversion occurs later in the text, their moment of shipwreck or other disaster is simultaneously the moment of extreme despair and relinquishing of the self to Divine Providence which is a crucial component of the pietistic conversion. This process is described in the most detail by Captain Wolfgang, but is also described by other characters, particularly in the life stories in the first volume. Simplicius experiences a moment of near-conversion when he almost drowns in the Rhine; his description of the experience, "so spielte dennoch der Strom mit mir wie mit einem Ballen / in dem er

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<sup>23</sup> Bertsch, 75-76.

<sup>24</sup> Rosemarie Haas, "Die Landschaft auf der Insel Felsenburg," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 91 (1961-62): 81.

<sup>25</sup> "... the Conversation which employ'd the Hours between *Friday* and I, was such, as made the three Years which we liv'd there together perfectly and compleatly happy, *if any such Thing as compleat Happiness can be form'd in a sublunary State.*" *RC*, 220.

"Also lebten wir / wie obgemeldet / als die erste Menschen in der gülden Zeit da der gütige Himmel denselbigen ohne einige Arbeit alles guts auß der Erden hervor wachsen lassen ..." *ST*, 564.



mich bald über bald undersich in Grund warf,”<sup>26</sup> is reminiscent of descriptions of the action of Fortune on the life of man. His initial recognition of the need for divine intervention in saving him disappears when he is actually rescued. He fails to progress despite the ducking, and is almost immediately returned to his spiritual wasteland in barren Philippsburg. His later shipwreck plays exactly the same role as that experienced by Crusoe and the Felsenburgers, resulting in a recognition of the action of Providence and of his own status as chosen and in direct communication with the divine discourse. Even Bunyan’s characters must move through water in order to complete their journeys; in the Slough of Despond and the River of Death, the most terrifying aspect is the lack of stable footing, the changeable liquid aspect of the water. As long as characters maintain their faith in the fundament of all creation beyond its superficial appearance, they are assisted to spiritual salvation. Crucially, they must pass *through* the River, rather than being ferried over as in the model of classical mythology.

Emblems and other references which refer specifically to the island or rock of safety, reached after braving ocean storms or sea tempests, are omnipresent in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature. The use of such imagery is linked with the Biblical story of Noah and with the parting of the Red Sea in the flight from Egypt. It also appears in the common metaphor of the church as a ship carrying its congregation to heaven, or of the ship of life,<sup>27</sup> as well as in the depiction of water baptism as a death to original sin and an entry into the communion of saints. According to Leonard Lutwack, the depiction of the sea as chaotic and threatening is rooted in its autonomy: “The sea’s formlessness has always represented the ultimate disorder in man and universe. The sea is the least assimilable of all terrestrial places: in its depths human existence is impossible, on its surface no human trace remains.”<sup>28</sup> Albrecht Schöne cites examples of Lohenstein and Gryphius using the image of the “Unglücks-Welle” breaking on the rock of virtue, in connection with an emblem in a baroque emblem book, the *Empresas Morales* (Boria) and in connection

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<sup>26</sup> ST, 320.

<sup>27</sup> According to Manfred Windfuhr, the German Baroque poet and playwright Andreas Gryphius uses the ship of life metaphor more than seventy times in his writings. Manfred Windfuhr, *Die Barocke Bildlichkeit und Ihre Kritiker: Stilhaltungen in der Deutschen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966) 82-84.

<sup>28</sup> Leonard Lutwack, *The Role of Place in Literature*, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 1984) 47.

with neo-stoicism.<sup>29</sup> Friedrich Gaede has noted the use of a similar emblem on the frontispiece of a philosophical work by Christian Wolff, and surmises that this may have some connection with the description of the Insel Felsenburg.<sup>30</sup> J. Paul Hunter refers to the popularity of accounts of rescues from perils on the sea in spiritual autobiographies and providence tracts.<sup>31</sup> Samuel Chew describes a depiction of the ship of hope battered on a sea of temptation, travelling towards the rock of felicity<sup>32</sup> and summarises a sermon by Thomas Adams in 1615, “The Spiritual Navigator Bound for the Holy Land,” in which the sea represents the world, the waves represent pride, the wind represents vainglory, the foam represents lust, the turbulent waters represent wrath, and Satan is the terrifying sea monster, Leviathan. In these contexts, the sea is an image of the sinfulness and changeability of the temporal world. It is an appropriate radicalisation of the displacement, disorientation and alienation experienced during the land journey, simply because (in addition to the obvious dangers of sea travel at this time) sea travel cannot be mapped as precisely as land travel,<sup>33</sup> and because passage over the sea leaves no physical imprints behind, no objects outside of subjective memory to chart the journey. The rock of virtue or felicity is closely identified with salvation, as a spiritual haven of certainty and rest.

In *Grace Abounding*, Bunyan uses storm and water imagery in a similar manner, to indicate moments of extreme mental disorientation and spiritual upheaval. His initial failure to appreciate the significance of his rescue from drowning is a failure to appreciate an event which is, in this time period, an emblematic exemplum for the role of Divine Providence in man’s life. Later in the text, Bunyan uses storm, tempest, and shipwreck metaphors to convey the extremity of his instability and rootlessness. This is a state beyond erring in the wilderness because it lacks any stable ground or foundation; water is the very image of inconstancy and the tempest embodies violent aimlessness or malevolent chance. Bunyan’s use of sea-imagery for the displacement of the soul recalls the shipwreck passages of the *Wunderliche Fata* or *Robinson Crusoe*: “Thus, by the strange and unusual assaults of the tempter, was my Soul, like a broken Vessel, driven, as with the Winds, and tossed ... I was but as those that jostle against the Rocks; more

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<sup>29</sup> Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Baroque* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1964) 133-134.

<sup>30</sup> Conversations with Friedrich Gaede at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada, 1996-1997.

<sup>31</sup> Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, 160-162.

<sup>32</sup> Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1962) 125.

broken, scattered, and rent.”<sup>34</sup> By contrast, faith overcomes displacement and the turbulence of spiritual uncertainty: “Oh! I cannot now express what then I saw and felt of the steadiness of Jesus Christ, the Rock of Man’s Salvation ... I saw, indeed, that sin might drive the Soul beyond Christ, even the sin which is unpardonable; but woe to him that was so driven, for the word would shut him out.”<sup>35</sup> In the context of this quotation, certainty, steadiness, and rootedness are equated with the knowledge of Christ’s role in mankind’s salvation, and erring with the state of ignorance and blindness, the state of man trapped within his sinful nature. Bunyan’s use of the imagery in connection with his interpretive difficulties during conversion agrees with Timothy Reiss’s reference to the frequent early modern use of the image of a difficult sea voyage to refer to the loss and rediscovery of discourse.<sup>36</sup>

An even more thorough application of the image is found in Arndt’s *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum*:

Die Welt und unser elendes Leben ist nichts anders, denn ein ungestümes Meer; denn gleichwie das Meer nimmer stille ist, sondern allezeit mit Winden und Wellen bewogen wird: Also ist die Welt auch, und unser Leben ... Gleichwie auch das Meer ab- und zufließt, und nimmer stille stehet, bald fließt zurück, bald kömmt es wieder, und ist in perpetuo motu, in steter Bewegung: Also ist mit dem Zeitlichen auch, bald kömmt, bald fährt wieder hin, und ist in stetem Ab- und Zufluß. Und wie des Meers fluxus und refluxus, Ab- und Zufluß, eine verborgene Ursach hat: Also kömmt alle Veränderung des menschlichen Zustandes aus verborgenem Rath Gottes ...<sup>37</sup>

Arndt’s description encapsulates the significant elements of the use of shipwreck imagery in our fictional texts. On the one hand, the stormy sea is an explicit manifestation of the extreme changeability and flux of human life. Because this flux and instability occur as the result of the Fall, they are associated with individual sin and with life in the sinful world, an equation made by Don Cyrillo de Valaro in the *Wunderliche Fata*, “gedencke, daß du nach dem Fall der ersten Eltern eben dem Schicksal [in this case, Fortune or malevolent Fate], und eben der Sterblichkeit unterworffen bist.”<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, this surface unrest is a deceptive, superficial

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<sup>33</sup> This is particularly true prior to the development of a way to measure longitude.

<sup>34</sup> GA, 58.

<sup>35</sup> GA, 58.

<sup>36</sup> Reiss, 153.

<sup>37</sup> Johann Arnd[t], *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christenthum [...]*, ed. D. Joachim Langen (Halle: Verlag des Wäysenhauses, 1734) 940-941.

<sup>38</sup> WF I, 182 (169 Reclam).

aspect of a hidden order, the systematic order of the tides, which is powered by an unseen hand. As such, the movement through the superficial unrest of the sea to the “Tugend-fels,” or earthly paradise is a movement from sinfulness towards the perception of the hidden divine order, a movement from the realm of Fortune to the governance of Divine Providence.

In our fictional texts, the recognition of an order dictated by Providence is the recognition of a rational order in individual experience. This recognition enables the organisation of individual experience in terms of physical, civilising activity and in terms of the literary account, the autobiography, so the island becomes an area of settlement and of narrative generation. The earthly paradise, as the rock of physical and spiritual salvation provides a confirmation, as object, as final goal of the narrative, as point of unity and as end of the story, of the merit of the erring individuals and of their experiences as participating in the comprehensive plan for creation, the omnipresent divine narrative.

#### B. *Schnabel*

Schnabel’s text follows the model I described above in detail. The sections of his narrative which take place outside of the island are conspicuous for the frenetic pace of travel throughout Europe and into the New World. This pace is intensified by the anecdotal nature of the accounts, and by the need to present a variety of different experiences in a large number of first-person narratives. As I indicated in the previous chapter, characters move from the sinful world into the regenerate island civilisation, a domain of the elect, by experiencing disasters, frequently involving the sea, which lead to them relinquishing their fates to Divine Providence. Having passed through this necessary stage of despair and recognition, they are then afforded entry into the interior of the island, where they are able to lead lives of pleasure and stability.

For the characters who relate their life stories in the second volume, for whom the journey to the island is preceded by conversion, the longing for a quiet and restful life accompanies repentance and religious awakening. Mathematicus Litzberg’s reserved bearing following his conversion appears in contrast to his feverish and passionate nature prior to his repentance, while Eberhard’s comments

on Chirurgus Kramer's dry manner of relating his story<sup>39</sup> contrasts with the surgeon's admission of possessing "ein wildes und allzu feuriges Temperament" in his earlier days.<sup>40</sup> Plager, too, refers to his "ehemaligen Affecten"<sup>41</sup> and contrasts them with the control over them which he now possesses. Apart from Müller Krätzer and perhaps Mechanicus Plager, most of these characters, although mischievous, are not particularly sinful, especially in comparison with a truly reprobate character like Lemelie, but remain victims of circumstance. Their subjection to original sin, however, is accompanied by a subjection to the whims of Fate or Fortune and by a constant motion and a lack of rest comparable to, but less voluntary than, that displayed by Robinson Crusoe. This lack of rest is explicitly condemned by Albertus Julius late in Volume Two, when several of the European men are tempted to explore an island they can see from Klein Felsenburg, simply to satisfy their curiosity.<sup>42</sup> The non-utilitarian urge and the dissatisfaction with their immediate surroundings, reminiscent of Crusoe's urge to explore the other side of his island, causes one of the few episodes of upset within the island society, while the equilibrium of the settlement is reestablished by the European's readiness to obey the "Altwater."

So radical is the unrest and displacement which is the symptom of the European world that, beyond longing for "eine sehr stille Lebens-Art,"<sup>43</sup> some characters even characterise German territory as ill-fated or repellent: "Der gantze deutsche Erdboden kam endlich bey reifflicher Überlegung, meinem Gemüthe unglücklich und verdrüßlich vor,"<sup>44</sup> says Chirurgus Kramer, while Müller Krätzer, too, finds it wisest to abandon the German territories altogether and "zu erwarten, ob mir GOtt etwa hier oder dar in einem frembden jedoch Lutherischen Lande, etwa eine beständige Ruhe-Städte verschaffen wolle ... ." <sup>45</sup> The fact that the sense of physical alienation becomes stronger after conversion, when the longing for a resting place first appears, indicates a certain connection between Schnabel's text and Bunyan's depiction of the virtuous as wanderers through a sinful and alien world. Here, however, it is possible to enjoy a physical and a spiritual homeland before

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<sup>39</sup> *WF II*, 236.

<sup>40</sup> *WF II*, 177.

<sup>41</sup> *WF II*, 317.

<sup>42</sup> *WF II*, 458.

<sup>43</sup> *WF II*, 483.

<sup>44</sup> *WF II*, 234.

<sup>45</sup> *WF II*, 397.

death. Each of the narratives in Volume Two end with a recognition of the integration on the island, contrasted with the physical, spiritual and social alienation reported in the European portions of the story. Chirurgus Kramer's statement is typical:

Nunmehr aber kan ich mit bessern Recht sagen, daß ich unter dem Schatten des Allerhöchsten, in den süßen Umarmungen meiner allerliebsten Mariae Albertinae, bey der liebevollen Gesellschaft frommer Leute und getreuer Freunde, endlich durch viele Unglücks-Wellen den Haafen eines irrdischen Paradieses gefunden, allwo mein Gemüthe Täglich den Vorschmack himmlischer Ergötzlichkeit findet.<sup>46</sup>

All of the pertinent aspects of Kramer's integration appear within this sentence. As an inhabitant of the island, one of the few members of the elect permitted admission to it, he lives under the direct care of God. Through his marriage and the ties of friendship created through narrative on the island, he has achieved social integration. Spatially, he has moved from a state of instability and subjection to circumstance to a state of safety and rootedness, encapsulated in the wave and harbour metaphor, a metaphor which roughly reflects the literal path he has taken to reach the island, where he inhabits an earthly paradise, with all of its connotations of pleasure, rest, and safety. The blessed state is at once spiritual and physical, foreshadowing the joys to come in the next world, an assurance which reflects the emphasis on dying well and reasonably which appears sporadically throughout the text.<sup>47</sup>

I would now like to examine some of the characteristics which the allegorical, Scriptural landscape of the island shares with Bunyan's Scriptural landscape in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, focusing on the interplay between landscape and narration, a topic which will be further addressed in the next chapter, concerning social integration. The island, even before Albertus' settlement on it, is textually constituted as the earthly paradise and the Promised Land, that is, as a Scriptural landscape. Rosemarie Haas has identified elements in the Felsenburg topography as characteristics of the Biblical Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup> Schnabel's choice of Psalm references,

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<sup>46</sup> *WF II*, 235.

<sup>47</sup> Perhaps the most straightforward comparison is between Schmeltzer's report of his mother's death: "daß sie endlich am 4. Dezembr. selbiges Jahres, bey vollem Verstande, nach gemachten unpartheyischen Testamente, sanfft und seelig verschied," (*WF II*, 39-40) and his earlier report of the death of the atheist Swedish officer who bites and scratches Schmeltzer's father in his death pangs: "Der verzweifelte Höllen-Brand hatte noch vor Anbruch des Tages, seine durchteuffelte Seele, mit erschrecklichen brüllen ausgeblasen ..." (*WF II*, 9).

<sup>48</sup> Rosemarie Haas, "Die Landschaft auf der Insel Felsenburg," 81.

for example Psalm 125, which includes the phrase “Um Jerusalem her sind Berge...” reinforces the Biblical connections with the landscape. The island is described as “ein irrdisch Paradies” or Canaan<sup>49</sup> from the first moments of entry into its interior, and in the third volume Herr Magister Schmeltzer preaches a sermon on Psalm 122, which “Verglich unser Felsenburg mit der Stadt Jerusalem und dem Berge Zion, auf eine ungemein erbauliche Art.”<sup>50</sup> Despite the emphasis on empirical description in the text, the island, like the territory over which Christian journeys in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, is primarily an allegorical landscape. Rather than existing as a merely fictional echo of empirical reality, every aspect of the island is significant. By entering into this territory of signification, the individual characters in the novel unite their personal experience with the pattern and norms of life in the earthly paradise as prescribed by Scripture, the underlying paradigm for empirical appearances on the island. The island as a whole becomes a metaphor, a representation of significant elements of the landscape described in the Bible, which is then depicted in terms of its significance in the lives of individual characters. Because of its nature as an allegorical landscape, life on the island, governed directly by natural and divine law, appears in striking contrast to the senseless, chaotic, threatening Old World described in the individual narratives.

Based on the idea of the narrative model as an influence for the physical appearance of the earthly paradise, the island is also influenced by the transforming work and the transforming narrative of Don Cyrillo de Valaro. In Bunyan's work, Christian's journey follows a Scriptural model which is the basis for the structure of the landscape through which he passes. His own journey then transforms this landscape for those who follow him, in particular in its character as an interpretive and memorial aid, by providing monuments to warn other passers-by. In Schnabel's novel, the Spaniard's text leaves behind a physical infrastructure for the building of a physical civilisation, as well as a narrative model, the life story, for the building of a society through shared narration. The role of Don Cyrillo de Valaro's previous experience of survival in the island landscape is explicitly depicted as an exemplary precursor for engagement with the Felsenburg environment, a model to be followed. He leaves corn and rice behind for the settlers and, more importantly, is able to

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<sup>49</sup> *WF III*, 50.

<sup>50</sup> *WF III*, 81. I have described the biblical influences on the description of the island more thoroughly in my master's thesis.

instruct them through his own texts, an autobiography and other writings, concerning the properties and uses of nature on the island and its potential for cultivation. His influence as a force predetermining subsequent civilising activity on the island is emphasised by his ghostly appearances, while his apparent direct communication with God as a providential messenger indicates that his modifications to the landscape occurred as a form of participation in a divine plan, the comprehensive narrative of the island in its development into the Promised Land.

As in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the landscape of the island is conspicuous in its physical memorials. The graveyard is of central importance in this respect; gravestones record a précis of the all-important life stories, making them permanently and physically present within the text, confirming them by encapsulating them in an object. When Albertus Julius finally dies in Volume Three, his ornate gravestone is a record of his own life story and the story of the society of which he is a founder. As an encapsulation of past narrative events, the tomb becomes a focus as a gathering place for island society.<sup>51</sup> Don Cyrillo de Valaro's corpse could be seen as the ultimate exaggeration of this tendency. His corpse is the sign which indicates the presence of his memorial narrative<sup>52</sup>, the artefact of primary importance, rather than the more common use of the legend on a gravestone to indicate the presence of a corpse. Memorials of other pertinent occurrences, such as van Leuven's murder or the construction of the church also appear, all contributing to the heavily "texted" topography of the island. This, like Bunyan's path to salvation, is a landscape described by the narrative, but which itself physically and visibly contains the significant elements of the narrative; it is a textual and linguistic construct. Because the narrative focuses so heavily on the autobiographical form, it is significant that, on the division of the landscape into individual "provinces," each area is provided with a proprietary place name, a fact which Nicolaisen reads as emphasising personal ownership and personal responsibility.<sup>53</sup> Each section of the island is named after its patriarch, and the focus of the whole is the Alberts-Burg, emphasising the role of Albertus' narrative as the central narrative for the organisation of the society.

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<sup>51</sup> *WF III*, 292.

<sup>52</sup> *WF I*, 178 (165 Reclam). Albertus, Lemelie, and van Leuven see the corpse sitting in the cave before seeing the inscribed tablets which accompany it. After burying the corpse, they find Don Cyrillo de Valaro's papers, including his life story, in a hidden chest embedded in his chair.

<sup>53</sup> W.F.H. Nicolaisen, "Desert Island Onomastics," *Literary Onomastic Studies* 5 (1978), 147.



In instances of individual narration, narrative and landscape appear always in connection with each other. In the majority of the life stories, this interplay appears in the aforementioned contrast between the narrated journeying in the unregenerate world and the state of rest achieved on the island. The depiction of the journey is predicated on its end; the state of rest enables the construction of a full narrative, just as, in *Grace Abounding*, the state of spiritual enlightenment and interpretive competence is the necessary precursor for a meaningful narrative. Within the confines of the island, narration and journeying tend to parallel each other rather than existing in opposition (the state of journeying and experiencing vs. the state of rest and narration). When Eberhard sails to the island, Captain Wolfgang's narration of his past arrival and admission to the island mirrors the journey. The initial storytelling by Albertus and his sons- and daughters-in-law occurs at the same time as the physical journey around the island, returning each evening to the narrative base on the Alberts-Burg at the centre of the island. This is a reconciliation of the gap between the narrated, experiencing self - the traveller in the life stories - and the narrator at rest. By overcoming the aimless journeying of the earlier portions of the text, the circularity of the narrative journey reveals an almost divine unity. The characters on the island have transcended the necessity of giving meaning to their experiences retrospectively; instead, every moment of journeying through the significant landscape reveals its meaning and refers back to the narrative of the island as a whole. Albertus Julius, in particular, displays an overarching knowledge and foresight which indicates that his own, personal narrative has been perfectly reconciled with the comprehensive, divine narrative which structures the island civilisation. This is reflected in the continuity between his narrative and his surroundings; unlike Christian, he does not revise and reinterpret his life story, but rather proceeds according to his comprehension of the divine plan for the island.

The connection between the physical appearance of the landscape and its narrative significance is not limited to past events and to man-made memorials. Physical warnings, particularly earthquakes and mysterious blue flames tend to foreshadow future dangers, reinforcing the idea of the happenings on the island as part of a complete but hidden narrative, present, according to Don Cyrillo de Valaro's prophecies, within the divine mind. The transforming and civilising work of Albertus and his descendants progressively reveal this narrative, approaching ever more closely the knowing perspective of the Heavenly Jerusalem even as the naïve

paradise becomes a Celestial City. As we have seen in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, within this context the function of memory and mnemonic aids (physical memorials) is of central importance; Rosemarie Haas sees the map included in Volume One of the *Wunderliche Fata* as an emblematic picture, for which the entire novel acts as an exegesis,<sup>54</sup> a visual manifestation of a comprehensive, but as yet only partially revealed narrative. This depiction of the island is, I think, reinforced by certain physical riddles and puzzles which appear on Klein Felsenburg, the urns and the "Heidentempel," and whose mysteries are, in fact, only partially solved in our texts, reinforcing the idea that the narrative to be revealed extends into the past of the island, as well as into its future. In this context, Gisander's knowing wink and partial explanation of the meaning of the "Heidentempel" altars at the end of Volume Four signals, humorously, his hidden role as an all-knowing creator, although the remaining mysteries of the text, and Gisander's own final submersion into it, in his projected journey to the island, seem to provide it with an autonomous reality beyond its mortal editor.

The landscape of the Insel Felsenburg is, quite clearly, a landscape provided for the particular purpose which it fulfils through the formation of the Felsenburg settlement, the restitution of the earthly paradise as a refuge from the sinful and fallen world. As such, it is comprised of allegorical and fictional-realistic elements; some of these elements exist in order to enable the practical and technical achievements of the society, while others illustrate moral associations or spiritual qualities of the island's topography. The most significant aspects of the landscape are fully integrated into the narrative in both senses. These include the circle of rocks surrounding the island, and the passage through them to the shore, which transform the island into a fortress and appear, in accounts of the arrival on the island, as figures for spiritual baptism<sup>55</sup> or the passage from the sinful world to the regenerate world through the process of new birth.<sup>56</sup> This dual significance of many of the pertinent aspects of the Felsenburg landscape, including the cave and the Albert's-Burg, is mirrored in our other texts. The landscape of Simplicius' island has been revealed by Hubert Gersch and others as primarily allegorical, based on the

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<sup>54</sup> Rosemarie Haas, 64.

<sup>55</sup> Nicholas Saul, "The Motif of Baptism in Three Eighteenth-Century Novels: Secularization or Sacralization?" *German Life and Letters* 39 (1986): 110-111.

<sup>56</sup> Mack, 39.

relation of elements in it to seventeenth-century emblematics,<sup>57</sup> although Simplicius is careful to describe some of the specific, practical aspects of his survival.

Robinson Crusoe's island, once read as an example of empirical realism, has also been analysed for the spiritual significance of its topography. These aspects of the texts will be further investigated in the following subsections.

### C. *Grimmelshausen*

*Simplicissimus* shares a concern with place and the search for a spiritual homeland with our other texts. As in the *Wunderliche Fata*, Grimmelshausen creates a conscious, physical separation between life in the sinful world and life outside of the world, in a realm removed from temptation. Although Simplicius only successfully enters a state of rest and stability in the *Continuatio*, specific localities take on an allegorical significance as reflections of Simplicius' own spiritual state and experiences throughout the text. The general state of rootlessness is, in a realistic sense, the result of war but, allegorically, the result of Simplicius' basic sinfulness. The perils of lust appear most clearly in Paris,<sup>58</sup> the Kloster Paradeis is a paradise of material, but not spiritual, well-being<sup>59</sup> and the Austrian court is a place of intrigue.<sup>60</sup> Switzerland, uncrippled by the war, which during much of *Simplicissimus* is a symptom of human sinfulness, possesses a paradisaal fruitfulness<sup>61</sup> and is associated with a moment of near conversion.<sup>62</sup> According to Ferdinand van Ingen:

Grimmelshausens Moralismus in der Schilderung einer Verkehrten Welt ist in der Überzeugung begründet, daß das gestörte Gottesverhältnis, wie es sich in der Pervertierung der Gottebenbildlichkeit ausdrückt, eine Friedensfähigkeit des Menschen ausschließt. Es bleibt lediglich die eine Möglichkeit, nämlich die Sündhaftigkeit zu bereuen.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Hubert Gersch, *Geheimpoetik: Die "Continuatio des abentheurlichen Simplicissimi" interpretiert als Grimmelshausens verschlüsselter Kommentar zu seinem Roman* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973).

<sup>58</sup> *ST*, 296-307 (IV, iii-v).

<sup>59</sup> Walter Müller-Seidel, "Die Allegorie des Paradieses in Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus*," *Medium Aevum Vivum: Festschrift für Walther Bulst*, eds. Hans Robert Jauß, Dieter Schaller (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960) 269.

<sup>60</sup> *ST*, 383-384 (V, iv).

<sup>61</sup> "ein jeder lebte sicher unter seinem Weinstock und Feigenbaum" (*ST*, 376, V, i)

<sup>62</sup> *ST*, 377-380 (V, ii).

<sup>63</sup> Ferdinand van Ingen, "Krieg und Frieden bei Grimmelshausen," *Études germaniques* 181 (1991) 48.

Because of this, utopian or allegorical landscapes undisturbed by war, like Switzerland or the Mummelsee have a theological significance as areas somehow not subject to the usual ravages which result from man's sinful nature. This is also true of examples of successful social integration like the lifestyle of the Hungarian Hutterites "die mehr Englisch als Menschlich seyn könnte."<sup>64</sup> Thus, concerning the journey to Switzerland as a foretaste of the rest and rootedness which accompanies the expiation of sin, Siegfried Streller writes:

[Simplicius] sieht in der Schweiz ein Land des Friedens, ein Land, das nicht von der Hand Gottes mit der schweren Strafe des Krieges geschlagen ist, und es dünkt ihm ein irdisches Paradies zu sein. Er hat mit seinen Sinnen den Frieden erfahren, der zwar nur in seiner irdisch unvollkommenen Form erscheint, aber für das steht, was nach Grimmelshausens Auffassung das Höhere darstellt: die Befriedung der von Sünde zu Sünde getriebenen menschlichen Seele in Gott.<sup>65</sup>

Similar ideas appear explicitly stated in other works of the time; Volker Meid draws attention to Georg Pasch's (1704) description of the imperfect structure of the state as reflecting the *status legalis*, as opposed to the prelapsarian *status naturalis*.<sup>66</sup> According to this principle, fictional or utopian states become "Darstellungen einer öffentlichen Ordnung unter der hypothetischen Voraussetzung der Erbsündelosigkeit des Menschen."<sup>67</sup>

Simplicius seems, to some extent, to be aware of the correspondences between place and spiritual state. In his attempts to regain a lost innocence, he instinctively and repeatedly seeks out the forest, which was the site of this original innocence.<sup>68</sup> The forest as a natural wilderness, however, appears only in opposition to the moral wilderness of civilisation. As a mere refuge from and negation of human society, "das Abseits der zivilisierten und fortifizierten Welt, der Ort der Ortlosigkeit,"<sup>69</sup> the forest displays the properties of a fallen nature which reflects the state of fallen man. Even in the first book, as the site of Simplicius' initial naïveté and amorality, it is depicted as hostile and potentially dangerous, the home of the

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<sup>64</sup> ST, 440 (V, xix).

<sup>65</sup> Siegfried Streller, *Grimmelshausens Simplicianische Schriften: Allegorie, Zahl und Wirklichkeitsdarstellung* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1957) 36.

<sup>66</sup> Georg Pasch, *Philosophischen Disput über die Dichtungen vom besten Staat* (1704), quoted in Volker Meid, *Grimmelshausen: Epoche-Werk-Wirkung* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984) 112.

<sup>67</sup> Meid, *Grimmelshausen: Epoche-Werk-Wirkung*, 112.

<sup>68</sup> ST, 39 (I, xiv), 141 (II, xvi), 463 (V, xxiv).

<sup>69</sup> Busch, *Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen*, 80.

wolf.<sup>70</sup> Although Simplicius' life with the hermit prefigures his state on the island, the forest is not paradisaical, in that it does not readily yield up its fruits,<sup>71</sup> and, even at this initial, innocent stage, does not lead Simplicius' soul beyond concern with the material world.<sup>72</sup>

In general, the danger posed by the forest is twofold. Firstly, as a wilderness, it becomes associated with the unknown and the primitive. The fear of the unknown which pervades the interaction of figures in the novel with the wilderness appears in a readiness to perceive supernatural forces, particularly the devil, in isolated areas. Simplicius guesses that Baldanders may be the devil;<sup>73</sup> peasants flee from Simplicius in his fool's costume, assuming that he is the devil;<sup>74</sup> the hermit perceives Simplicius as an evil spirit when he first hears his voice.<sup>75</sup> The forest commonly appears as an area of mystery and supernatural activity in folk tales, as does the wilderness in Christian legend. Grimmelshausen appears conscious of both of these traditions in his depiction of the hermit and the peasants, but also depicts these supernatural apparitions as aspects of the mistaken perception of the individual, as I have stated elsewhere.<sup>76</sup> The more immediate and real threat posed by interaction in the forest is the threat of the primitive or the bestial. This appears in the first book of *Simplicissimus* and in *Springinsfeld*, as in the final episode of *Robinson Crusoe*, in the fear of and the actual appearance of wolves.<sup>77</sup> The most graphic scenes of torture in the novel occur in the forest, examples of man's inhuman brutality, much like the association between unexplored territory and ravenous cannibals or wild beasts in *Crusoe*.<sup>78</sup>

The second threat posed by the forest appears in its materiality, referred to above. The withdrawal from human civilisation does not imply any transcendent enlightenment, but merely a rejection of society. In this sense, Simplicius' "edles Leben" in the forest can also be described as an "Eselsleben"; it remains without sin, but also without virtue, purely concerned with the empirical aspects of existence. As

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<sup>70</sup> *ST*, 14 (I, ii).

<sup>71</sup> *ST*, 23 (I, vii).

<sup>72</sup> See previous chapter, regarding Simplicius' ignorance.

<sup>73</sup> *ST*, 506 (VI, ix).

<sup>74</sup> *ST*, 139 (II, xvi).

<sup>75</sup> *ST*, 22 (I, vi).

<sup>76</sup> *ST*, 22 (I, vi), 139 (II, xvi).

<sup>77</sup> *ST*, 14 (I, ii). *RC*, 298-302.

<sup>78</sup> *ST*, 17-19 (I, iv), 38 (I, xiii), 39-43 (I, xiv). A further threat is posed by the peasants who threaten Simplicius after his magic stone creates a mineral spring, *ST*, 436-438 (V, xviii).

an area of natural beauty, depicted at the beginning of Book Six, the material aspect of the forest also poses dangers. Simplicius delights himself with contemplation of the landscape, without turning his attention towards its Creator. On the island, in contrast, the inscriptions on the trees constantly turn his attention from created objects to their source.

Simplicius does not realise until after his encounter with Baldanders that a physical withdrawal from civilisation is not useful. Sin exists in Simplicius himself, is inherent in his nature as fallen man and in his perception of his surroundings. A mere rejection of the world is not sufficient to escape it. As long as he, unregenerate, is present, his surroundings must reflect his fallen and fragmentary state in continuous discomfort and displacement.<sup>79</sup> A redemptive unity of spiritual state and physical landscape is necessary, which unity occurs not as a product of Simplicius' conscious striving, but through the working of grace/Divine Providence, which ensures the simultaneous preservation both of Simplicius' body and of his soul in his shipwreck on the island.

Simplicius' "Kreuzinsel" is the most apparent allegorical landscape in the novel. Here, as I have previously stated, physical and spiritual place are united. As in our other desert island texts, Simplicius on his island has moved from the realm of changeable Fate/Fortune to a position directly in the hand of Divine Providence. Of more direct concern in terms of geographical place and narrative, however, Simplicius' island, like Felsenburg, is no longer in the world. It exists only on the very borders of human social interaction. As an earthly paradise it, like our other texts, to some extent revisits and reverses the Fall of man. Hence, on the island Simplicius gains the perspective removed from the chaos of life in the world which he requires in order to narrate his story unhindered by circumstance. He also, importantly, discovers rest and rootedness on the island, which rootedness he has sought throughout the text, in his efforts to escape his sinful human nature through a return to the forest.

Simplicius' island, as a direct product of Divine Providence rather than of mere human striving, appears superior to the forest in Book One. Physically, it is more removed from civilisation, while, as on Felsenburg, the abundance of flora and

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<sup>79</sup> "Augustin bezeichnet die Peregrinatio des einzelnen und der Gattung, der 'civitas peregrina', als Folge des Sündenfalls. Das Elend der Welt, das der Mensch in seiner Gebrechlichkeit erfahren muß, hat den Sinn einer Strafe." Triefenbach, 134.

fauna echoes a Golden Age of material well-being, prelapsarian nature yielding up its fruits of its own volition. Gardening is unnecessary, but it is significant that Simplicius nonetheless gardens.<sup>80</sup> Through the labour of transforming and working on his surroundings, he is able to transform and improve his soul, a clear indication of the absence of conventional barriers between the interior soul and exterior surroundings, a dissolution of the disjunction between the physical and the spiritual which appears in the earlier portions of the text. This dissolution is reflected in the now fluid boundaries between man and nature, particularly between art and nature. Simplicius clothes the trees with mottoes reflecting the activity of his soul, making explicit his glimpse into the hidden workings of creation, and the trees, in turn, clothe him.<sup>81</sup> Every natural phenomenon is an immanent reminder of its relation to its divine creator. According to Jeffrey Ashcroft, “Nature reveals itself as allegory; appearance no longer deceives but contains and conveys meaning, so that by contemplating nature the hermit comes to knowledge of himself and of God.”<sup>82</sup> The work of Simplicius’ reading of the Book of Nature is to discern and, through narrative activity, through language and inscription, to encapsulate these reminders and revelations, so that they become subjectively perceptible *and* objectively embodied, an objective confirmation of the allegorical, spiritual significance of creation and of Simplicius’ own relation to the divine order.

Simplicius’ island appears on the borders of the empirical and spiritual realms, straddling the territory between the natural and the supernatural, the empirical and the allegorical. As a perspective from which to view the world without participating in the world, it reproduces the forest situation at the beginning of the novel. Here, however, Simplicius moves beyond his father’s harsh rejection of the world and his own former ignorance of it. Instead of a rejection, Simplicius is able to control and to order his experiences through a narrative enabled by the island perspective. His journey to the island and the revelation of the action of Divine Providence which accompanies it, reverse the blindness which sin imparts, physically removing him from the confusing disorder of the fallen world, providing him both a resting place from which to remember and a scale of religious norms with

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<sup>80</sup> ST, 568 (VI, xxiii).

<sup>81</sup> ST, 565 (VI, xxii).

<sup>82</sup> Ashcroft, 846.

which to weigh his memories. Because of this, he is able to read the Book of Nature clearly and to order his experiences into a comprehensive narrative.

#### D. Defoe

In contrast to our chosen texts, Crusoe's spiritual journey is centred upon his island experiences. Crusoe's sojourn on the island occupies more than two-thirds of the novel, and for much of this time his story takes place in isolation. Because of this isolation, a solitude shared only by God and the island itself, the physical topography of the island, both in its natural state and as it is transformed by Crusoe, is of central importance within the work. In order to reflect this importance, I have provided a slightly more detailed analysis of *Robinson Crusoe* in this chapter, at greater length than was allotted to any one of the other three authors. As in the other texts, I have discussed the significance of elements of the physical topography of the island. Crusoe's efforts to "place" himself spiritually within the cosmic scheme are displayed in his efforts to remove himself from man's bestial potential, through the exertion of reason, which appears most clearly in the transformative work of civilising and ordering the undifferentiated wilderness.<sup>83</sup> I have, therefore, discussed some aspects of spiritual integration within the context of Crusoe's attempts to create a home for himself, and I will return to the issue of spiritual integration and the cosmic scheme in the next section.

Crusoe's initial displacement, physical and spiritual, occurs in conjunction with his disobedience of patriarchal authority, rebellion against a paternal discourse which recognises, and is able to work effectively within, the social context and the moral parameters of English civilisation. As in the *Wunderliche Fata*, an action which defies a social order founded in the familial structure has an inevitable effect of further displacement and alienation. His wandering inclination, as I maintained in the previous chapter, is connected with a limited knowledge of himself and of his relation to the world at large, a lack of perspective and a basic inclination towards disobedience which is a part of man's fallen nature. This is directly connected with several Biblical metaphors. Crusoe himself draws attention to parallels with the story of the Prodigal Son and the wandering of the Children of Israel in the

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<sup>83</sup> Even in the satirical pre-Crusoe *Robinsonade*, the *Isle of Pines*, the island is described as a landscape which requires the perfecting hand of man to achieve perfection. Cultivation is an



wilderness. Crusoe's initial travels confirm his erring and therefore sinful state, acting as unheeded warnings while foreshadowing the future path of the narrative. His rootedness upon the island, at first an enforced captivity, but soon a rootedness which he chooses in a continuous cycle of simultaneous domestic and spiritual improvements, displays, through the discovery of physical rest on the island and spiritual comfort in God, his escape from the original sin and alienation which is man's natural state as a stranger in the world.

Crusoe's island experiences are intimately concerned with the transition from undifferentiated, wild "space" to "place," a landscape imprinted with meaning as a sphere of significance for the individual.<sup>84</sup> The search for place and the search for meaning accompany each other, and it is the symbolic element of the landscape, significant as an area of past experiences (memories) or as an area which contributes to self- and communal definition in the present, which creates a sense of rootedness.<sup>85</sup>

Pat Rogers observes that most of Crusoe's activity on the island is domestic, concerned with the specific task of creating a physical home.<sup>86</sup> As I described in the previous chapter, this activity is also spiritual and interpretive, a process in which Crusoe discovers the divine source of the meaning of his experiences in the landscape. In a largely psychological analysis of Crusoe, Homer Brown draws attention to Crusoe's tendency to seek out unformed spaces, the sea and the wilderness, onto which he can inscribe himself:

Unable to accept the given definition of himself, the will and legacy of his father, the world of law, Robinson experiences himself as incomplete and searches mistakenly for completion in the world outside. He does not possess himself but is scattered among a world of things. He must externalize himself in the world. He must create a self out of the formless sea of pure possibility, out of the surrounding, anonymous wilderness. The world is for him to make something of - his own.<sup>87</sup>

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important aspect of human activity in both *Crusoe* and the *Wunderliche Fata*. Henry Nevile, *The Isle of Pines [...], Shorter Novels: Jacobean and Restoration*, Vol. II (London: J.M. Dent, 1930) 231.

<sup>84</sup> Daniel Peck has analysed the role of sense of place in *Robinson Crusoe* at length in an excellent essay, "Robinson Crusoe: The Moral Geography of Limitation."

<sup>85</sup> Lutwack, re: place and symbol (183).

<sup>86</sup> Pat Rogers, "Crusoe's Home," *Essays in Criticism* 24 (1974) 375-377.

<sup>87</sup> Brown, 76.

Michael Seidel and H. Daniel Peck agree with this analysis, which combines the economic<sup>88</sup> and the spiritual<sup>89</sup> interpretations of *Crusoe*:

As Crusoe remakes himself in a space that he inscribes, that space becomes him.<sup>90</sup>

the island is a ... specific and positive landscape insofar as Crusoe enters into a willing relationship with it. ... 'place' becomes in the novel not a mythic setting but an active force in 'grounding' the hero and creating in him a sense of personal identity.<sup>91</sup>

This basic search for rootedness is reflected in the other levels of the text. On an allegorical level, the island plays a role similar to that in our other *Robinsonaden*, as a sanctified area governed by direct communication from God, an earthly paradise. Like the path to the Celestial City, the Insel Felsenburg, and Simplicius' Kreuzinsel, it appears on the borders of the physical world, as an area in which the hidden meaning of empirical reality is made manifest. In terms of narrative, it appears as an area of individual self-consciousness, from which Crusoe, through a parallel process of developing inner awareness and careful empirical observation, is able to discern the position of his own narrative within the story of creation.

Several critics have drawn attention to the possible emblematic significance of elements of the island landscape in *Robinson Crusoe*, although this strand of analysis has been less popular for *Crusoe* than for *Simplicissimus* or the *Wunderliche Fata*. Robert A. Erickson observes that Crusoe seems to be assaulted by all four elements, by the sea (water), the earthquake (earth), the hurricane (air), and in his dream of the fiery angel (fire),<sup>92</sup> a sphere of experience which recalls the invocation of the four elements on the frontispiece of *Simplicissimus*. E.M.W. Tillyard draws attention to the role of a common religious metaphor in determining Crusoe's location:

The island is not merely realistic but symbolises a human state of isolation. It thus has a lingering kinship (... probably through Bunyan) with the old allegories of man as a fortress, a city, or an island.<sup>93</sup>

Edwin B. Benjamin describes the turtles on the other side of the island as symbols of luxurious living, and also equates the grapes and the hot forest in the interior with

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<sup>88</sup> Most famously espoused by Ian Watt.

<sup>89</sup> Most famously espoused by J. Paul Hunter and G.A. Starr.

<sup>90</sup> Seidel, 10.

<sup>91</sup> Peck, 97.

<sup>92</sup> Erickson, 51-73.

gluttony and lassitude, which pose threats to Crusoe's spiritual, as well as physical, health.<sup>94</sup> Quite legitimately, he draws attention to the connection of the seeds of barley with the seeds of grace in Crusoe's heart, while perceiving a slightly less obvious parallel between Crusoe's efforts at pot making and his eventual spiritual success in becoming "a serviceable, if not handsome pipkin of the Lord."<sup>95</sup> Although the metaphor of becoming God's "vessel" is common, there is little indication that it operates within the text of *Crusoe*. I ascribe a slightly different and much more general interpretation to Crusoe's pot-making: apart from its utilitarian necessity, Crusoe as a potter acts as creator within the finite realm, an activity which appears as a metaphor or human equivalent of divine creative activity in the book of Jeremiah in the Old Testament.<sup>96</sup> This idea of mimetic participation in divine activity is analogous to eighteenth-century perceptions of God as the divine architect, which, according to Simon Varey, led to a perception of architecture as "the plainest illustration of divine design in the human world."<sup>97</sup> In addition, the description of Crusoe's pot-making appears as a part of his description of making bread, an episode which, as a whole, illustrates the parallel action of Providence and Crusoe, both working towards the common goal of providing Crusoe with "his daily bread." "I foresaw that in time, it wou'd please God to supply me with Bread,"<sup>98</sup> writes Crusoe as he begins the description of his inventions. God provides him with the raw materials and the ingenuity for bread-making, and, through correct interpretation, by carefully and rationally reading and altering his raw materials, Crusoe is able to help himself to implement the divine design.

A number of analyses, including those of Benjamin,<sup>99</sup> Ayers, Erickson, Napier<sup>100</sup> and Rees<sup>101</sup> contrast the excessively lush interior of the island with Crusoe's more moderate home realm, describing Crusoe's decision to stay near the shore as a rejection of full absorption into the landscape; he will never find a means of escape if he remains in the interior. Ayers also draws attention to the cannibal

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<sup>93</sup> E.M.W. Tillyard, "Defoe," *Daniel Defoe*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea, 1987) 12.

<sup>94</sup> Edwin Benjamin, 37.

<sup>95</sup> Edwin Benjamin, 38.

<sup>96</sup> Jeremiah 18.2-6

<sup>97</sup> Simon Varey, *Space and the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990).

<sup>98</sup> *RC*, 117.

<sup>99</sup> Edwin Benjamin, 37.

<sup>100</sup> Napier, 88.

<sup>101</sup> Christine Rees, *Utopian Imagination and Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (London: Longman, 1996) 83.

threat present on the more productive side of the island.<sup>102</sup> The decadence present in both of these areas is accompanied by a threat to Crusoe's autonomy, the threat of "going native," never to return to civilisation, a prospect which would leave all of his civilising activities with no final purpose, or the threat of being eaten, a danger which I will discuss in the next chapter. Both threats are less significant as external dangers than as threats to Crusoe which spring from his own personality. A move to the "easy life" in the interior of the island would indicate a relinquishing of the systematic separation of self from nature which motivates his work. Such an absorption into nature, rather than a separation from it, would negate all of Crusoe's efforts to assert his fundamental rationality in order to defeat the bestial, wild aspects of himself and his surroundings. Unlike Simplicius, Crusoe's presence in a paradisaal garden is not a sufficient end to the story. His landscape must reflect his rationality, the orderliness and intention which is the fundamental attribute of Crusoe's God. In this attitude, he is followed by the Felsenburgers, for whom systematic civilisation is always viewed as superior to undifferentiated nature, however paradisaal. In this emphasis on the rational, both eighteenth-century texts reflect the wider shift in thought from the Baroque to the Enlightenment, although Schnabel's novel, like Defoe's text to a lesser degree, also retains a world view generally understood to characterise Baroque thought.<sup>103</sup> The earthly paradise is a space in which Crusoe can realise his own, sanctified rationality, his system of survival a construct which reflects this as much as the memorials on the road to the Celestial City reflect Christian's spiritual progress.

In an influential essay, Homer O. Brown perceives the island landscape as a physical embodiment of the state of mind of the isolated individual, agreeing with Defoe's own description of *Crusoe* as allegorically or parabolically true in the *Serious Reflections*. W.F.H. Nicolaisen's observation that, unlike other famous castaways, Crusoe does not provide autonomous names for features on the island,

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<sup>102</sup> Ayers, 404.

<sup>103</sup> Critics frequently focus on the planned and rational nature of the Felsenburg civilisation. In doing so, however, they do sometimes ignore the elements of supernatural intervention, the massive role of Divine Providence, and the theological basis of the society on the island. Paul Mog, in particular, overstates the role of the rational on the island, as a result of his use of a very incomplete source text. Paul Mog, *Ratio und Gefühlskultur: Studien zu Psychogenese und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1976). As in *Crusoe*, but to a lesser degree, in the *Wunderliche Fata* natural and divine law are understood to agree with one another; to act according to natural law is to fulfill a divine commandment.

but instead structures his landscape with subjective descriptions,<sup>104</sup> referring to “my own House,”<sup>105</sup> “my Country-House,”<sup>106</sup> “my Bower,”<sup>107</sup> also agrees with a subjective interpretation of the fictional landscape. Brown draws attention to Crusoe’s description of his time in Brazil as living *like* a man cast away on a desert island, a metaphor which becomes Crusoe’s concrete reality:

The whole book has to do with the progressive materialization of spiritual metaphors for what is implicit in Robinson’s condition in the beginning, in the same way that the book itself is a factualization of the metaphors of the whole tradition of spiritual autobiographies.<sup>108</sup>

J. Paul Hunter agrees with Brown; Crusoe’s punishment, a punishment “in kind” singularly appropriate to the wandering which is his sin, “converts a fundamental religious metaphor into the specifics of experience, achieving a peculiar unity of physical and spiritual levels.”<sup>109</sup> In a reading with a psychological focus at times similar to Brown’s, James Foster observes that the status of the island as prison (“Island of Despair”) or as a vehicle for spiritual deliverance is wholly dependent on Crusoe’s state of mind at the time of the description.<sup>110</sup> The common and most important strand in all of these analyses, whether allegorical or psychological, is the parallel nature of Crusoe’s internal, spiritual activity and his empirical actions and movements. It is this unity between material experience and interior, psychological and spiritual experience which is the central characteristic of life on Crusoe’s island, just as is the case on Felsenburg and the Kreuzinsel.

As in our other island narratives, Crusoe’s preservation from the shipwreck is an initial moment of physical and spiritual unity, a dual salvation in which the miraculous interference of Providence at a time of physical peril becomes visible, if only for a short time. Crusoe’s initial, spontaneous thanksgiving reflects his awareness, on the most basic level, of this interference as it occurs. His ability to recognise the divine hand at work, even if only in the most dramatic situations, like the fact of his physical preservation, indicates his nature as chosen, able potentially to see beyond the bestial ignorance of sinful man in order to know his own helplessness and discern the assistance of Providence. The dissipation of this

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<sup>104</sup> Nicolaisen, 114.

<sup>105</sup> *RC*, 111.

<sup>106</sup> *RC*, 107.

<sup>107</sup> *RC*, 112.

<sup>108</sup> Brown, 72.

<sup>109</sup> Hunter, 141-143.

awareness, however, leaves Crusoe in a desperate state, with the interpretive tasks set before him which I have already discussed in the previous chapter. His despair on the first day is dispelled by another providential gift, that of the ship, which by its very appearance causes Crusoe to order his thoughts and his impressions of his surroundings, so that he can get to the ship and salvage a great deal from it. It disappears as soon as he has finished, an indisputable sign that it has appeared especially for him, and that there is a purpose behind his shipwreck:

... in the Morning when I look'd out, behold no more Ship was to be seen; I was a little surpriz'd, but recover'd my self with this satisfactory Reflection, viz. That I had lost no time, nor abated no Dilligence to get every thing out of her that could be useful to me, and that indeed there was little left in her that I was able to bring away if I had had more time.<sup>111</sup>

This instrument of physical preservation becomes a key component of Crusoe's spiritual preservation, as in his reflections and the balance sheet he recognises the hand of Providence in its appearance and is eventually led to conversion. From the very first moments of apparently secular activity, Crusoe's position on the island appears controlled by a providential force. As an area in which this providential influence is omnipresent as the structuring principle of Crusoe's experiences, the island appears as a sacred landscape even before Crusoe fully develops his ability to understand its significance. Because it is a created landscape, created in one sense by God in order to lead Crusoe to conversion, and created in another sense by Defoe "to the Instruction of others by this Example, and to justify and honour the Wisdom of Providence in all the Variety of our Circumstances, let them happen how they will"<sup>112</sup> (i.e. in order to assist the reader to conversion), Crusoe's island, like the Insel Felsenburg, appears empirically convincing, but possesses an allegorical/spiritual foundation. The religious element of the text appears primarily in Crusoe's efforts to reconcile his individual experience with the divine narrative, a process for which Crusoe's existence on the island, as an area under direct divine guidance, is central.

In the *Wunderliche Fata*, the island's status as directly under the governance of God is rather artificially contrived by means of the supernatural interference of Don Cyrillo de Valaro as messenger. In *Robinson Crusoe*, it is Crusoe's isolation which places him in a direct and unmediated relation to Divine Providence, simply

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<sup>110</sup> Foster, 193.

<sup>111</sup> RC, 57-58.

because, at least initially, there is no one else to act on the island. All actions or opportunities for action which do not originate in Crusoe himself must originate in some entity, and this isolation, in combination with the limited confines of the island, provides a microcosm of the whole of creation in which acts of God are particularly visible. A central example is the earthquake which shakes the island and threatens Crusoe's cave. I must, for a moment, address the importance of caves as an aspect of the landscape, as all three of our desert island texts possess caves, each of which is threatened by an earthquake at a moment of significant physical or spiritual danger to its inhabitants. The earthquake warnings reinforce the correspondence between the consciousness of the individual, or, in the case of the Insel Felsenburg, of the whole society, and the topography of the island itself; when characters are threatened by danger or sin, the whole island shakes in warning. In his essay on place in *Crusoe*, H. Daniel Peck draws attention to the importance of Crusoe's digging *into* the island for his development of a sense of rootedness based in a sense of unity between the interior of Crusoe's mind and his exterior surroundings. This appears in opposition to Crusoe's travel on the surface of the ocean, an indication of a superficiality both literal and moral, according to Peck.<sup>113</sup> This psychological interpretation of the significance of the cave agrees with the analysis of Racault, who provides two possible interpretations of Crusoe's later discovery of the cave with the dying goat inside. The dying goat and the simultaneous illumination of the cave with Crusoe's torch may be read as literal manifestations of the Puritan image of the inner light of grace which illuminates the soul, vanquishing sin (the dying goat) and providing deliverance from fear.<sup>114</sup> Certainly, Crusoe does seem to associate the demonic aspects of his own nature with the goat, an association which I will examine in the next chapter.

Racault also provides a reading even closer to that of Peck, interpreting the penetration into the second cave as a discovery of the hidden secret of the island at the same time as Crusoe discovers his own hidden depths.<sup>115</sup> The imagery of light in the darkness is also used in *Simplicissimus*, when Simplicius appears, covered in glow bugs, to lead the sailors to daylight. As an enlightened individual, he is able to

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<sup>112</sup> RC, 1.

<sup>113</sup> Peck, 98.

<sup>114</sup> Racault, 44-45.

<sup>115</sup> Racault, 44-45.

negotiate the dangers of the darkness successfully.<sup>116</sup> In the *Wunderliche Fata*, the discovery of the cave containing Don Cyrillo de Valaro's corpse and writings provides a place of shelter and leads to the discovery of great riches, hidden behind de Valaro's earthly remains - perhaps the same process described by Racault with reference to *Crusoe*:

la quête spéléologique correspond à un approfondissement de la relation avec l'île, maîtrisée dans sa plus secrète profondeur et non plus seulement parcourue dans sa surface, et peut-être aussi de la relation avec soi-même à la faveur d'une sorte d'initiation tellurique.<sup>117</sup>

Significantly, the reprobate, Lemelie, cannot enter the cave and faints with fear when he recognises his own material, finite nature in the corpse. The descent into the cave may be interpreted as a descent into the hidden aspects of the self, a coming to self-consciousness blessed by, and occurring under, the auspices of the Providence which structures the whole of island experience.<sup>118</sup> This unity of landscape and self is the result of the unity of all creation under the master Creator, the situation within the earthly paradise.

Even without such a psychological or symbolic interpretation, as the only human inhabitant of his island, Crusoe may be fairly sure that, if the earthquake occurs for a reason (which, according to Crusoe's eventually-developed view of a divine Creator and Sustainer, who may be discerned even in natural, rationally explicable circumstances, it obviously does), it is to convey some message or warning to him. Such occurrences are intended to be integrated into his narrative, into his interpreted version of his past, and lead automatically to more drastic divine punishments when they remain unheeded. Because God is so much present in or behind the natural phenomena on the island, Crusoe's many unmediated relations to the island landscape and to his work are all, in essence, unmediated relations to his own spiritual knowledge, the recognition and development of his place with relation to God and nature. As Richetti points out, because of Crusoe's isolation and removal from the difficulties of moral behaviour within a competitive society, the island is a

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<sup>116</sup> Gersch, 154-155.

<sup>117</sup> Racault, 45.

<sup>118</sup> According to Phyllis Mack, seventeenth century Quakers occasionally drew a connection between their own quaking, motivated by intense spiritual experience, and the earthquake in the Book of Revelation. Mack, 152.



place of unity between reality and theory, moral norms and real actions.<sup>119</sup> Because of this unity and because of Crusoe's unmediated relationship with God and with his surroundings, his situation on the island resolves the disjunction between interior consciousness and exterior surroundings which is so problematic for many Baroque writers. "As he settles in, it begins to look more as if he was meant to settle in. The island is a personal and interpretable text primed for his conversion,"<sup>120</sup> writes Seidel. Through the perception of rational principles and spiritual signification in his surroundings, Crusoe himself becomes the measure of his island; it has been created to be ordered and to be interpreted by him, to bring him to self-knowledge.

Simplicius' ability to transform his experience through narrative is reflected in his ability to transform his surroundings by interpreting them according to their allegorical significance. On the island, which straddles the borders between the realistic and the supernatural/allegorical, and on which Simplicius exists in a fairly direct relation to things holy, work is not necessary for physical, but for spiritual survival. The importance of the desert island as a realm of both physical and narrative transformation is also present in the *Wunderliche Fata*, where work on the landscape consists of organising and making manifest the natural potential of the island. As a fictional construct, Schnabel's island, from its chronological beginnings, possesses the ample natural resources and the physical infrastructure which enable a relatively easy transformation from blessed wilderness into New Jerusalem. It requires little hard labour to be made habitable, and the first stages of Albertus Julius and Concordia's settlement are as significant as a narrative revisitation of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Paradise as for their actual transformation of their surroundings through pleasant labour. The role of work on the land in connection with narrative transformation appears most clearly of all in *Robinson Crusoe*, the text in which the parallel processes of creating a personal narrative based in the divine order and of transforming the environment on the basis of this narrative order are most exhaustively described.

As is the case with our other works, Crusoe's narrative is extremely concerned with the nature of man. The state of ignorance and unreflective sinfulness is condemned as bestial as Crusoe, through interpretation and reflection, gradually asserts his rational capabilities and comes to some knowledge of man's divine origin.

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<sup>119</sup> Richetti, *Popular Fiction ...*, 95.

<sup>120</sup> Seidel, 97.

Rationality is associated with the divine activities of creating and ordering, both of which Crusoe is able to imitate through reflection. This is the same reflecting activity which I investigated in the previous chapter in connection with the conversion process. Whether he is making a boat or contemplating the source of the empirical world, Crusoe proceeds from the observation of his surroundings to reflection upon them, moving always from individual, empirical objects to the rational principle which governs their nature. His work consists in applying these principles, mathematical and mechanical, to raw objects,<sup>121</sup> while his insight into the divinely-appointed meaning of his experiences enables him, similarly, to organise his existence as a whole, to develop a system of living which reflects this insight into the reasons, the providential aims, which motivate his experiences. Through this process, according to Elizabeth Napier, “Nature evolves, in effect, into a landscape of signals, embodying not only the means to survival but the signs of divine purpose.”<sup>122</sup> Crusoe’s exercise of his rational powers is at once empirical and spiritual, and his success in transforming his environment through the action of reason is derived from the same source as his development of interior religious knowledge.

Crusoe’s physical activities, like those of the settlers in the *Wunderliche Fata*, are primarily concerned with a separation from nature, creating borders between himself and the merely bestial world. This occurs in a number of ways, including his concern with time and his calendar, which has been investigated at length by Paul Alkon.<sup>123</sup> Initially and, I believe, significantly, Crusoe uses the goods he has rescued from the ship, that is, the goods of civilisation, in order to create a barrier between himself and the natural world. His first activity after picking out his area of settlement is to make himself a chair and table, to remove himself physically from the ground. This occurs directly after the balance sheet incident, which likewise asserts the primacy of the non-bestial, rational self, and which directly precedes Crusoe’s glorification of the power of reason with respect to his accomplishments:

... as Reason is the Substance and Original of the Mathematicks, so by stating and squaring every thing by Reason, and by making the most

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<sup>121</sup> Observations on this topic are made by Reckwitz (37-38).

<sup>122</sup> Napier, 86.

<sup>123</sup> Alkon.

rational Judgment of things, every Man may be in time Master of every mechanick Art.<sup>124</sup>

The table and chair make the writing of the journal possible, an activity ordering experience and springing from a rational motivation which parallels Crusoe's organisation of his goods and his surroundings. Crusoe is unable to write a journal as long as he remains subject to extreme chaotic despair, but his sample journal, the one he did not write, contains "many dull things,"<sup>125</sup> in the sense that its narrative lacks organisation. Its activities do not reflect a causal motivation, a reflective process, or any final goal or outcome which would give meaning to the narrative, and, as such, it is the mere documentation of Crusoe's despairing actions, with the tiny addition of retrospective commentary by Crusoe the narrator. The retrospective commentary, "instead of being thankful to God for my Deliverance,"<sup>126</sup> links the non-journal to the main narrative, and is itself, in its relation to Crusoe's final spiritual enlightenment, a sign of organisation and interpretation which it would have been entirely impossible for Crusoe to have written at the time.

The mere fact that Crusoe has produced written documents presupposes rational thought and, as a physical product of Crusoe's organising thought, functions as an objective witness to the existence and effective operation of reason. The evolution of an ability to interpret his surroundings, even though this interpretation is frequently revised and modified, is the foundation of his ability to generate narrative, to order the world according to its use and its ends. Each physical object which Crusoe compulsively collects and places in ordered surroundings or which he makes to assist, complete, and reinforce this order serves a similar function. According to Homer Brown, "it also represents an attempt to give the shifting moments of subjective time something like a spatial ordering in the same way that he carves notches into a post to mark each day he is on the island. The journal is an attempt to define a situation by ordering the present as it becomes the past."<sup>127</sup> Both the journal and the objects which Crusoe collects or makes function as an objective confirmation of the rational, organising ability of his own mind, confirming the strength and the success of his own narrative or discursive system beyond his own subjective interpretation. Because, for the bulk of the island episode, Crusoe converses only

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<sup>124</sup> *RC*, 68.

<sup>125</sup> *RC*, 69.

<sup>126</sup> *RC*, 69.

with himself, directing his activity towards his own interaction with the landscape, the entire infrastructure of civilisation which he creates may be read as the manifestation of his discourse, the assertion of his own reading of the significance of the physical world on the landscape of the island.

The urge for physical removal from the dangers of the wild appears when Crusoe walls himself into his habitation with the stakes he has cut, leaving no door whatsoever and using a ladder instead. Exaggerating even this tendency, he states that he keeps the ladder by which he enters his country bower always on the inside of the hedge,<sup>128</sup> raising the question of how Crusoe himself is able to enter his second habitation. After his disturbing first encounter with the savage footprint, which causes a state of mind which in itself threatens all of his works, and which emphasises the dangers of the wilderness without and within, Crusoe again barricades himself into his first habitation, obsessively extending a second wall around the fortification and around the door which he has eventually made to open outside of the first wall. In this, he works to reassure himself by continuing to order, organise, and delineate borders, affirming the system he has created through its continuous extension, and containing his own fear by asserting the primacy of the rational system over the irrational destructive impulse. This supplements his explicitly-stated aim of defending himself from the cannibal threat. The very activity of work, particularly of work which leaves a physical mark on the landscape, re-establishes the autonomy and the authority of Crusoe's discourse.

Crusoe's primary civilising activities are concerned with appropriating areas and resources of the island as his own. He encloses his corn fields and his tamed goats. In doing so, Crusoe must be sure to make the enclosure on a human scale,<sup>129</sup> that is, a rationally determined scale proportional to his capabilities and to its final purpose, rather than the vast, natural scale which his uncontrolled, unreflecting greed at first dictates. The same principle is followed in his controlled sowing of barley and rice,<sup>130</sup> and in his culling of the kittens of his domesticated cats, reducing their numbers to the modest two necessary to fulfil his pest control needs.<sup>131</sup> On the whole, there is very little on the island which Crusoe uses purely as nature has

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<sup>127</sup> Brown, 89.

<sup>128</sup> *RC*, 152.

<sup>129</sup> *RC*, 147.

<sup>130</sup> *RC*, 117.

<sup>131</sup> *RC*, 148.

provided it, since he cooks and salts the wild game he shoots, and even juices the fruit he gathers.<sup>132</sup> Generally, his manner of transforming the island combines its raw materials (goats, trees, parrots, grapes etc.) with a refinement which reflects his own purposes and, frequently, his own discourse, as he physically transforms the landscape, leaving his mark upon it by inscribing it with borders and enclosures. The goats are enclosed and domesticated, grapes are dried, trees cut down and made into planks, or, even better, stakes, which will take root and reinforce Crusoe's fortification in an imitation of nature. Most interestingly, Crusoe teaches his parrot to talk, an explicit case of appropriating nature and manipulating it through art to participate in the system and discourse of civilisation. Eventually, when Friday arrives to be clothed and otherwise integrated into Crusoe's comprehensive system as a rational human soul, it is to Crusoe's ability to perfect raw materials artificially, in particular his cooking techniques, that Crusoe partially attributes his success in civilising the savage:

This [Crusoe's goat roasting device] *Friday* admir'd very much; but when he came to taste the Flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how well he lik'd it, that I could not but understand him; and at last he told me he would never eat Man's Flesh any more, which I was very glad to hear.<sup>133</sup>

Here, Crusoe's art is explicitly responsible for bridging the difficulties of communication between the two, perfecting the savage discourse even as he perfects Friday's appetites.

Crusoe discovers rest by discovering himself and the divine plan into which he must fit the pattern of his experience, the result of a process of reflection on his past and on his present work, particularly on the method of inscribing himself on the landscape which surrounds him. The objects which he creates are the products of his reflections and, as steps in the progressive improvement of Crusoe's settlement, embody Crusoe's cumulative experience and his system of living. By their physical presence as created objects, they confirm Crusoe's nature as a rational creator and organiser, a "recognition of God through perceiving and imitating His order."<sup>134</sup> Crusoe's possession of these divine attributes confirms his status as blessed. Within the confines of the island, rootedness and knowledge mutually produce and reinforce

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<sup>132</sup> RC, 100.

<sup>133</sup> RC, 212-213.

<sup>134</sup> Napier, 93.

each other. Even though Crusoe runs out of ink for his journal and his narrative comes to an end in England, rather than on the island, the consummation of his story occurs earlier, when, as the tool of Providence, acting with a superior knowledge of his position within the cosmic narrative, he succeeds in sharing his story with the English captain and controls his encounters with the Spanish and the English mutineers. Crusoe eventually leaves the island, apparently with God's blessing. The association between wandering and sinfulness is only maintained as long as the wandering is based in Crusoe's ignorance; once he has achieved a point of interpretive competence and discursive authority, an awareness of his own position in the world and an ability to negotiate his path through society on this basis, Crusoe is free to resume his travels.

For Defoe's purposes, and in order to fulfil its role as a witness to the actions of Providence, *Robinson Crusoe* must be recognised as true and believable, as taking place not in isolation on a mysterious island but, to some extent, within the confines of English culture. Crusoe's repatriation, like Gisander's journey to Felsenburg, blurs the levels of narration. By returning, first, through his interaction with the sailors, to within the English sphere of knowledge and social interaction, and, later, to an empirically real domain, Crusoe brings the narrative itself, and, with it, the physical island, into the realm of the specifically English reader. The use of this journey between fictional and factual realms to link a fictional narrative construct, the island, to a specific, empirically-verifiable national area and discourse accounts in part, I would suggest, for the plethora of later *Robinsonade*-titles, in which the main characters are identified by nationality or place of birth.<sup>135</sup> Similar to the multiple narratives in the *Wunderliche Fata*, narrative journeys between the various points in the known world and the Insel Felsenburg, and to Bunyan's chain of pilgrims, led from empirical sinfulness to the Celestial City by reading and rereading each other's narratives, *Robinson Crusoe*, its sequel, and the *Robinsonaden* which follow it continuously emphasise the success of their narration in creating an alternative homeland. By connecting and reconnecting this homeland to the location of its readers, particularly through the interaction of levels of discourse separated at varying degrees, some very close and some distant, from their day-to-day experience and spheres of familiarity, each text pulls its readers into participation in its

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<sup>135</sup> "die fast unzählige Zahl derer Robinsons von fast allen Nationen" as Schnabel calls them. *WF I* Preface (6 Reclam).

transforming activity, bridging, for a moment, the gap between what is empirically true and what is fictional and allegorical.

As we see in all four texts, the complete fulfilment of a sense of place is no longer possible in the “real” world as represented in each work. Rather, despite each text’s claims to truth, it becomes a spiritual construct on the borders of the known world, in which narration, not empirical existence, gives presence to the physical. That the existence of what is described as the physical home is, in fact, a fictional product (although it may claim to be grounded in a higher truth) is emphasised and re-emphasised by a constant revisiting of description and the other elements of narration out of which it is compounded. This process, most obvious in the layering of frame narrative and different methods of narration, draws the reader’s attention to the process of building the construct - at one and the same time, a new level of narration provides a new perspective which makes the existence of the physical home more plausible and yet, by drawing attention to the process of narrating, subverts itself as not physically existing, but as a product of words, and of subjective and changing words at that. For the characters in these works, home is to be found in the process of narration; the New Jerusalem exists not physically, but in the revising and transforming activities of narrative which provide spiritual substance and a spiritual home. In a certain way, it is the book itself.

#### IV. *The Spiritual Continuum and the Nature of Man*

A second level of integration necessary to each of our texts is closely aligned with the activity of interpretation addressed in the first main chapter. One of the primary goals of the interpretive journey is discerning the individual's position within the universe in terms of the spiritual poles of heaven and hell, virtue and vice. In order to achieve a state of spiritual integration which coincides with entry into the physical homeland and the community of the elect, each individual must discern his or her relation to these poles, must recognise his or her own nature in terms of its inherent weakness and its exalted potential. The vision of the spiritual axis or ladder of human existence is, for these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors, a vision of man's worth, weighed according to certain universal, divinely-appointed criteria. An understanding of the spiritual significance of empirical existence, plotted upon the continuum between heaven and hell, thus provides two elements: first, a comprehensive scheme of the workings of all creation, and second, a scheme of the individual mind and soul, and its relation to the universal norms which structure the scheme.

The effort to achieve spiritual integration can be represented through what we would now understand as the workings of individual psychology, as it appears in the introspective portions of *Grace Abounding* or *Robinson Crusoe*, for example. In this context, it is a specific element of the general interpretive progression outlined in the first chapter. It also appears as an empirical manifestation, through the intersubjective device of the allegorical landscape, as in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, or portions of *Crusoe*, the *Wunderliche Fata*, and *Simplicissimus*, where the physical landscape is imbued with the spiritual values of the cosmic scheme, and where physical and spiritual integration operate in unison. Lastly, in these particular texts, an understanding of the nature of man in relation to divine norms sometimes appears in the form of quasi-psychological, quasi-allegorical visions, moments of ambiguous provenance, such as Crusoe's vision of the avenging angel, investigated previously, and Simplicius' journey to the Mummelsee. Their final lesson is always the same: man must understand that his every action takes place between the twin poles of heaven and hell, and must maintain this knowledge as a crucial component of the effort to perceive a complete vision of creation.

Humans occupy a privileged position in the divine scheme. Sandwiched between heaven and a corrupt material world, the individual possesses the ability to



descend to the bestial level or to ascend to the level of the angels. Bunyan describes the significance of this position in *Grace Abounding*:

And now was I sorry that God had made me a man, for I feared I was a reprobate: I counted man, as unconverted, the most doleful of all the Creatures: Thus being afflicted and tossed about by my sad condition, I counted my self alone, and above the most of men unblest.<sup>1</sup>

Yea, I thought it impossible that ever I should attain to so much goodness of heart, as to thank God that he had made me a man. Man Indeed is the most noble, by creation, of all the creatures in the visible World: but by sin he has made himself the most ignoble. The beasts, birds, fishes, &c., I blessed their condition, for they had not a sinful nature, they were not obnoxious in the sight of God; they were not to go to Hell fire after death; I could therefore a rejoyced had my condition been as any of theirs.<sup>2</sup>

The position between God and the Devil must be recognised, the potential descent avoided and a moral and spiritual ascent undertaken. For a majority of our characters, the moment of recognition is the conversion moment, or at least the beginning of a striving towards God. Occasionally, sinister figures like Lemelie or Olivier, although they understand their own spiritual position, voluntarily reject the path of virtue and choose evil.<sup>3</sup> For characters inclined towards salvation, however, the clear vision of their position within the cosmic scheme is a central element of their search. Through their journeying, as in Bunyan's text, through their interactions with the wilderness, as in Schnabel and Defoe's novels, and through their mastery of their own sinful inclinations, these protagonists strive to overcome their own, inherent bestiality and the threatening appetites of those who surround them. The exercise of the qualities which make man the "image" of God, primarily reason, creativity and imagination, possess the ability to stabilise an individual's position within the cosmic scheme and enable a state of divinely-sanctioned rest, the spiritual aspect of life in the earthly paradise.

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<sup>1</sup> GA, 28.

<sup>2</sup> GA, 28-29.

<sup>3</sup> Bunyan addresses the significance of a wilful, deliberate, and informed rejection of Christ in *Grace Abounding*. After he gives in to the temptation to "sell" Christ, Bunyan fears that he, like Judas, has committed the "unpardonable sin," a wilful rejection of divine mercy. He decides that he is not irrevocably damned because he "sold" Christ in a state of ignorance and turmoil; his rejection was not a clear-headed and consistent exercise of the will, it was a mistake, involuntarily and privately committed and afterwards regretted. GA, 43, 48, 70-71.

### A. Bunyan

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, spiritual position corresponds more or less directly with position in the landscape. Because the landscape is allegorical, the cosmic scheme possesses an empirical manifestation, which I investigated at length in the chapter concerned with topographical significance. Characters on the path to the Celestial City travel towards salvation. Sin is stepping from the correct path and erring into the threatening wilderness, and may be discerned through an observation of the moral import of the environment. The peril posed by the Devil reappears constantly within the landscape, in figures like the Flatterer or the barking dog in Part Two and in the ways which diverge from the King's highway. Christian's recognition of his own sinfulness is the recognition that he must leave the City of Destruction. When he acts sinfully upon the actual path, as when he overtakes Faithful, he is punished by tripping, mirroring his descent into vice.<sup>4</sup>

The presence of the helpers or examiners along the path as non-pilgrims does indicates a dimension to the spiritual axis which transcends the horizontal progression towards the Celestial City. This non-empirical dimension of the spiritual axis occasionally disrupts the spatial and temporal momentum of the pilgrimage. Travel up or down the spiritual continuum is always possible. Ignorance can be damned, regardless of his proximity to the heavenly gates, while Christian is able to approach his salvation mentally, through reading his destiny in his scroll or in the vision of the Celestial City provided by the Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains, for example. In our other texts, characters experience an explicit moment of revelation which reveals their spiritual position to them. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, this type of revelation appears in allegorical form, with the exception of Christiana's dream at the beginning of *Part Two*, which depicts the recognition of spiritual position in an individual and psychological manner, to some extent foreshadowing Crusoe's hallucinations in *Robinson Crusoe*.

Christiana's dream provides a vision of her own spiritual position, between the joys of heaven provided to her husband and the "quintessence of Hell."<sup>5</sup> This recognition of spiritual place is the first step in the decision to set out for the spiritual homeland and is a form of self-awareness which the reprobate characters in *The Pilgrim's Progress* do not share. As in *Robinson Crusoe*, it is associated with

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<sup>4</sup> *PP*, 66.

<sup>5</sup> *PP*, 178.

rational thought which is able to organise, control and interpret. Like Crusoe, Christiana envisions a balance sheet, “in which were recorded the sum of her ways,”<sup>6</sup> an explicit indication of her discovery of a new kind of self-knowledge, the result of her new perspective. Christiana’s initial recognition of the divine narrative into which Christian’s story has been fully integrated, having reached salvation (the end of his story, but also, ideally, the final goal of each individual participating in the comprehensive text),<sup>7</sup> occurs in conjunction with her realisation that, as an unsympathetic listener, she has negated the affection between herself and her husband. This realisation, a recognition that she exists in a state of social alienation rooted in her lack of spiritual understanding, combined with the reading of a narrative which displays a more comprehensive vision, provides the sudden, divinely-inspired ability to perceive her spiritual place between the poles of good and evil, and to recognise the goal (a spiritual destination envisioned in spatial terms in the allegory) towards which she must strive. The lesson Christiana learns from her dream is the realisation implied by the actions of all of Bunyan’s true pilgrims. In order to set out on the path, they must first recognise their position within the cosmic scheme and the nature of their final destination, whether as an explicit revelation, or spatially as an element of the journey along the allegorical map from destruction to salvation.

In my treatment of the other texts I have further expanded on the role of spiritual place, but in *The Pilgrim’s Progress* the issue is so inextricably linked with the issue of physical place that it is unnecessary to investigate it further in the present context. The embodiment of the spiritual axis of existence in allegory performs the dual function of making these parameters understandable and memorable. By dramatising a spiritual progression in empirical terms, Bunyan represents divine norms as a complete, objective world. Exemplary readers like Christiana demonstrate the method of entry into this scheme, as does the marginal exegesis of the significance of elements of the landscape throughout the two volumes. Except at the outset of the journey and except for passages where the allegory is slightly disrupted, moral dilemmas receive a physical manifestation. Achieving the successful interpretation of the landscape, which results in salvation, is dependent on

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<sup>6</sup> *PP*, 178.

<sup>7</sup> Christian’s journey shows his wife the parameters for her own journey. It acts like a map of directions for entering the scheme.

a correct reading of which portions belong to God and which to Satan, a path to knowledge which I described in the first chapter. The text as a whole provides a complete vision of man's place on the scale between damnation and salvation, a comprehensiveness which is the result of its didactic purpose and religious foundation. These qualities are not as central to our fictional texts as they are to Bunyan's allegory, and as a result the vision of the spiritual norms of existence, and of man's spiritual place, tends to appear as an attribute of individual characters, part of a psychological effort to understand and to define themselves and their surroundings in divinely-sanctioned terms. In both the fictional texts and the allegory, however, the search for a place within the story of creation occurs at a spiritual, as well as physical and social, level.

### B. Schnabel

In Schnabel's *Wunderliche Fata* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, the understanding of man's place on a spiritual continuum between vice and virtue, damnation and salvation, is connected to an understanding of man as a rational being, imitating God through the exercise of reason, and using reason and moderation to quell the fleshly appetites which lead to sin. The principle of reason as a divine quality, the exercise of which leads to the imitation of God, is the important organising principle of the continuum. As Johann Arndt writes in his influential *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum*:

Es ist eine gewisse Ordnung in den Creaturen, und viel unterschiedliche Grad, dadurch sie Gott etlichermassen nachfolgen und nachahmen, eine mehr, die ander minder; Die lebendigen Creaturen, und die empfindlichen oder fühlenden Creaturen ahmen GOTT mehr nach, denn die unempfindlichen; die vernünftigen mehr denn die unvernünftigen.<sup>8</sup>

Man is made in God's image, made to imitate divine activity. The threat of descent towards vice is the threat of the irrational, the merely material aspects of existence.

In establishing themselves upon the island, characters in the *Wunderliche Fata*, like Crusoe, must also establish their place on this continuum. Their understanding of their position appears at the moment of danger, investigated in the first chapter, when characters glimpse the operation of Divine Providence in their lives. In order to progress in spiritual terms following this initial conversion

moment, the inhabitants of the island must align their actions with natural and divine law. To allow themselves to be ruled, individually and collectively, by reason, they must differentiate themselves from the pervasive fleshly appetites and passions which characterise the European world. The products of the exercise of reason are the building of a civilisation, the perfecting of the wilderness on the topographical level, and the generation of meaningful language in the form of the teleological narrative on the social level.

The *Wunderliche Fata* contains an initial revisitation of man's physical and social origins through its depiction of the island as an earthly paradise settled by a second Adam and Eve. Like our other texts, it is concerned with man's discovery of his place in the world, in terms of the establishment of a physical home and, more particularly, in a metaphysical sense, in establishing and discerning man's position in relation to God and nature, in this context in relation to animals and to the bestial. Whereas in *Simplicissimus* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* the primary danger appears to come from the devil and his cohorts, both texts being particularly concerned with man's potential ability to align himself with these forces (at one point in *Grace Abounding* Bunyan even mentions that he wished he could have been a devil and not a man, in order to escape the tortures of hell by doing the torturing!<sup>9</sup>), the *Wunderliche Fata*, although containing a fascination with the demonic and supernatural, is primarily concerned to delineate the borders between man and beast, perceiving the greatest threat in man's bestial and worse than bestial activity.

Language, specifically in the form of a rationally-organised and ordered narrative, is the basis of the Felsenburg society. The primary threats to individuals and to the society as a whole are threats to this rational narrative and organisational ability, either in the form of wild beasts, particularly those, like the monkeys, who imitate human activities, or in the form of men who, by giving way to their passions and baser appetites, mimic bestial behaviour. This concern with man's irrational, disordered and non-narrating potential is closely related to Crusoe's fear of the cannibals in *Robinson Crusoe* and, as in *Crusoe*, may be overcome by taming and domesticating the wild elements, integrating them into the comprehensive organisational system which reflects the predominant discourse of divinely-approved rationality, signalled by narrative ability, on the island.

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<sup>8</sup> Arndt, 996-997.

<sup>9</sup> GA, 6.

Schnabel's treatment of the monkeys is particularly interesting and, indeed, anticipates nineteenth-century controversies concerning man's nature. Because of their close resemblance to man in actions, emotions, and appearance, combined with their lack of language,<sup>10</sup> understood to correspond with a lack of reason,<sup>11</sup> the monkeys appear both fascinating and repellent. Tamed, as servants and vehicles for entertainment, on the one hand, their resemblance and ability to mimic man is both useful and interesting,<sup>12</sup> but Albertus is careful to mention that he never completely trusts the beasts, a mistrust which seems to spring from their almost human qualities: "Dem allen ohngeacht war doch bey mir immer ein geheimes Mißtrauen gegen diese sich so getreu anstellende halb vernünftige<sup>13</sup> Gesinde ... ." <sup>13</sup> He attempts to control the bestial and wild characteristics of the monkeys by confining them to a comfortable stall whenever he wishes,<sup>14</sup> and sees his fears confirmed when one of the young monkeys steals the infant Concordia as a playmate,<sup>15</sup> a prank which Albertus punishes harshly.

The untamed monkeys are perceived as nothing but a threat, perhaps because they are so set on destroying the carefully defined borders of agriculture and of narration (in their destruction of Don Cyrillo de Valaro's journal)<sup>16</sup> with which Albertus and Don Cyrillo de Valaro seek to assert, define and delineate their human nature and separation from the threat of the untamed wilderness. Albertus describes the war which rages between the domesticated and the untamed animals as a war between chaotic, wild forces of destruction and the brute strength perfectly subjugated to the superior system of human civilisation. The monkeys have been integrated into his system, and repudiate the ties of blood and species which formerly bound them to their companions:

Unsere Saat-Felder stunden zu gehöriger Zeit in erwünschter Blüthe, so, daß wir unsere besondere Freude daran sahen, allein, die frembden Affen gewöhneten sich starck dahin, rammelten darinnen herum, und machten vieles zu schanden, da nun unsere Hauß-Affen merckten, daß mich dieses gewaltig verdroß, indem ich solche Freveler mit

<sup>10</sup> "Die 2. Alten ... bezeugten sich im übrigen dermassen unterthänig und klug, daß ich fast nichts als den Mangel der Sprache bey ihnen auszusetzen hatte." reports Albertus Julius. *WF I*, 238 (217 Reclam).

<sup>11</sup> "Concordia kam auch darzu, und hatte nunmehr ein besonderes Vergnügen an der Treuhertzigkeit dieser unvernünftigen Thiere ... ." *WF I*, 238 (217 Reclam).

<sup>12</sup> *WF I*, 240 (218 Reclam).

<sup>13</sup> *WF I*, 240 (219 Reclam).

<sup>14</sup> *WF I*, 240 (219 Reclam).

<sup>15</sup> *WF I*, 252-253 (228-229 Reclam).

<sup>16</sup> *WF I*, 605-606 (529 Reclam).

Steinen und Prügeln verfolgt, waren sie täglich auf guter Hut, und unterstundten sich, ihre eigenen Anverwandten und Cameraden mit Steinwerffen zu verjagen.<sup>17</sup>

As is the case in Crusoe's interactions with Friday, the monkeys require the assistance of human technology, Albertus' gun, in order to frighten off their opponents. Mere strength and ferocity require the assistance of human reason and human innovation in order to succeed. The integration of the monkeys into the human civilisation is so thorough that, following the death of one monkey in the battle, her spouse takes another wife and carefully teaches her all of the habits and tasks associated with Albertus and Concordia's housekeeping. When he approves of them, Albertus repeatedly describes their actions as "ordentlich," indicating their consistency and systematic behaviour in supporting his efforts to perfect the island wilderness.

The compounding of the threat of the sexual and the threat of the bestial in the monkey lovers of Don Cyrillo's companions is the climax of the fear of a boundlessly corrupt, irrational humanity which transgresses naturally- and divinely-ordained boundaries. Like the fear of cannibals, the gruesome and sensationalist depiction of sexual intercourse between humans and apes appears in other *Robinsonaden*. In *De Wonderlyke Reisgevallen van Maria Kinkons* (Amsterdam, 1759), the female castaway Maria Kinkon is raped by a baboon and actually bears a child.<sup>18</sup> In the English context, Keith Thomas describes the frequent condemnation of bestiality in English religious and didactic literature. Extreme horror at this "sin of confusion" made it a capital offence from 1534 until 1861:

Whenever we look at early modern England, we find anxiety, latent or explicit, about any form of behaviour which threatened to transgress the fragile boundaries between man and the animal creation.<sup>19</sup>

Don Cyrillo de Valaro, like Albertus Julius, emphasises the uncomfortably human characteristics of the monkeys in his description of the episode. He describes the female monkeys as "das teufflische Affen-Weib"<sup>20</sup> and "die drei verfluchten Affen-

<sup>17</sup> *WF I*, 245-246 (223 Reclam).

<sup>18</sup> A.G.L.M., *De Wonderlyke Reisgevallen van Maria Kinkons*, ed. Ton Broos (Amsterdam: Huis aan de Drie Grachten, 1986).

<sup>19</sup> Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983) 38-39.

<sup>20</sup> *WF I*, 601 (526 Reclam).

Huren,”<sup>21</sup> and the bodies of their human lovers as “die beyden Viehisch-Menschlichen Körper”<sup>22</sup> or “das Aas,”<sup>23</sup> a word normally reserved for animal carcasses. As temptresses who transgress their natural position in the divine order, the monkeys have been reduced from the merely bestial to the demonic, while the men have effectively relinquished their souls. The crime leads directly to immoderate drinking, murder and suicide, an indication that reason no longer governs the actions of the beast-men. The reverse of this blurring of the boundaries between man and beast is the complete subjection of animals by confining them into a select area, the zoo or “Tiergarten,” and taming them completely. The monkeys are used as beasts of burden, and the animals in the zoo possess no fear of man, but exist in complete subjection to him. This reconciles the postlapsarian enmity between man and beast and abolishes the threat posed by man’s own corrupt and ill-defined nature. Systematic organisation and clear boundaries in the Felsenburg society keep both animals and man in <sup>their</sup> his place, rational, tame, and moderate, acting according to natural and divine law.

Because Schnabel seems to derive his concept of natural law from divine law, mainly from the order of creation present in Scripture and from the Ten Commandments, transgressions against the patriarchal family structure instituted in Genesis are particularly sinful. The broken families of the life stories, in which nearly every character is orphaned or abandoned at an early age, are symptomatic of the decay of this order in this violently unregenerate world. Schnabel depicts sodomy, incest, and bestiality as particularly horrible crimes, sufficient to rob the perpetrators of their claims to humanity. These sins are so disconnected from the natural and divine order that, once acknowledged through confession, the perpetrator’s recognition of the sin invokes its own punishment; Lemelie kills himself following his confession, as does Don Cyrillo de Valaro’s monkey-loving companion.<sup>24</sup> Cannibalism, the omnipresent fear of the *Robinsonade*, is likewise problematic, and likewise grotesquely and graphically described. Like the sexual crimes, it results in its own punishment, a complete disappearance of all orderly and rational moderation. The European castaway, who has been forced to turn cannibal

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<sup>21</sup> *WF I*, 599 (524 Reclam).

<sup>22</sup> *WF I*, 602 (526 Reclam).

<sup>23</sup> *WF I*, 601 (526 Reclam).

<sup>24</sup> *WF I*, 601-602 (525-526 Reclam).



by shipwreck, literally eats and drinks himself to death,<sup>25</sup> perverting the purpose of life-giving nourishment as an extension of his perversion of divinely-ordained human nature. Interestingly, Schnabel depicts nearly all of the so-called “savages” in his work as naturally moderate and virtuous, reserving his portrait of the cruel, unnatural, and bestial elements of human nature for Roman Catholics more than any other group.

The conflation of social and spiritual integration is clearly present in Schnabel’s depiction of a society based in narrative interaction and in the familial structure of the Old Testament. The forces which threaten the stability of the society are those appetites and passions which threaten this order and the process of truthful narrative exchange on the island. The monkeys, as the embodiment of bestial passion, inarticulate and demonic, are only positive forces when completely subjected to the rational order which governs the civilisation. In contrast to these destructive forces, the socially-constructive life stories of the individuals who enter the island civilisation signify a movement from the sinful world to a state of rest and integration. The common ending of each story, the entry into the earthly paradise, affirms the universal scheme followed by each account; the ability to organise and retell experience according to this universal scheme is an indication of the triumph of true and rational discourse. As I stated in the previous chapter, through this truth, through the socially constructive processes of narrating and listening, and by repetition of the same narrative structure, storytelling consistently reinforces the basic precepts of the Felsenburg civilisation. Language, the organisation of the past through narrative, accompanies rational organisation of the empirical world in the present as an element in the imitation of divine activity which recognises and subjugates man’s bestial and destructive potential.

### C. *Grimmelshausen*

Grimmelshausen’s *Simplicissimus* displays a concern with man’s demonic potential which parallels Schnabel’s concern with man’s fleshly appetites and passions. For Simplicius, however, the seductive force of the sinful world is more general than it usually appears for Schnabel’s lascivious villains. In addition to interpreting his experiences correctly, Simplicius, like all humans, must defeat his

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<sup>25</sup> *WF I*, 426 (376 Reclam).

tendency to descend to the level of the beasts, through the sins of the flesh. His particular danger, as an expert in the manipulation of language and outward appearance, is a descent into the realm of the demonic, an imitation of the devil, the Arch-Deceiver, rather than of God, the Author of creation. In this text, as in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, temptation lurks in every encounter. Unlike the path to the Celestial City, however, this journey does not clearly delineate or prescribe virtuous action, and even seemingly positive experiences tend to endanger the soul. Even when Simplicius has achieved a successful interpretation of his experience, in the form of his autobiography, and has managed to stop the relentless motion which characterises his worldly journey, in favour of settlement on the utopian island, he nonetheless remains suspicious of the wolf-like nature of his fellow man, and of his own susceptibility to bestial sin.<sup>26</sup>

The first book of Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* addresses the paradox which accompanies Simplicius' ignorance. To know nothing of good or evil is, on the one hand, a revisitation of the paradisaal state, holy simplicity as an ignorance of evil which automatically excludes that exercise of will which is necessary to the participation in evil. It is, on the other hand, a denial of the very nature of man, positioned between beast and angel<sup>27</sup> through his ability to recognise and to choose good and evil, to be glorified or degraded in the hierarchy of virtue. In order to achieve the complete integration displayed in *Springinsfeld*, Simplicius must first ascertain the position of man in the world, in order to understand his own nature and to progress up the spiritual continuum.

In Book One, Simplicius describes himself as "nur ein Bestia,"<sup>28</sup> lacking knowledge of the nature of man, in particular of man's origins and End, and of his relation to things divine.<sup>29</sup> The description of man as potentially bestial insofar as he forgets his soul's position as "Gottes Ebenbild"<sup>30</sup> appears again in connection with Simplicius' satirical view of the gluttony of Hanau society. Because of his extraordinary innocence and his naïve virtue, Simplicius can only be integrated into

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<sup>26</sup> ST, 584.

<sup>27</sup> Müller-Seidel, 258.

<sup>28</sup> ST, 17 (I, iv).

<sup>29</sup> "Die Einschränkung der Blickrichtung auf den Realismus und die Immanenz des irdischen Daseins rechtfertigt die Bezeichnung *Eselleben* ... Aber von einer höheren Perspektive aus und im Blick auf die Unwissenheit der ersten Eltern verkörpert Simplicius das edlere Menschentum im Gegensatz zu den Soldaten, die wie Wölfe in ein vermeintlich schäferliches Dasein einbrechen." Müller-Seidel, 259-260.

<sup>30</sup> ST, 84 (I, xxx).

the Hanau society through his “transformation” into a calf. Clothed as a beast, Simplicius is reduced, in outward appearance at least, to the spiritual level of the inhabitants of the garrison. By making explicit Simplicius’ own bestial potential, the governor defuses Simplicius’ criticism of the overt physicality of Hanau society. His transformation reflects the corruption of the entire garrison, which is based upon a rejection of divinely-legislated norms:

Die Menschen betrachten ihr eigenes Wesen als von einer Ordnung, von einem inneren Gesetz durchwaltet, kraft dessen sie sich von ihrer Umwelt unterscheiden und zu einer Gemeinschaft vernünftiger Geschöpfe werden. Diese Ordnung, von der Natur gegeben und gesetzt, erkennt sie äußerlich am Körperbau und am aufrechten Gang, im seelischen Bereich am gemeinsamen Besitz einer geistigen Welt, deren Ausdruck die Sprache ist. Wer gegen diese Ordnung verstößt, wird ein Narr genannt.<sup>31</sup>

From the position of the fool, criticism is tolerated and even welcomed. The costume functions as a symbol of flawed humanity,<sup>32</sup> which reassures his audience that Simplicius too shares in man’s sinfulness.

Simplicius remains able to see and to judge the baser side of human nature, which ability implies a continued insight into the divine order and into moral norms. Ironically, this insight disappears only when Simplicius permanently throws off the calf costume. His hurried rejection of the outfit is associated with his failure to understand the truth which it signifies, perceiving its shame, but not its moral lesson. It indicates a preoccupation with appearance and the material world encapsulated in the Nebuchadnezzar-metaphor, which Simplicius refers to shortly after his transformation.<sup>33</sup> This reference appears frequently in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts as a metaphor for preoccupation with the vain and transient world, the world of physical appetites and desires. According to Arndt, humans are in danger of becoming like Nebuchadnezzar: “Also verlieren alle diejenige das Bild GOTTes aus ihrem Herten, die die Welt allzusehr lieben, und werden inwendig Hunde, Löwen und Bären, werden gar Vieh.”<sup>34</sup> The English Ranter, Abiezer Coppe, also

<sup>31</sup> Paul Gutzwiller, *Der Narr bei Grimmelshausen* (Bern: Francke, 1959) 11.

<sup>32</sup> “[T]he contribution of the Renaissance to this figure [the fool] was precisely that of making him just like everyone else, of claiming that folly was the quintessence of humanity and that all men were fools in one or another sense of that word.” Walter Kaiser, *Praisers of Folly: Erasmus, Rabelais, Shakespeare* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1964) 14. See also Barbara Könnecker, *Wesen und Wandlung der Narrenidee im Zeitalter des Humanismus: Brant-Murner-Erasmus* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1966).

<sup>33</sup> ST, 128 (II, xii).

<sup>34</sup> Arndt, 110.

uses the Nebuchadnezzar metaphor to represent those who are deluded by outward signs and fleshly appearance, so they do not perceive the inner truth of the things signified.<sup>35</sup> Like his fellows, Simplicius is prone to descent from virtue into vice, from a focus on the spiritual to a focus on the material. His mistake is his failure to perceive that he, too, possesses a potential for bestial activity.

In connection with the calf costume and the satyr motif, humans, in particular Simplicius, are frequently depicted as devils or in connection with the devil. It is the “Wahn” of trust in outward appearances, an inability to see beyond the mask of reality, which leads to Simplicius’ being mistaken for the devil, which “Wahn” thus appears connected to the art which deceives by its manipulation of empirical phenomena. This is reflected in Simplicius’ assumption of costumes, which, as products of artifice, act as devil’s masks: the fool’s costume, which he at first assumes involuntarily, and, later, the green and red of the Jäger costume, also associated with the devil,<sup>36</sup> and a full devil’s costume in connection with his further development of his skills at trickery and deception throughout the Jäger von Soest episodes.<sup>37</sup>

Olivier, who is a secretary or scribe, represents the intersection between artifice and the demonic even more clearly than Simplicius himself. Like Bunyan’s Talkative, and to some extent like Simplicius, he is able to shift and manipulate the meanings of words and the appearance of reality, punning and twisting empirical and spiritual truths in order to make them false, negotiating the spaces between signifiers and what they signify in order to make obvious the hopeless disjunction between things and their meanings in the chaotic world. In particular, Olivier’s lies include two puns, both of which play with spiritual concerns. The priest is described as “Herr Dicis & non facis” and innkeepers as “Würth / weil sie in ihrer Handierung under allen Menschen am fleissigsten betrachteten / daß sie entweder GOtt oder dem Teuffel zu theil würden.” Olivier’s report of golden bullets, if true, would make their value and their use equivalent (“je kostbarer solche wären / je grösseren Schaden pflegten sie zu thun”). As a falsehood, however, it reveals gold as an empty

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<sup>35</sup> Nigel Smith, ed. and intro., *A Collection of Ranter Writings from the 17th Century* (London: Junction Books, 1983) 49.

<sup>36</sup> “Solches ängstigte den Pfarrer und seine Köchin auff das höchste / ich aber machte mir ein Gewissen / daß ich mich vor den Teuffel beschwören liesse / vor welchen er mich eigentlich hielte / weil er etwan gelesen oder gehöret hatte / daß sich der Teuffel gern in grünen Kleidern sehen lasse.” *ST*, 194 (II, xxx).

signifier, a symptom of the utter loss of correspondence between meaning and social value, in which loss Olivier reveals.<sup>38</sup>

Olivier's manipulations do not spring from ignorance or even from a mere desire for worldly success, but are undertaken with evil intentions. He confines himself willingly to the realm of outward appearances, trickery, and intrigue, despite his knowledge of its finite nature and despite the recognition of evil and sin (and therefore potential repentance and recognition of good) which he displays in his life story.<sup>39</sup> Much more than Springinsfeld or even Courage, another unrepentant sinner, Olivier possesses a luciferian potential virtue in his art and understanding. This potential is negated by his wilful rejection of knowledge and his revelry in the deceptive manipulation of surface reality. This tendency is recognised in Olivier's recurring facial scars, which signal his demonic nature.<sup>40</sup>

Olivier is an exception in the narrative, defined by his nature as a representative of Simplicius' potential for the evil exercise of his art and cunning and by his knowledge. In general in *Simplicissimus*, however, man is depicted as ignorant rather than fully demonic. Simple, lacking the artistic competence of Olivier and Simplicius or the occasional spiritual insight of a priest or pastor, most humans are as easily deceived as deceiving and are unable to negotiate the gap between appearance and reality. Within the first five books of the text, in fact, with the possible exception of the "Hexenfahrt"<sup>41</sup> and the devil in Einsiedlen,<sup>42</sup> every vision of the devil is a matter of mistaken identity or intentional deception, depicting the reality of human sin through an emblematic mask.<sup>43</sup> This reveals man's potentially demonic nature, but also reflects the inner guilt and awareness of sin of each mistaken individual. As in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, unrecognised guilt is a key element in fear of the devil, since the person who has admitted guilt, but who possesses faith and trust in God, need not fear damnation. Unlike the real ghosts,

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<sup>37</sup> John Roger Paas, "Applied Emblematism: The Figure on the *Simplicissimus* Frontispiece and its Places in Popular Devil-Iconography," *Colloquia Germanica* 13 (1980): 313.

<sup>38</sup> *ST*, 157-158 (II, xxi). Compare to this the narrator in the Second Part of the *Wunderbarlichen Vogelneest*, who also manipulates outward appearance while trifling with spiritual belief.

<sup>39</sup> Olivier's ability as a narrator includes an ability to narrate his tale in terms of its moral value; he describes his own descent into sin as a result of his bad upbringing (*ST*, 345-350, IV, xviii-xx). Such recognition, according to the conventions of the spiritual autobiography, should ideally lead to repentance. It is an indication of his extreme reprobate behaviour that he is consciously evil, rather than merely ignorant.

<sup>40</sup> *ST*, 355 (IV, xxii).

<sup>41</sup> *ST*, 142-145 (II, xvii).

<sup>42</sup> *ST*, 378 (V, ii).

devils, and spirits who visit Simplicius on the island (but who, as long as he leads a virtuous life, seem unable to harm him),<sup>44</sup> the devil is so readily perceived because he is the projection of individual guilt, of each man's latent knowledge that he interacts within the relativised, surface appearance of creation and is therefore sinful. Each individual perceives empirical phenomena in forms dictated by his own sinful nature, demonising his surroundings. They come to embody his awareness of the deceptive nature of his participation in the world. The outward recognition of the devil is merely the momentary embodiment of this awareness; more constructive is the recognition of the demonic potential present inside each individual, a recognition of sin made explicit. The appearance of the devil is recognised as the result of man's deficiencies of perception as a result of the sin which blinds him (which process will, if carried to its conclusion, lead to man's awareness of his own sinful nature, his repentance, and salvation).<sup>45</sup>

Straddling the border between the human and the demonic or the bestial, Simplicius also appears in association with the satyr and, in the mistaken etymology of the seventeenth century, with satire.<sup>46</sup> Satire, as the denigration of the empirical world through the critical depiction of its vice, presupposes a knowledge of the least savoury aspects of existence, the very opposite of Simplicius' total innocence at the beginning of the novel. In the first book, Simplicius is unable to describe the destruction of the farm because he simply does not understand the principles of destruction and cruelty according to which the soldiers act. Later, Simplicius displays a conscious ability to satirise the vices of those who surround him. Although this satire follows the norms of virtue and vice taught by the hermit in the first book, norms which remain consistent throughout the text, Simplicius displays a concentration on vice which, like his concentration on Joseph's sexual temptations in the book he writes,<sup>47</sup> betrays his knowledge and understanding of sin. Writing or

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<sup>43</sup> *ST*, 22 (I, vi), 106 (II, v), 139 (II, xvi), 193 (II, xxxi), 206 (III, ii), 225 (III, viii).

<sup>44</sup> *ST*, 555-560 (VI, xx, xxi). Like Crusoe, Simplicius emphasises that his own corrupt nature is sometimes as threatening as supernatural appearances: "aber nachgehends wurde mir wol von anderen Geistern zugesetzt als dieser einer gewesen; darvon ich aber weiters nichts melden / sonder nur noch dieses sagen will / daß ich vermittelst Göttlicher Hülff und Gnad dahin kam / daß ich keinen einzigen Feind mehr spürrete / als meine aigne Gedancken / die oft gar variabel stunden / dann dise seyend nit zollfrey vor GOtt / wie man sonst zusagen pflegt / sonder es wird zu seiner Zeit ihrentwegen auch Rechenschafft gefordert werden." *ST*, 567 (VI, xxiii).

<sup>45</sup> This process is encapsulated in the previous footnote quotation.

<sup>46</sup> This confusion appears frequently on the frontispieces, for example the satyr figure on Grimmelshausen's satirical *Satyrischer Pilgram*.

<sup>47</sup> *ST*, 265 (III, xix).

describing the animal elements of human existence presupposes an animal aspect of the author's own personality. In this context arises the question of the reliability of Simplicius as a retrospective and virtuous narrator and of the sincerity of the text as a whole. Unquestionably, the text affirms certain norms of behaviour throughout its satirical and its religious commentary, but, as in Schnabel's text, a fascination with narrating the grotesquely entertaining elements of vice tends to undermine the claimed didactic value of the work.

The Mummelsee, as I have indicated previously, is a particularly significant allegorical landscape, a reflection of the novel's concern with the place of man in creation and with his potential position in the spiritual continuum. Simplicius' journey into the Mummelsee is a journey from the empirical into the allegorical realm. He begins on an empirical level with the reader, in a place present in the reader's topographical reality. In diving below the surface level of this reality, Simplicius is potentially able to discover the divine order which is the bedrock of creation, potentially able to discover his own position in this order. Within their fantastic realm, the sylphs reveal to Simplicius the secrets of their position in creation and of their reasons for existence. They possess this knowledge of the divine order because they are born without sin and therefore are not victim to the changing fortune, relentless movement and "Wahn" which define life upon the earth. They also provide Simplicius with a comprehensive view of the position of man in the order.<sup>48</sup> Simplicius, though he intellectually understands this overview, does not sufficiently relate his experience to it or learn from it, and is therefore once again blinded by earthly vice, this time a hidden desire for profit which grows greater as he moves closer to the surface world.<sup>49</sup>

Simplicius' "Ständesatire" during the Mummelsee episode reflects the demonic aspect of narrative activity, the ability to understand, to describe and to participate in sin. A common rhetorical topos of the journey to hell, Simplicius' satirical inversion of human conduct in his overly optimistic report is simply not understood as satire by his audience, the king of the sylphs. Lacking the potential latent in Simplicius' ability to manipulate language, whereby narrative functions

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<sup>48</sup> ST, 433 (V, xvii).

<sup>49</sup> Hans Dieter Gebauer, *Grimmelshausens Bauerndarstellung: Literarische Sozialkritik und ihr Publikum* (Marburg: Elwert, 1977) 177-8.

either as a healing mediator between man and God<sup>50</sup> or, if used as an earthly end in itself, as the very agent of sinfully inventive worldliness, the king of the sylphs cannot detect the verbal play in which Simplicius indulges. Satire itself is depicted as the product of man's uncertain position in the cosmos. Artistic irony and deception, the disjunction between words and their meanings, dishonest discourse, and the incomplete story are the products of the Fall. Simplicius' sylph guide answers his questions with a comprehensive view of creation, one which exactly locates and straightforwardly defines the role and nature of the sylphs. This contrasts with Simplicius' difficulties, throughout the narrative, with telling his whole story, making his experience and social position understood to others. Narrative is not useful to the sylphs as a vehicle for moral and spiritual instruction, since, as beings without sin and without hope of further spiritual enlightenment, they have no need of such instruction. The genius and inspired quality of a full, confessional narrative possesses a sacramental degree of self-knowledge, a personalised narrative, which the sylphs are unable to produce. Such self-knowledge may provide its author and its readers with, at the least, moral improvement and, at best, eternal salvation. Simplicius' ability to place himself in the order of the cosmos is inextricably linked to his narrative ability. As such, it possesses a positive and a negative potential incomprehensible to the sylphs.

Simplicius' inability to apply the knowledge he learns from the sylphs is not due solely to his sinful nature. The view of creation presented by the sylphs is defective. They are reasonable, but do not possess souls and are therefore, despite their ability to perceive the inner workings of the cosmos through a reason unblinded by sin, always, like beasts, trapped in the finite world. As Dietrich Naumann writes, describing the Mummelsee as utopian, but not a fully developed utopia:

Dadurch jedoch, daß dieses utopische Reich auch gegen die Transzendenz abgeschlossen ist, wird es zugleich als Utopie problematisch. Zwar haben die Sylphen eine gesunde Vernunft, erkennen den Willen Gottes und leben entsprechend. Jedoch ist die Erkenntnis des göttlichen Willens beschränkt und auf das Leben der Sylphen funktional bezogen. Sie haben sie nur so weit, wie sie für sie 'vonnöthen' ist. Von einer jenseitigen Belohnung sind sie ausgeschlossen. Daß sie sündenlos leben, bleibt folgenlos. Die Konzeption einer institutionalisierten Moralität geht auf Kosten ihres

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<sup>50</sup> The king of the sylphs appeals to Simplicius for insight into the future of mankind, particularly God's plans for creation, an indication that he expects Simplicius to be capable of an insight into the workings of the divine mind of which he, as a being without a soul, is incapable. *ST*, 425 (V, xv).



transzendenten Bezugs. Letztlich wird auch noch die Moral von der Religion getrennt.<sup>51</sup>

Trapped within this purely functional morality, the sylphs can satisfy Simplicius' curiosity with the secrets of physical creation and natural philosophy and can to some extent describe, but cannot comprehend, things eternal. They can assist him to discover his place on the earth, but cannot make him understand and turn his attentions to things divine. The king of the sylphs comments: "Aber ich rede und verstehe hier nichts von der Ewigkeit / weil wir deren zu geniessen nicht fähig seyn / sondern allein von dieser Zeitlichkeit ..."<sup>52</sup> This is not the revelation of grace which at once makes the workings of Divine Providence felt and understood in the *Continuatio*, but rather a stage in Simplicius' experience of the material world, an exercise in intellectual, rather than spiritual understanding. Simplicius must glimpse the dual possibilities, ascent and descent, in man's position on the spiritual continuum. Unable to move from their position upon the ladder of creation, the sylphs can neither assist in the ascent to heaven, nor comprehend the descent towards hell. The lesson of the episode remains intellectual rather than spiritual.

Simplicius finally attains a perspective which enables him to understand his position in the spiritual continuum on his island, when he understands the role Providence has played within his narrative. Because the island is an allegorical space removed from the sinful world, similar to the Land of Beulah, the Celestial City and Schnabel's Insel Felsenburg, physical and spiritual integration are conflated for Simplicius. Immoderate behaviour remains a danger, signalled by Simon Meron's self-destruction, but on the whole existence on the island is existence in the palm of God's hand, protected by isolation and by Providence. His final insights into his place within the cosmic scheme of salvation and damnation are encapsulated in his autobiography, text which, like the report of Bunyan's dreamer, organises the empirical world according to its spiritual values.

#### D. Defoe

As is the case in the *Wunderliche Fata*, in which man's gradual civilisation and perfection of the undifferentiated wilderness is a central focus, the wild, the

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<sup>51</sup> Dietrich Naumann, *Politik und Moral: Studien zur Utopie der deutschen Aufklärung* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1977) 83.

<sup>52</sup> *ST*, 417 (V, xiii).

bestial and the irrational appear as threats in *Robinson Crusoe*. Critics have drawn attention to Crusoe's fear of being devoured and engulfed, whether by the sea, an earthquake, wild beasts or wild men.<sup>53</sup> These concerns are related to Crusoe's basic concerns with personal identity and nature of man. The difference between man as beast and man as member of the elect is the exercise of reason, which leads, on a spiritual level, to knowledge of self and knowledge of one's own relation to the divine plan.

For Crusoe, the goals of both types of knowledge are not a self-forgetful contemplation of the divine goodness, the religious, almost mystical ideal to which Simplicius and Bunyan's characters are led by the ends of their journeys. Instead, the successful ascent of the spiritual axis and the reconciliation with God has its end in the self and welfare on earth. As in the *Wunderliche Fata*, where knowledge is directed towards the fictional perfection of, rather than escape from, the earthly state, there is only a very small transcendent component to *Robinson Crusoe*. Ignorant man is inherently bestial because he lacks the reflective, rational capabilities which separate man from beast, both spiritually as possessing a soul and language, and physically, through the exertion of his reason in ordering and manipulating his surroundings. Crusoe must necessarily recognise this ignorant and naïvely passionate element in himself and control it in order to carry out his organising activities, which mirror the divine activity of creation. Because Crusoe's aspirations in terms of his own spiritual welfare are confirmed by his success in the empirical realm, the defeat of the bestial aspect of human personality and of the threat of the chaotic wilderness occurs, to a great extent, in the form of the physical mastery of the wilderness, described in the chapter on landscape. It is also visible in his attitude towards mankind, in the form of the cannibals, Friday, the Spaniards, the English sailors, and himself.

The threat posed by the cannibals is threefold. First, there is the basic problem of identity: Crusoe's efforts to maintain himself intact, despite his sometimes radical mental disjunctions, are fundamentally threatened by the prospect of being eaten. Cannibalism raises strange but, for the early modern period, important questions regarding the nature of the soul. When bodies are resurrected on the day of judgement, whose body will the consumed flesh be resurrected with, that

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<sup>53</sup> Everett Zimmerman, 32.

of the devourer or the victim?<sup>54</sup> Second, the purely animal potential in man's nature, which the cannibals represent as consumers of man's flesh, has an uncomfortable reverse side, in which the transient and bestial, merely physical substance of man appears as flesh capable of being eaten. To treat man as game is to obliterate all of his efforts to define himself in opposition to the natural world. Crusoe's initial degeneration into a bestial state, when faced with the cannibals, is an instinctive reaction to this reduction. In his bloodthirsty plots and defensive horror, he, as a potential but not actual victim, becomes as much subject to hellish passions as the cannibals themselves. Third, and in *Robinson Crusoe* most clearly stated, the existence of entire nations of cannibals, engaged in the most horrific activities and therefore obviously damned, raises questions of divine purpose. In the end, the question as to how God can condemn these nations to a state of constant sin and transgression of man's most basic nature is never answered; indeed, Crusoe disapproves of the question because it seeks to challenge the sovereignty of Providence, attempting to discern answers beyond human comprehension.<sup>55</sup> This is a reminder of the necessity of revelation, not mere human inference, in other aspects of divine knowledge; obviously, although man may succeed reasonably well in discerning God's action in his own life and working in harmony with it, he remains far from comprehending the totality of the divine plan. The concern regarding the cannibal threat returns to the common concern of all of our novels: What is the place of man in creation? How, by understanding and overcoming his own nature, can he be reconciled to God?

The most extraordinary aspect of Crusoe's discovery of the footprint has less to do with the cannibals than with Crusoe himself, and with the depiction of man throughout Defoe's novel. Reviewing the possibility that the footprint might have been left behind supernaturally, by Satan, Crusoe writes:

Abundance of such Things as these assisted to argue me out of all Apprehensions of its being the Devil: And I presently concluded then, that it must be some *more dangerous*<sup>56</sup> Creature, (*viz.*) That it must be some of the Savages of the main Land over-against me<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Philip C. Almond, *Heaven and Hell in Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 131.

<sup>55</sup> *RC*, 210.

<sup>56</sup> my italics.

<sup>57</sup> *RC*, 155.

As in our other works, the devil is not an effective threat in and of himself so much as the embodiment of man's false imagination and mistaken perception, degenerate faculties which lead to evil deeds. It is the bestial and demonic aspect of man, with real destructive power in the empirical world, which poses the greatest threat to his fellows. By the time he encounters the footprint, Crusoe is accustomed to discerning universal connections in the empirical world. His hypothesis that the print may have been sent by the devil in order to destroy his faith and throw him into confusion is a comforting one, if simply as a literal case of "better the devil you know than the devil you don't." As Homer Brown writes, "This idea removes the element of the contingent from the sign, gives it purpose *for* him."<sup>58</sup> Crusoe longs to attribute the print to the deceptive manipulation of appearance which is the property of the devil, but, ironically, reasons that Satan, following the path of human logic, would not have left the footprint on the other side of the island if his main intent were to terrify Crusoe. There is no suggestion that the devil might have known that Crusoe would venture over to the footprint's location. Instead, his supernatural abilities are watered down to a mere "Subtilty,"<sup>59</sup> a slight but pernicious influence on an already susceptible human morality. The works of the devil, for Crusoe, are difficult to separate from the basic flaws in man's own psychology, just as his trust in Providence carries with it a strong component of trusting the secret promptings of one's own conscience:

... the many Strategems he made use of to delude Mankind to his Ruine; how he had a secret access to our Passions, and to our Affections, to adapt his Snares so to our Inclinations, as to cause us even to be our own Tempters, and to run upon our Destruction by our own Choice.<sup>60</sup>

This reduction of the devil to an aspect of the human mind agrees with Friday's subsequent difficulty with the devil, the difficulty of seeing him as an entity acting powerfully against God rather than with God's permission, always a pertinent question where God is seen as the omnipotent direct cause and controller of the events of creation.

The idea of man as bestial or demonic is not limited to the savages. Instead, through Crusoe's reflections on the episode as a whole we realise that Crusoe

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<sup>58</sup> Brown, 78.

<sup>59</sup> *RC*, 155.

<sup>60</sup> *RC*, 217.

himself possesses the same dangerous capabilities, capabilities also represented by his remembrance of the bloody conduct of the Spaniards in South America as negative exempla of human conduct, and by his later recognition of the threat posed by the English sailors.<sup>61</sup> Thus, when Crusoe discovers two eyes twinkling out of the darkness of the cave, and encourages himself with the reflection “that he that was afraid to see the Devil, was not fit to live twenty Years in an Island all alone; and that I durst to believe there was nothing in this Cave that was more frightful than my self,”<sup>62</sup> he is, in fact, moving from the rather inefficacious devil towards a further acknowledgement of his own flawed nature and the dangerous nature of humanity. Leopold Damrosch suspects it would be a comfort to Crusoe to be able to attribute this inner threat to an evil force from without: “... in a sense this ominous figure is welcome, for he furnishes a comforting explanation of feelings which must otherwise be located in one’s self.”<sup>63</sup> Crusoe’s experience on the island has been more difficult than any challenge the devil could present. He has lived twenty years in his own company, that is, in the company of his own passions, his own imagination, and his own occasionally uncontrollable psyche, and whereas he has confidence that God will protect him from any infernal dangers, he cannot always be certain that God will protect him from his own all-too-destructive folly. The goat lurking in the cave, like Christian’s Valley of the Shadow of Death, becomes the embodiment of unnameable, and therefore uncontrollable, fear, the activity of a clouded imagination too ready to perceive evil. In Crusoe’s case, it is a fear of himself and of his own potentially evil nature in other men. Confronted and recognised as the unthreatening beast which, indeed, the goat is, it eventually dies a natural death, revealing the bejewelled grotto which is both a place of riches and, most importantly, of safety, an indication of the rewards of overcoming the irrational passions to which Crusoe, at this time, is subject.

The savages disrupt Crusoe’s accomplishments in several ways, directly by threatening to eat him and indirectly, but more importantly, by interfering with his mental composure and physical activities, so he is forced to negate or modify his living scheme. The disturbance which accompanies this threat is only dispelled by the providential appearance of Friday as a savage who can be mastered effectively

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<sup>61</sup> *RC*, 251.

<sup>62</sup> *RC*, 177.

and integrated into Crusoe's own discourse as a follower and supporter. By domesticating the cannibal, Crusoe simultaneously masters his own passions, quelling his acknowledged fear ("I was dreadfully frightened, (that I must acknowledge) when I perceived him to run my Way; and especially, when as I thought I saw him pursued by the whole Body"<sup>64</sup>) through systematic activity. He reinstates the rational control of his own bodily impulses which has been lacking since the footprint episode. This move from animal impulses to human rationality is reflected in the description of the meeting with Friday. From his observation point, which provides a view of the gradual diminishing in the numbers of Friday's pursuers, Crusoe moves from his fear of the savage mob as an uncontrolled, bestial force to a recognition of Friday as an individual and as a companion. A moment after their verbal communication begins, the moment which founds the society, Friday kills the second savage quite scientifically, "and at one blow cut off his Head as cleverly[sic], no Executioner in *Germany*, could have done it sooner or better."<sup>65</sup> Friday's pleasant speech reveals him as a rational individual, and his actions, the symbolic defeat of the bestial element of his personality, indicate that he is already aligning himself with Crusoe's discourse by using Crusoe's tools, the instruments previously used for mastering the wilderness.

The manner of Crusoe's saving Friday gives him the automatic power of life and death over the savage, whose animal characteristics are emphasised in the frightened and, indeed, grovelling manner of his approach.<sup>66</sup> Crusoe quickly begins to speak of "my savage,"<sup>67</sup> and even Friday's skill with the sword cannot compare with Crusoe's seemingly miraculous ability of killing by gunshot, which again supports Crusoe's authority. Crusoe from the start feeds Friday with refined, rather than raw products, bread, raisins, and eventually cooked meat, replacing Friday's bestial appetites with a literal consumption of rational civilisation. This digestive appreciation of the products of Crusoe's labours parallels the naming process, in which Crusoe names Friday "for the memory of the time,"<sup>68</sup> explicitly integrating the savage into his chronologically ordered narrative. Despite Friday's inclinations to

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<sup>63</sup> Leopold Damrosch, Jr., "Myth and Fiction in *Robinson Crusoe*," *Critical Essays on Daniel Defoe*, ed. Roger D. Lund (New York: G.K. Hall., 1997) 160.

<sup>64</sup> RC, 202.

<sup>65</sup> RC, 204.

<sup>66</sup> RC, 203-204. Timothy C. Blackburn (363) draws attention to the animal aspect of Friday's behaviour.

<sup>67</sup> RC, 204.

devour the leftovers of the cannibal feast, Crusoe causes him to bury the remains, a further rejection of his former identity, which is quickly followed by a rejection of bestial nudity as Friday is reclothed in items from Crusoe's wardrobe. This literal change in appearance reflects the importance of clothing as a signifier, often of spiritual state, in this work,<sup>69</sup> as in our other three texts.

Friday's central quality is an imitative naïveté, an obliging innocence which rejects irrational passions in favour of Crusoe's rationality. He never develops the same reflective identity possessed by Crusoe, but, instead, is content to recognise Crusoe's acquired knowledge, to learn his arts by imitation, not invention, and to share the cumulative products, physical and spiritual, of Crusoe's development. Even when Friday displays a great technical competence, as in his abilities at canoe making and canoe rowing, Crusoe is always able to demonstrate a better method, hewing out the canoe instead of burning it, or fitting it with a mast and sail, so there is no need to row. In his capacity to follow superior knowledge virtuously, without rebellion, a capacity *not* shared by Crusoe at the beginning of the novel, Friday is Crusoe's moral superior. In a shift from the total advocacy of moral simplicity which we see in Bunyan, however, Defoe, like Grimmelshausen, states clearly that mere moral simplicity does not bring mastery with it. The master of circumstance is he who possesses the ability to refine the world of appearance, an ability derived from hard-earned empirical experience and the exercise of reason and reflection. Friday's general appreciation of Crusoe's technical achievements provides an external, social recognition of his discursive authority and confirms Crusoe's success in ascending the ladder of spiritual worth.

The greatest difficulty in the process of spiritual integration is to separate man and the devil, somehow to recognise and overcome the satanic aspect of the human character. In Grimmelshausen and Schnabel's fictional worlds, divine revelation provides the knowledge of cosmic place which, by discovering God's action in the world, also uncovers the seductive deceptions to which man falls victim. In the works of Bunyan and Defoe, perhaps as a result of the Calvinist tendencies of these authors, progression up the spiritual axis towards salvation is assisted by individual effort and the struggle with individual weakness. This independent mastery of the self is forcefully asserted in Defoe's more secular text,

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<sup>68</sup> RC, 206.

<sup>69</sup> Blewett, *Defoe's Art of Fiction*, 43-44.

where Crusoe's control of his external surroundings, including the figure of Friday, comes to represent the control of reason over the wild, the chaotic and the bestial aspects of his personality.

It is in the context of perceiving the spiritual axis that the emphasis on perceiving and telling the whole story appears most explicitly in each text. In order to achieve a state of rest, individual characters must comprehend the entire moral and cosmic background of their actions: the relation of God to creation, the nature of evil and the nature of man. This cosmic background is most frequently revealed through the process of narration. Specific aspects of the "Heilsgeschichte" and its role in the life of the individual can only be understood within the broader story of the cosmos as a complete epic, from Lucifer's rebellion through the Fall to Christ's redemption. The discovery of the human position within the continuum of creation ideally leads to a conscious effort to ascend the scale, and to narrate the individual story in terms of this successful ascent. A state of blessed rest is the goal of all three of the aspects of integration which are sought through the narrative process: physical attainment of the earthly paradise, the understanding of the spiritual continuum which results in an ability to act in accordance with divine aims, and the creation of a harmonious community.



## V. *The Narrative Community*

The effort to establish a sense of rootedness, the effort to know one's place, is expressed on several levels. In the previous chapter, I addressed the importance of entry into a spiritual homeland, the discovery of a place in which spiritual norms and physical appearances exist in a state of unified signification, rather than falling victim to the disjunction between appearance and meaning endemic in the sinful world. The island paradises and Bunyan's allegorical landscape are physical constructs based in Scriptural metaphors and descriptions; by entering a landscape with a textual foundation, characters perceive and participate directly in the divine narrative. In connection with the need to overcome physical displacement and disorientation, the need for social integration through a shared discourse and shared narrative is central, especially in a world where so much of human communication is depicted as problematic. Such integration, particularly according to Bunyan and Schnabel, may be achieved directly through the storytelling process, through the sympathetic and intimate relationship between author and public, narrator and reader. It is depicted within each text and transferred, by analogy, from this depiction to the relationship between narrator and reader of the work. Shared narrative forms provide a corporate confirmation of truths derived from subjective experience, reinforcing the idea that the individual story portrays one aspect of a more universal, comprehensive pattern. The sense of participating in a shared discourse overcomes the threatening isolation of the individual on his or her journey to salvation.

### A. *Bunyan*

In Restoration England, nonconformist churches like the Bedford church possessed no institutional sanction, nor was their spiritual warrant generally recognised. These congregations drew the entire substance of their authority and warrant for existence, not from any outward acknowledgement by society as a whole, but rather from within, from shared narration and a shared reading and experience of Scripture:

Acceptance of interpretations of the Bible by a congregation guarantees their relevance for the given group, is a check against mere anarchic individualism ... in the seventeenth century the inner light

was a bond of unity because God *did* in fact say similar things to the mechanics who formed his congregations.<sup>1</sup>

Within this Word-based worship, the conversion narrative is the vehicle for entrance into the community. According to Christopher Hill, “[A]s congregations became settled, an account of experience of grace was often required as a condition of full admission to the church.”<sup>2</sup> We may even attribute Bunyan’s ambivalence on the issue of baptism to his preference for words over signs; if one has already gained admittance to the church through a convincing narrative of spiritual experience, the baptism which would symbolically signify this acceptance is rather secondary, perhaps even unnecessary, in comparison to the verbal or written account and communal reception of this account which actually effects the acceptance. Peter J. Carlton, in an article “Bunyan: Language, Convention, Authority,” remarks perceptively:

Because the conversion narrative served a purpose for Puritans like that which sacraments serve for liturgical religions - not that the narrative was believed to be a channel of divine grace, but that it was, like the Eucharist, an outward and visible (audible) sign of an inward and spiritual reality. But since it was an account of purely subjective experience, it could only attain the semblance of sacramental objectivity through rigorous adherence to a communally sanctioned narrative form. Uniformity of narrative structure, and uniformity of expression as well, became the means by which Puritans intersubjectively validated the authenticity of their inescapably subjective experiences.<sup>3</sup>

A shared narrative, and the shared discourse which accompanies it, is a fundamental element for Word-based churches like Bunyan’s. Language and discourse perform the important social function of identifying the community within, as well as of excluding those who do not share the same discourse. The individual must be concerned with aligning his own human discourse to a divine ordering of language and meaning and with the social mechanics of this alignment, sharing narration with those who belong to the spiritual community, but shutting out the worldly narrative of those who do not. The power of narration must always be remembered; social and narrative ties have the strength and the duty to transform the discourse of others.

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) 372.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Hill, *A Turbulent, Seditious, and Factious People: John Bunyan and his Church 1628-1688*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) 64-65.

<sup>3</sup> Peter J. Carlton, “Bunyan: Language, Convention, Authority,” *ELH* 51 (1984): 27.

The initial portrayal of Christian's departure is remarkable for the extreme disjunction between Christian's new-found discourse and that of the other inhabitants of the City of Destruction. His warnings, based on his reading of the text of Scripture, are simply not comprehended by his family and neighbours: "At this his Relations were sore amazed; not for that they believed, that what he said to them was true, but because they thought, that some frenzy distemper had got into his head."<sup>4</sup> Christian's words are so disconnected from the empirical, practical world and words of his relations that communication simply becomes impossible; lacking the spiritual enlightenment and context of Scripture which would help them to an understanding, they put him to bed, hoping for a quick cure. As Christian begins to run, their words move from incomprehension to explicit threats and pleas, a precondition to the enmity between the discourses of the faithful and the faithless which we see in the Vanity Fair episode.

A similar reaction takes place when Christiana decides to embark on her journey. Here, the worldliness of the rival discourse is emphasised in the gossip circle which condemns her. They act as an anti-congregation to the spiritual community which will be established in the course of the story, by reinforcing vice in each other through evil report. Like Christian's words, Christiana's views appear as a form of madness or "fooling"<sup>5</sup> to Mrs. Timorous and her friends. The logic of her decision to brave the hardships of the journey is completely incomprehensible to her former friends, and Mrs. Inconsiderate emphasises the total lack of comprehension for Christiana's dialogue:

Should she stay where she dwels, and retain this her mind, who could live quietly by her? for she will either be dumpish or un-neighbourly, or talk of such matters as no wise body can abide: Wherefore, for my part, I shall never be sorry for her departure; let her go, and let better come in her room: 'twas never a good World since these whimsical Fools dwelt in it.<sup>6</sup>

Worldly society cannot accommodate itself to the discourse of the virtuous; Christiana's social alienation precedes her physical displacement because of the extreme disjunction between her conversation and the expectations of her intolerant neighbours. From the moment at which she accepts the truth of Christian's account, choosing to enter his narrative and acknowledging the authority of his words,

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<sup>4</sup> *PP*, 9.

<sup>5</sup> *PP*, 182-183.

Christiana chooses a discursive mode which implicitly condemns the carnal loyalties of her neighbours, and which is therefore perceived by them as a threat.

Unlike the reprobate characters in the allegory, who, apart from Ignorance (whose sin is his misguided self-sufficiency), tend to appear in groups,<sup>7</sup> Christian's journey, particularly at its beginning and during his passage through the Valley of Humiliation and the Valley of the Shadow of Death, reflects the darkness and isolation of the social outcast. This isolation makes clear the opposition between the state-sanctioned religion of the masses, a religion of appearance and superficial conformity, and the sincere and, in Bunyan's view, authentic belief of the select non-conformist congregation or individual seeker. Despite the necessity of a degree of isolation in his journey, Christian's solitude is not depicted as a desirable state. He must leave his family and neighbours in order to save his own soul, but only after he has been unsuccessful in his bid for company on the journey. The wrench of this displacement becomes a feature in the retelling of his story, particularly in Part Two, where Christian's leaving is also the beginning of the story of the conversion of his wife and children. It is also a recognition of the fact that Christian, unlike so many of the characters in our other novels, has *voluntarily* chosen his isolation. Christian's interview with Charity, predicated as it is by her loving nature, focuses on the abandonment of his family. She is concerned by his failure to convert them, but recognises that to remain in their company would have ensured Christian's own destruction, and absolves him "*of their blood if they perish.*"<sup>8</sup> Isolation, although better than bad company, is not as positive as good company. During the solitary portions of his journey, Christian, like Crusoe, overcomes his isolation by substituting conversation with himself for conversation with company:

Then I saw that they went on all, save that *Christian* kept before, who had no more talk but with himself, and that sometimes sighingly, and sometimes comfortably: also he would be often reading in the Roll that one of the shining ones gave him, by which he was refreshed.<sup>9</sup>

Unchecked subjectivity and self-reliance are consistently condemned in Bunyan's text. Christian's talk with himself, like Crusoe's, may be seen as an attempt to transcend this spiritual isolation by creating several voices for himself (a process

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<sup>6</sup> *PP*, 185.

<sup>7</sup> Simple, Sloth and Presumption; Formalist and Hypocrisy; Timorous and Mistrust; the inhabitants of Vanity Fair; By-ends, Money-love and Save-all.

<sup>8</sup> *PP*, 52.

<sup>9</sup> *PP*, 41.

similar to Bunyan's mental conversations during the most isolated portions of *Grace Abounding*). His dialogue, like Bunyan's, is also with the voice of Scripture.

Christian's varied reactions to his own conversation, and his simultaneous reading in the Roll, seem to indicate a conflation of the voice of the self and the voice of Scripture similar to those which appear in *Grace Abounding* and *Robinson Crusoe*. As is the case for Crusoe during his moments of constructive reflection, Christian's interior voice has the power to condemn and to comfort, without descending into the unsystematic and frantic shuttling between opinions and interpretations which characterise Crusoe's moments of disordered subjectivity. The relative peacefulness and calm of his interactions with himself are indications that Christian has moved beyond his desperate, incoherent, and undirected cries at the beginning of the text, "what shall I do?"<sup>10</sup> towards a structured and organised discourse, in which his own voice is aligned with the voice of Scripture as the authority which maintains its stability. In this context, transcending his subjectivity through a divided and reflecting self and aligning his own voice with that of Scripture, Christian's solitary conversation appears in the same role as his discourse with others. It leads him to a greater knowledge of his own situation and furthers his attempts to integrate his own narrative voice into the voice of Scripture, by following the path of the Scriptural narrative and understanding his own narrative (and his own discursive voice) within the greater narrative, which has the power to comfort or condemn.

The departure of Christian and later, of Christiana emphasises the need to avoid bad company, and to repudiate familial or neighbourly ties with those who refuse conversion. To rival these ties, a community of the faithful is set up in the course of the narrative, through the characters who offer assistance, usually of an interpretive nature, along the path, and through the shared discourse of fellow pilgrims, particularly in the recounting of past spiritual experiences. Christian's companions, Faithful and Hopeful, are the most important representatives of the community of pilgrims in Part One. Following the first sound of Faithful's voice, the narrator explicitly states the key benefits of companionship in Christian's spiritual journey:

First, because he gathered from thence, that some who feared God were in this Valley as well as himself.

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<sup>10</sup> *PP*, 8.

Secondly, For that he perceived God was with them, though in that dark and dismal state; and why not, thought he, with me, though by reason of the impediment that attends this place, I cannot perceive it.

Thirdly, For that he hoped (could he over-take them) to have company by and by. So he went on, and called to him that was before, but he [Faithful] knew not what to answer, for that he also thought himself to be alone ...<sup>11</sup>

Christian's discovery that he is not the only traveller in this path is central to his overcoming the trial of the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Faithful's verse is the famous quotation from Psalm 23, "*Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear none ill, for thou art with me.*"<sup>12</sup> His words become, to Christian, an indication of fellowship within the common language of Scripture. Christian's assessment of his own experience changes as he realises that his journey is not as solitary as he has believed. Others must walk the same path and the path, as a shared one, is more likely to be the correct one. This is only, however, assured by the presence of a third discourse, the voice of Scripture through which Faithful speaks to Christian, and which acts as the guarantor of the discourse of each of the characters. Christian is heartened by the presence of someone who fears God, by one who treads the same Scriptural path. He is further encouraged by the exemplary value of the voice. Faithful's words are the words of the comforted, and by comparing his own situation with Faithful's, Christian realises that comfort will come to him too, although he cannot perceive it. In this sense, Faithful becomes a mediating voice, reassuring Christian's mistaken perceptions and pointing out the way to salvation through his own example, correcting the temporary absence of a clear faith in the divine presence. It is no accident that morning arrives shortly after Christian hears the voice; it is only with Faithful's assistance that he is able to overcome the blindness of despair, which accompanies him through the two valleys.

Company on the path to salvation is valuable, first, for its exemplary value and, second, as an aid in avoiding dangers, physical and doctrinal, in the present. Christian and Faithful and Christian and Hopeful share their narratives with each other at the point of meeting. Throughout the text, conversation serves as a method of furthering spiritual growth. Listening to each individual's story, Christian must attempt to interpret the danger or the benefit to be derived from his companionship.

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<sup>11</sup> *PP*, 64.

<sup>12</sup> *PP*, 64.

Reprobation is most often indicated by suspicious linguistic traits or by an obvious, physical straying from the path, while the appeal to Scripture which characterises Christian's first contact with Faithful is a clear guarantee that Faithful walks the same path and speaks the same language. Faithful, through his martyrdom in Vanity Fair, acts as guarantor, by example and by association, for his successor, Hopeful:

... for there was one whose name was *Hopeful* (being made so by the beholding of *Christian* and *Faithful* in their words and behaviour, in their sufferings at the *fair*) who joyned himself unto him, and entring into a brotherly covenant, told him that he would be his Companion. Thus one died to make Testimony to the Truth, and another rises out of his Ashes to be a Companion with *Christian*.<sup>13</sup>

Following in the path indicated by the example of Faithful and, most importantly in the present context, influenced by the example of *their words*, Hopeful's virtuous intentions are not immediately questioned or examined by Christian. It is only during the journey over the Enchanted Ground, after several episodes, including the disastrous episode with Giant Despair, that Hopeful presents his story to Christian. The narrative, like several dialogues concerning aspects of doctrine and individual spirituality, occurs as an educational diversion during the journey, a presentation of experience as example similar to Christian's review of his own story during the examination scenes. It emphasises the importance of vigilance even in the deceptively leisurely portions of the spiritual journey. Knowledge of dangers in the past, even from the experience of others, provides a warning for the future. The sharing of narrative also provides reassurance concerning the universality of the experiences of sin and forgiveness. A receptive and judgmental listener validates, by approval or disapproval, the individual interpretation of experience, and the comparison of experiences helps to establish their universal elements, as well as reaffirming the common structure of individual narratives. The structural aspect of the narrative is emphasised particularly by Hopeful's organisation of his experience into lists, which, where they concern sinful activities and confused states of mind, indicate a newly-found control and rational ordering, the result of Hopeful's new perspective and the insight which springs from his conversion. The structural aspects of the narrative, as a recitation of the elements of experience universally necessary for salvation, are made even more conspicuous in contrast with the

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<sup>13</sup> *PP*, 98.

narrative of Ignorance which follows, and which lacks many of these very elements, particularly the moment of despair and the conviction of sin.

As members of the elect community, Christian and his companions also draw on social consensus to assist in discerning and avoiding danger, physical dangers on the surface level of the text, and doctrinal/spiritual dangers in the terms of the allegory. The mistake of the Giant Despair episode occurs because of Christian and Hopeful's failure to realise that in the context of their journey and of their knowledge, they are equal. Hopeful, as the younger and less experienced of the two, is too ready to trust Christian's guidance and interpretation of his surroundings. He errs by curbing his tongue, betraying the plain speech and sincerity which is the essence of Bunyan's recommendation for true Christianity: "*I would have spoke plainer, but that you are older than I.*"<sup>14</sup> In following Christian, he becomes distracted from the action which he knows is true and virtuous, the path dictated by God and not the detour recommended by his companion. Hopeful corrects his mistake, refusing to allow Christian precedence in returning along the path, although he does not succeed in averting the disaster caused by the detour. The need to walk single file on this path, rather than together, is a sign of degeneracy, a product of the mistaken trust in a worldly assessment of authority, just as was Christian's earlier desire to walk in front of Faithful, rather than by his side. Where Christian truly possesses a greater knowledge, in the encounter with Demas for example, or, when travelling with Faithful, in the encounter with Talkative, acknowledging his authority on this basis averts, rather than causing problems. When Christian is correct and can effectively justify his position in agreement with the norms of the divine narrative, as when he narrates and interprets the story of Little Faith, his plain, even abrupt speech is depicted as a positive trait, correcting Hopeful's misapprehension of the tale by a careful comparison with Biblical precedents and applying the lessons of both tales to Hopeful's own life. This shared interpretation, based on a communal process of narrating and of listening to and understanding narration, is the focus of the mutual support afforded by companionship in the progress towards salvation.

I have already mentioned the role of the examiners as assistants in the development of Christian's own interpretive abilities. In addition to assisting Christian's understanding of doctrine and of his individual experience, the examiners

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<sup>14</sup> *PP*, 112.



appear as enlightened members of a community into which Christian, through his interpretive activity, seeks to gain entrance. Critics have drawn attention to the significance of the House Beautiful as a representation of the Church Militant,<sup>15</sup> while the Interpreter can also be seen as providing guidance to Christian in a ministerial capacity. Evangelist, Good Will, the Interpreter and the inhabitants of the House Beautiful represent the social and communal aspect of Christian life. As guides, they perform the mediating function of the minister or pastor, assisting Christian in his attempts to retell his story as a part of the divine narrative, even when he is still unsure of his story's final outcome. As characters who exist in a state of rest and stability, fully obedient to divine aims and fully reconciled with God, these figures represent the communion of saints.

As living representatives of the company which, walking the path to salvation, has arrived successfully at the end of the journey, the examiners are strongly associated with the historical individuals who have exemplified and contributed to the fulfilment of the divine narrative. In the House Beautiful, Christian hears the history of the Church, both before Christ and afterwards, including prophecies for the future, "both to the dread and amazement of enemies, and the comfort and solace of Pilgrims."<sup>16</sup> The content of the lesson, centred on the specific deeds of specific individuals, is reminiscent of the tendency, shared by many of the Reformation churches, to trace back a pedigree or lineage of holy people and dissenters to the early church.<sup>17</sup> The creation of such an historical narrative bolsters the authority of the individual denomination or sect, portraying it as the culmination of a divinely-motivated design revealed through a series of righteous individuals, and is intended to supplant the claims of the Catholic Church to historical precedence and institutional authority. The type of community indicated by the stories at the House Beautiful is confirmed in Part Two, by the appearance of Gaius the Innkeeper<sup>18</sup> and Mr. Mnason,<sup>19</sup> both characters from the New Testament.

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<sup>15</sup> Roger Sharrock, "Notes" *PP*, Penguin Edition, 282.

<sup>16</sup> *PP*, 54.

<sup>17</sup> For example, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (see William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs ...*) and the Quaker compendium, Joseph Besse's *Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (1753) (See John R. Knott, "Joseph Besse and the Quaker Culture of Suffering," *The Emergence of Quaker Writing: Dissenting Literature in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Thomas Corns, David Loewenstein (London: Frank Cass, 1995) 126-141.)

<sup>18</sup> From Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

<sup>19</sup> From the Book of Acts.

Bunyan's condemnation of the reprobate characters in *The Pilgrim's Progress* is reflected in his depiction of their attitude towards the community of the faithful. I have already mentioned the tendency of reprobate characters to appear in groups, in contrast to the initial isolation of the pilgrim, because of the repudiation of his former social ties. For Christian, the sign of Talkative's bad character, in addition to the shifting meaning of his discourse, is that he "is for any company, and for any *talk*,"<sup>20</sup> that he manipulates his own identity according to the indiscriminate company he keeps. Baptism, whether by water and the spirit or simply by the spirit, is the ceremony of simultaneous naming and acceptance into the community. Both the institution of the community and the bestowing of the name derive their sanction from divine grace. Even the earthly aspects of existence, the identity of the individual and social interaction between individuals, are seen to be directly founded in a universal scheme.<sup>21</sup> Christian's family and social roles have been subsumed in his re-aligning of himself as "Christian," which new identity and new final goal informs all of his social transactions. Talkative's social identity and his language, by contrast, lack this grounding. He does not seem to know his own name, his own meaning as a signifier. Only Christian and Faithful, who have found in God an objective grounding for their names, one which reflects the purpose of their journey and social interactions, are able to perceive this. Talkative's ignorance of the exemplary aspect of his own character is a sign that he is completely ignorant of his own relation to God and is unaware of his spiritual location between the poles of good and evil, heaven and hell. The slipperiness and changeability of his own account of himself, of his own identity, reflects the placelessness which results from sin, the very placelessness which the pilgrims seek to overcome, through their voluntary assumption of allegorical names founded upon the universal scheme of spiritual norms, and through their travel.

The case of Ignorance appears in direct opposition to that of Talkative. Rather than manipulating or changing his opinions to suit the company he keeps, Ignorance rejects all company, refusing to modify his own, purely interior convictions. Ignorance errs by relying on his own certainty of election rather than

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<sup>20</sup> *PP*, 78.

<sup>21</sup> In the Book of Common Prayer, for example, baptism is one of the few sacraments in which the devil is specifically mentioned. In addition to functioning as a recitation of belief, the promises made at baptism clearly set out the poles (heaven and hell, good and evil, vice and virtue) between which earthly existence is (historically, at least) seen to take place.

any assurance received from God, and he also rejects good company, refusing to hear the concerns of Christian and Hopeful which might create a self-awareness to overcome his condition. "I take my pleasure in walking alone, even more a great deal than in Company, unless I like it better."<sup>22</sup> says Ignorance, repudiating the process of narrative sharing, so central to building the community of the faithful, at the same time as he displays his own arbitrary subjectivity. Whereas Christian and his companions use their conversation to reinforce their faith and to ensure by teaching and consensus that their religious views are not mistaken, Ignorance will only accept company which reconfirms his own view of himself. He takes no pleasure in "*talk[ing] away the time*,"<sup>23</sup> and his refusal to participate in this exercise accompanies his refusal to match his own discourse to the Word and to recognise his own sinfulness. When it emerges that his views do not match those of Christian and Hopeful, who have received revelations with Christ as their guarantor, Ignorance's equivocal answer and refusal to accept this truth is particularly damning: "*That is your faith, but not mine; yet mine I doubt not, is as good as yours: though I have not in my head so many whimsies as you.*"<sup>24</sup> Unlike Talkative, the nature of his faith does not change with the bad company he keeps, but it is not grounded in the truth provided by Christ, and resists the influences of the elect community, the members of which, if they agreed with his account of himself, might provide some more objective, or at least inter-subjective, confirmation of his election, and if they disagreed, might assist him to a more universal, and therefore more correct, understanding.

The disjunction between the language of the community of the faithful and worldly society appears most clearly during the Vanity Fair episode. The clothing of Christian and Faithful, the robes which provide a visual confirmation of their election, and their disregard for the wares of the Fair show that they do not belong, that "they are Outlandish-men."<sup>25</sup> More importantly, their speech is conspicuous: "for few could understand what they said; they naturally spoke the Language of *Canaan*; But they that kept the *fair*, were the men of this World: So that from one end of the *fair* to the other, they seemed *Barbarians* each to the other."<sup>26</sup> Their grave

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<sup>22</sup> *PP*, 144.

<sup>23</sup> *PP*, 144.

<sup>24</sup> *PP*, 149.

<sup>25</sup> *PP*, 90.

<sup>26</sup> *PP*, 90.

words, “*We buy the Truth*,”<sup>27</sup> are absolutely intolerable to the populace of the Fair, whose own chaotic, disjointed discourse is emphasised as “mocking,” “taunting,” “calling,” and “an hubbub.”<sup>28</sup> Whereas Christian and Faithful behave “very wisely, and soberly”<sup>29</sup> and return ill-treatment with kindness, demonstrating the consensus present between them as to their social behaviour, and its subjection to a greater rule, the inhabitants of Vanity Fair quarrel between themselves, some moved by the men’s example and others not, recognising no overwhelming rule for behaviour, and speaking “divers words” in which no social consensus is visible. In the trial itself, Faithful’s words are repeated and misinterpreted by witnesses, who, with those judging him, lack completely a context for understanding them because they, like Christian’s neighbours earlier, do not understand Scripture. It is only after Faithful’s death that the transforming activity of his example, in which words and action correspond as “a Testimony to the Truth,”<sup>30</sup> appears in Hopeful’s conversion, the making of a “brotherly covenant”<sup>31</sup> between Hopeful and Christian, and in the assurance that more of the men of the Fair will follow. This godly discourse works to build a community, rather than to cause chaos and destruction, as does the dissonant, fragmented discourse of the world.

The work of narrative to build community becomes increasingly important in *The Pilgrim’s Progress Part Two*, which depicts social interaction within the text, with the added dimension of the reading and rereading of Christian’s narrative and its influences upon the characters who follow his path. In Part Two, the sense of isolation and threat to the isolated pilgrim disappears, to a great extent because the narrative is the story of a travelling group, secure from the beginning within their shared discourse. According to Betty A. Schellenberg, “The epistemological mode of the sequel thus shifts from experimental proof of a timeless and revealed Word to guided consensus in the interpretation of a tradition.”<sup>32</sup> The numbers of the group and the presence of a guide dissipate the danger of rival discourses or mistaken interpretations. Rather than representing the possible variations of apostasy, as in Part One, Bunyan provides a new emphasis on the possible variations of spiritual

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<sup>27</sup> *PP*, 90.

<sup>28</sup> *PP*, 90.

<sup>29</sup> *PP*, 91.

<sup>30</sup> *PP*, 98.

<sup>31</sup> *PP*, 98.

<sup>32</sup> Betty A. Schellenberg, “Sociability and the Sequel: Rewriting Hero and Journey in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, Part II,” *Studies in the Novel* 23 (1991): 313.

experience, by representing the diverse stories of numerous pilgrims as well as through the Interpreter's reassuring words to Mercy that, although, unlike Christiana, she has not received divine revelations and a specific call, her spiritual experience and her election are not less legitimate. Here, with an entire family travelling and undergoing rites of passage as time passes along the way, it is even more obvious than in Part One that the community of the faithful in itself constitutes "home," and that this aspect of the community replaces physical rootedness with shared spiritual pilgrimage with its strong narrative focus.

The sympathetic listener appears as an integral part of social interaction through narrative in nearly all of the texts with which I am concerned. In order to create a shared language, individual characters must share a discourse with a common foundation (God) as well as a degree of sympathy/empathy towards each other. This empathy is demonstrated in the ability of the listener to participate vicariously in the experiences narrated to him or to her, internalising them on an emotional level and on a rational level, as exemplary warnings in lieu of personal experience. According to Kathleen Swaim, who bases her statement partly on J. Paul Hunter's work on spiritual autobiography:

The assumptions of everyman as storyteller and everyman as sympathetic and creative interpreter of others' stories fostered close observation of detail, developed speaking, listening, and interpreting skills, and encouraged a continuous consciousness of the intimate relation between human event and divine cause ... . The audience's responsive understanding of such narrations, like the events and articulation of the stories themselves, signaled infusions of grace in all participants.<sup>33</sup>

Christiana's central regret is her failure to listen sympathetically and to understand her husband, a failure which has resulted in a negation of the marital bond ("the loving bond of that Relation was utterly broken betwixt them"<sup>34</sup>). Her sense of guilt focuses on "how she did harden her heart against all his entreaties, and loving perswasions" and on "recalling to remembrance the restless Groans, brinish Tears and self-bemoanings of her Husband."<sup>35</sup> Christiana's recognition that Christian's words were, in fact, correct is, at one and the same time, a recognition of the legitimacy of his discourse and a recognition of the legitimacy of the master

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<sup>33</sup> Swaim, 140.

<sup>34</sup> *PP*, 177.

<sup>35</sup> *PP*, 177.

discourse which inspired it. According to N.H. Keeble, "Christian has quite literally saved his family by abandoning it: in preferring Christ before the creature he has made possible the salvation of the creature."<sup>36</sup>

Christian's wife, as the reader of his story, is able to understand his earlier words within the context of his relationship to God and of his relationship to his family. Her decision to set off on her own journey is predicated on the need to resolve her state of social and spiritual alienation, the result of unsympathetic listening which contradicts the sympathetic tendencies of marital love. Likewise, Mercy's decision to accompany Christiana occurs as a result of her emotional attachment to her friend and as a result of her sympathetic listening to Christiana's words. What Mercy hears during her visit to Christiana's house awakens in her the urge for further communication: "I will yet have more talk with this *Christiana*, and if I find Truth and Life in what she shall say, my self with my Heart shall also go with her."<sup>37</sup> Christiana's religious discourse is depicted as inherently attractive by virtue of its truth, a quality whose importance I have already outlined at length, and by virtue, very importantly, of its *life*. For Bunyan, narrative interaction becomes a desirable form of glorification, a vehicle for the endless interpretation of the multiple manifestations of a single, universal truth.

Mercy, like the other pilgrims whom the family meet along their way, becomes a representative of the possible variations in travelling experience. Unlike Christian, an example for every reader, Mercy is specifically described as an example for young girls. Her interactions with Christiana appear more realistic than the interactions between Christian and his almost interchangeable companions, Faithful and Hopeful, because of the differences between the experiences of the matron and her young companion. Although her narrative does not follow the pattern of Christiana's - she has received no letter of welcome, has had no portentous dreams, and decides to follow Christiana solely on the basis of her sympathy for Christiana as a friend and of the attraction of Christiana's message - Mercy is nonetheless accepted at the Wicket Gate. Christiana is responsible for encouraging her friend to accompany her, despite the lack of an invitation. Her efforts to intercede on Mercy's behalf at the gate, although well-intentioned, remain

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<sup>36</sup> N.H. Keeble, "Christiana's Key: The Unity of *The Pilgrim's Progress*," *The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views*, ed. Vincent Newey (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1980) 11.

<sup>37</sup> *PP*, 183.

ineffective. Mercy has to knock for herself and to trust in the mercy of Christ, as admittance into the company of the elect occurs only on an individual basis. The episode clarifies the role of virtuous companionship along the journey. Individual characters, whatever their characteristics and experiences, are able to sustain each other through the varied trials they encounter, and to assist and encourage each other towards and through those elements of the journey (the Wicket Gate, the River of Death) which must be passed through by each person. The social community remains subservient to the structuring principles of doctrine and to the master narrative through which individuals travel. The connections of love, blood, and marriage, when strengthened by virtuous and sympathetic narrative exchange, can modify individual perceptions, prevent individual mistakes, and encourage individual merit (as Christian's example does for Christiana, although her invitation comes from his King and not from him), but they are unable to influence the universal and preordained aspect of the pilgrimage.

Great-heart is an interesting figure, playing a role between that of the pilgrim and of the examiner or helper figures as they appear in Part One. As a guide who accompanies the pilgrims on the journey, his role is that of the pastor, shepherding his charges along the same path which he himself travels. As a fellow traveller, he is more individuated and more approachable than the static helpers and examiners, even though, at the end of the text, it becomes clear that he will not end his journey by crossing the River of Death like the others, but will return to escort other groups along the same path. Like the more static helpers, Great-heart lives within the Celestial City metaphorically and spiritually, rather than literally and spatially, dwelling within the Scriptural discourse at the same time as he helps others to approach Jerusalem, and thus fulfils his divinely-appointed role. In addition to defeating giants and dragons according to the conventions of the chivalric romance and in addition to providing interpretive guidance concerning the dangerous portions of the journey, Great-heart functions as an important repository of narrative. Because he has seen many characters travel the same path, he is able plausibly to retell their stories for the benefit of his present flock, without resorting to the rather clumsy device of hearsay evidence, with which Christian explains his in-depth knowledge of the story of Little Faith in Part One.<sup>38</sup> Where individual characters, for

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<sup>38</sup> *PP*, 125.

example, Mercy in the Valley of Humiliation, perceive a location differently from Christian in the previous narrative, Great-heart is able to compare this experience with his own and with the reports of other pilgrims (“*An experiment of it,*” according to the marginal gloss), explaining the similarities and differences between perceptions according to the variations in personality and moral susceptibility between individual characters: “I have gone thorough this Valley many a time, and never was better then when here. I have also been a Conduct to several Pilgrims, and they have confessed the same.”<sup>39</sup> Because of this wider and intersubjective perspective, Great-heart’s presence acts as a corrective to some of Christian’s mistakes, mistakes which spring from his tendency to subjective despair, his limited perspective, and his inexperience.

Within Part Two, Christiana’s children depict a final variant of the role of the religious narrator. Young though they appear at the beginning of the story, it is clear from early in the text that they join their mother freely on her pilgrimage, and, by doing so, become the narrators of their own stories. Mr. Sagacity, in his introduction to the tale, emphasises the individuality of the children, distinct from their mother: “*Christiana and her sons,*” “*Wife and Children and all?*” “both the good woman and her four boys,”<sup>40</sup> an individuality which is further emphasised by the non-allegorical names given to the children. The first impression of their narrative interactions with each other is one of voluntary familial unity, however; at the moment when Christiana accepts and acknowledges the legitimacy of Christian’s words in Part One, the whole family likewise acknowledges the legitimacy of Christiana’s discourse. The group become sympathetic listeners to the narrative of their father, reacting in unison with Christiana’s own regretful emotion: “With that the Boys fell all into Tears, and cryed out to go after their Father. ... Then they all wept again, and cryed out: Oh, Wo worth the day.”<sup>41</sup> and joyfully embracing the prospect of the journey. The boys’ status as future narrators is confirmed when they are catechised by Prudence on elements of Christian doctrine, a basic and general equivalent of the catechesis of Christian and Christiana’s personal experience by the series of examiners. Prudence’s recommendations to the children all focus on the elements of communication, specifically sympathetic communication; what people say to them is

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<sup>39</sup> *PP*, 240.

<sup>40</sup> *PP*, 177.

<sup>41</sup> *PP*, 178.



said for their improvement, the lessons taught by their surroundings appear with a purpose:

You must still harken to your Mother, for she can learn you more. You must also diligently give ear to what good talk you shall hear from others, for for your sakes do they speak good things. Observe also and that with carefulness, what the Heavens and the Earth do teach you; but especially be much in the Meditation of that Book that was the cause of your Fathers becoming a Pilgrim.<sup>42</sup>

Prudence concludes her recommendations by urging the boys to ask questions, to participate in the narrative exchange, which, for Bunyan, forms the basis of religious life. Their voices are heard throughout the remainder of the text, assisting the group of pilgrims in interpreting their experiences and perceiving their connections to Christian's text. True to their apostolic names, at the end of Part Two the boys have not crossed over the River of Death. Instead, they remain in the Land of Beulah "for the Increase of the Church in that Place where they were for a time."<sup>43</sup>

I would like to touch briefly on the final dimension of the community depicted in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, its extension outwards into the realm of the actual reader of the text. The dreamer, the narrator of the main text, appears as an exemplary reader. He narrates the work as it has been revealed to him, as a progressive revelation achieved through observing, or "reading" Christian's journey. This tendency to follow and observe, rather than anticipating and foreshadowing the actions of the protagonist is a further indication of the readerly nature of the dreamer's interaction with the text. It is strengthened by the continuous presence, throughout the work, of the introductory formulae, "I looked" and "I saw," constant reminders to the actual reader that Christian's text is being read, even at the very moment when his actions take place. The formulae return the actual reader from a state of vicarious participation, experiencing what Christian experiences, to a consciousness of the text as a text, as a work with a central didactic purpose which requires reflection and interpretation. This mirrors the process of personal introspection which Bunyan recommends in *Grace Abounding*,<sup>44</sup> in which personal experience, having taken place, is reflected upon in terms of its broader significance by the individual consciousness.

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<sup>42</sup> *PP*, 226.

<sup>43</sup> *PP*, 311.

<sup>44</sup> *GA*, 3.

There are specific lessons to be derived from the two works. Reprobate characters warn against particular sins, assisting readers, through comparison with them, in discerning their election: “*Would’st read thy self, and read thou know’st not what / And yet know whether thou art blest or not, / By reading the same lines?*”

<sup>45</sup> By following these warnings, individuals may avoid the mistakes of characters in the text.<sup>46</sup> Elements of the landscape make certain spiritual states, and the best way through them, memorable. Readers should read their own experiences into the text, using Christian’s story as a mnemonic aid for their spiritual and interpretive journeys, as is stated in the first prologue: “Art thou forgetful? ... Then read my fancies, they will stick like burrs, / And may be to the helpless, comforters.”<sup>47</sup> According to the prologue to Part Two, the strength of association with exemplary characters correspondingly strengthens the impact of the texts. Individual readers should draw lessons from the actions of the positive characters who most resemble themselves. Mercy is an example to encourage young maids; the figure of Honest may convert old men.<sup>48</sup> A further specific function of the text, described in the prologue, involves the activity of interpreting an allegory as an exercise in useful diversion. The work pleases, by its novelty, but the process of discerning the truth contained within its “dark figures”<sup>49</sup> improves the capability of the intellect for moral reflection. As Bunyan claims, summarising the functions of the allegory, it “*Informes the Judgement, rectifies the Mind, / Pleases the Understanding, makes the Will / Submit.*”<sup>50</sup> Ideal readers, recognising the “*sound and honest Gospel-strains,*”<sup>51</sup> the inner, spiritual truth of the text, will read the text in all of the dimensions described in the prologues, strengthening their faith and conduct in imitation of the pilgrims, and thus extending the spiritual community into the actual world.

During the conversation between the dreamer and Mr. Sagacity, the exemplary purpose of the narrative is hinted at by the dreamer, who hopes that the report may impel other readers/listeners to follow Christian’s example: “*I also am glad for that a Rumour of these things is noised abroad in this Countrey; Who can*

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<sup>45</sup> PP, 7.

<sup>46</sup> “*Yea, it will make the sloathful active be; / The Blind also, delightful things to see.*” PP, 6-7.

<sup>47</sup> PP, 6

<sup>48</sup> PP, 172.

<sup>49</sup> PP, 7.

<sup>50</sup> PP, 5.

<sup>51</sup> PP, 7.

tell but that it may work some good effect on some that are left behind?"<sup>52</sup> Readers are encouraged to follow the path to virtue in general:

*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.*<sup>53</sup>

By allowing the text to affect them, readers, like Christian or Christiana, may be led towards salvation. This type of reading is at once intellectual, spiritual, and emotional and mirrors the process of sympathetic listening, a union of vicarious participation and conscious reflection, prefigured throughout the texts: "*O then come hither, / And lay my Book, thy Head and Heart together.*"<sup>54</sup> Reading transfigures the reader. Entry into a text, into a new, true, and authoritative discourse, is an entry into a community of narrators, readers, and interpreters, all of whose words are based upon this shared truth. The narrative exchange which characterises interaction within the text is extended, through the reading process, to include the actual reader, a reader who accompanies Christian on the journey through the allegorical landscape.

According to Bunyan, the earthly community of the elect is able to provide a foretaste of the heavenly communion of saints. This earthly community, based on the mutual exchange of religious experiences through narrative, is depicted as a positive alternative to the alienation and isolation felt by the virtuous individual travelling through a sinful world. The exchange of stories, a pattern of sympathetic listening and benevolent narration which is the foundation of the community, is a device for integrating the fate of the individual into a larger, more comprehensive narrative. Narrative exchange acts as a form of intersubjective legitimation of individual experience: by relating his experiences to others, the narrator is able to verify his perceptions and interpretations, correcting them when other members of the community possess a superior knowledge of the things perceived and the lessons drawn from them. Likewise, through narrative exchange members of the community are able to compare their experiences and to understand their common elements and common dangers, simultaneously coming to some understanding of the individual aspects of their own personalities which cause them to be particularly susceptible to

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<sup>52</sup> *PP*, 176.

<sup>53</sup> *PP*, 6.

<sup>54</sup> *PP*, 7.

certain dangers or fears during the common journey. This occurs in the comparison of different perceptions of the Valley of Humiliation in Part Two, for example. As an individual narrative, the story of each character becomes one of the infinite number of component-stories of the Scriptural narrative, which is the story and, in Mercy's words, the "life" of all creation. By extension, through the pilgrims' example, actual readers of the text are encouraged to understand their own stories according to their Scriptural context. Bunyan's vision of the righteous community and of the regenerate world is a vision of a narrative paradise, structured and sustained by an endless narrative exchange, a manifold generation and regeneration of the single, universal narrative told by the divine Narrator.

### B. *Schnabel*

Like the vision of parallel integration which appears in Bunyan's texts, Schnabel's novel is concerned with overcoming the homeless state of its individual characters, socially and spiritually as much as physically. The physical island may truly be described as a narrative paradise, as the bulk of the reader's knowledge of the island is filtered through three levels of narration, the accounts of Albertus, Eberhard, and the editorial figure, Gisander. The community present on the island is, as I have already argued, a community of the elect built around the shared process of narrating and listening. For Schnabel, no less than for Bunyan, community is derived from honest and complete communication, while reprobate characters and the sinful world are characterised by a lack of sympathy and a lack of truthfulness, which accompany the sense of social alienation experienced by narrating characters in the course of their travels. Narrative and the physical transformation of landscape are closely linked throughout the novel, functioning to build and maintain the utopian Felsenburg society.

If, for Bunyan, narration and conversation are primarily didactic in nature, serving spiritual aims, for Schnabel these are a curious mix of the didactic and the entertaining. Within the text, narration is of great importance in building the Felsenburg society, but the romance elements of the individual life stories, along with reports of sensational archaeological discoveries and demonic visitations tend to agree with the claims of the title page, that the novel is "Curieusen Lesern aber zum

vermuthlichen Gemüths-Vergnügen ausgefertigt.“<sup>55</sup> The Felsenburg characters display a delight in narration, to the extent that attempts are made to delay the deaths of Lemelie and, later, of another castaway, so they can properly recount their stories. This connection between life and narrative is also significant for Don Cyrillo de Valaro, whose ghostly visitations occur in connection with his writings. He visits in order to reveal the location of his narrative, later reappearing to remind Albertus that he must read them in order to survive. In this case, the presence of his narrative on the island moves beyond its participation in the creation of the society through survival advice, as would be expected, to the physical manifestation of the ghost and his physical interaction with Albertus and Lemelie. Although the delight in narration tends at times to subvert the novel's claimed didactic role, within the text instances of narration generally play a role beyond the merely entertaining.

The life stories narrated in Volume One, like the graveyard which acts as an empirical encapsulation, bring the island's past into its present, recreating this past in the minds of the consenting listeners. As a result, the new inhabitants of the island, particularly Eberhard, Wolfgang, and Schmeltzer, possess not only blood, marriage or spiritual connections to the island, but a narratorial connection which encompasses the total individual experiences which are the building blocks of the Felsenburg society as a whole. That the society is itself created out of narration is emphasised by the important assistance of Don Cyrillo's written account in matters technical and practical, as by the institution of Concordia and Albertus' loving relationship through narrative. Albertus, relating his life story to Concordia for the first time, remarks particularly on her active participation in it as a sympathetic listener, a sympathy which signals their mutual love:

Ich ... vermerckte, daß bey Erwähnung meiner Kinderjährigen Unglücks-Fälle Concordien zum öfftern die Augen voller Thränen stunden, doch da ich nachhero die Geschichten von der Ammtmanns Frau, der verwechselten Hosen, und den mir gespielten Spitzbuben-Streich, mit offft untermengten Schertz-Reden erzehlete, konte sie sich fast nicht satt lachen.<sup>56</sup>

Once Concordia has finally (after more than a year alone with Albertus on the island) heard Albertus' complete life-story, her offer of marriage is quick to follow. The account seems to fulfil the practical function of assuring her further of his

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<sup>55</sup> *WF I*, title page.

<sup>56</sup> *WF I*, 260 (235 Reclam).

“Frömmigkeit, Tugend und Aufrichtigkeit,”<sup>57</sup> but it also, as in our other texts, emphasises the difficulty of truly knowing someone until their entire life story has been told. It is significant that she only allows herself to ask for the story when the period of mourning for van Leuven has been completed, when she is free to engage in the receptive listening relationship between man and wife, the sympathetic and appreciative listening which Christiana, in Bunyan’s text, has transgressed.

Within the individual life stories, including the European portions of the tales, sympathetic listening fulfils a similar role. Listeners who are willing to hear and understand the whole story of a characters’ experiences, like the Catholic bishop in Tischler Lademann’s story of St. Boniface and the ducats, respond positively and benevolently to the plight of the narrator, a true and honest response to true and honest narration: “und schadet hierbey gar nichts, daß er seinem eigenen Geständnisse nach ein Ketzer ist, denn man muß die Treue und Redlichkeit, als eine von den vornehmsten Haupt-Tugenden, auch in den Feinden belohnen.”<sup>58</sup> Virtue is generally signalled by sympathetic listening and by true and complete narrative, vice, particularly Catholic vice, by lying and deception. Because of the emphasis on and appreciation of youthful “Streichen” in the life stories, however, F.J. Lamport’s observation that the main narrators are themselves prone to deception is a legitimate one,<sup>59</sup> although these pranks generally do not have the same violent and almost satanic results as the deceptions of the enemies of the narrators.

The social framework of the lives of the narrators of the life stories tends to become disrupted when they are displaced or orphaned at an early age. Narrative and sympathetic listening sometimes overcome this alienation temporarily, enabling individual characters to receive an education or to learn a profession, preparing them for their final destination, the Insel Felsenburg. Thus, in the story of Mathematicus Litzberg, the sympathetic listener, a Saxon noblewoman, rescues him from the Swedish commander who is the unsympathetic listener to his true and uncensored tale. These solutions, however, always remain temporary, and it is not until arrival on the island, the final destination and point of rest, that the social function of the life stories becomes truly effective.

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<sup>57</sup> *WF I*, 262 (237 Reclam).

<sup>58</sup> *WF II*, 338.

<sup>59</sup> Lamport, 13.

The social function of the life stories is most clearly and systematically represented in the individual autobiographies in the second volume. In this volume, whose basic structure appears to have been planned by Schnabel from the very beginning (the end of the second volume returns to the starting part of the first, the fiction of the found manuscript), the sequence of stories is predicated on social position rather than on chronological considerations. Herr Magister Schmeltzer, the Lutheran pastor, is the first to tell his tale, thereby setting up the paradigms for the narration of the other life-stories. He is followed by Mathematicus Litzberg, Chirurgus Kramer and Mechanicus Plager, the most educated tradesmen, and thereafter by those less literate and more practical. His glossing of his own tale by adding a moral verse at the end, a feature not present in any of the stories in the earlier volume, underlines its exemplary significance, and is imitated by the others. By the end of the volume, we possess half of the collection of stories of the new members of the congregation, and Eberhard indicates that the other stories have been told, although there is no room for them within the second volume. The accounts of conversions or repentance and reformation which appear in each of the narratives, further reinforce the similarities in form and function to the spiritual autobiographies in Bunyan's texts.

As in the variety of life experiences reported by Bunyan's second generation of travellers, whatever the varied content of the life-stories of Schnabel's narrators, the final conclusions are similar and universal, emphasising the total nature of the integration which is the result of presenting the total narrative. Each character emphasises the blessed nature of life on the island, expressing contentment with living piously and quietly and repenting of past excesses, invokes the stability and personal happiness which is the result of the marriage bond with a native Felsenburg woman, and wishes that he may be of use, particularly in the context of his profession, to his friends on the island and the island civilisation as a whole. This similar conclusion, with its focus on rootedness and integration seems to indicate that all of the narratives are performing a similar function, sealing the acceptance of the newcomers by the Felsenburg natives.

Several important factors add to this impression. First, within the first volume Captain Wolfgang plays the important role of mediator in conveying the newcomers to the island both physically and through narration. The progression of the story of his earlier path to Felsenburg mirrors the physical approach to the island

and his story, like Schmeltzer's, serves as a model for the further individual life stories and for the correct interpretation of the significance of acceptance on the island. Wolfgang, within the individual life stories in the second volume, is depicted as a messenger sent by Providence, bridging the gap between the reprobate world and the earthly paradise and conveying the repentant and displaced sinners to a physical salvation in his ship, with all of its metaphorical connotations. It is thus significant that the first two stories in the second volume are narrated in association with the moments in which Wolfgang seals his own integration into Felsenburg society, following his marriage and following the baptism of his first child.<sup>60</sup> These moments are collectively significant for the whole community, as celebrations which include the entire population, and which symbolically unite the first representative of the alien newcomers and a Felsenburg native.

The unifying process is continued in the narrative activity which accompanies the communal celebration. Immediately after Litzberg ends his story, the second autobiography, the group of listeners is surrounded by a delegation of newcomers and Felsenburgers, all of whom wish to be married as soon as possible. From the group of listeners, Schmeltzer and Litzberg confess that they, too, are ready to complete their integration into the group. As a result, all of the newcomers except Eberhard, who is already connected to the local population by blood, are married at the same time. Following this mass marriage, the narratives cease to appear at key events for the unification of the society. Rather, they occur at moments which demonstrate the efficiency and competence of the role played by the newly-integrated individuals in the society. Their accomplishments on the island are reviewed at the same time as their past narratives are heard. Rather than taking place in a central location, the Alberts-Burg, these stories, like the stories in the first volume, are narrated in the individual districts in which each character lives. The locations emphasises the rootedness of each individual, united around the central moral structures of the society, emphasised by the presence of Albertus Julius as listener.

The function of the listeners in forming an interpretation of the accounts through a common consensus, led by Albertus Julius in his priestly and patriarchal role, is important. This second aspect of the process of integration appears in the

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<sup>60</sup> *WF II*, 6, 81.



reception of the narratives by the listeners. At times Eberhard outlines the manner of narration appreciatively, but, more importantly, the listening group frequently discusses aspects of the story they have heard, and in one case Albertus Julius even provides a Biblical interpretation of the narrative. In this instance, Müller Krätzer, whose description of his conversion appeared in the second chapter, concludes his narrative somewhat ashamedly, obviously concerned that the confession of his past sins may influence his acceptance in the present. Albertus Julius leads the interpretation and acceptance of the narrative according to Biblical norms, a hint that the presence of Magister Schmeltzer on the island has not lessened his status as the spiritual head of the society:

Der Alt-Vater nahm hierauf unsern Philipp Krätzer bey der Hand und sagte: Mein lieber Sohn! Unser Heyland thut uns in der heil. Schrifft klärlich zu wissen, was vor Freude im Himmel sey über einen Sünder der Busse thut; derowegen müste derjenige ein Gottesvergessener ruchloser Mensch seyn, welcher euch als einen solchen Menschen, an dem GOtt seine heilsame Gnade gantz sonderbar offenbahret hat, geringer als andere Menschen achten wolte. Wenn wir ingesammt unser Gewissen fragen und nach dem Gesetze prüfen, so wird sich wohl kein einziger finden, der sich eines besondern Vorzugs vor andern sündhafften Menschen rühmen kan. Ach ich befürchte leyder, daß Manasse, Paulus und andere dergleichen Heilige, an jenem Tage zwar genug Sünden - aber nicht so viel Buß-Genossen antreffen werden.<sup>61</sup>

Krätzer's story is measured both against Biblical authority and against human conduct, and his true repentance, his acceptance of the norms of Scriptural authority, is approved of when measured against the Bible, and thought, indeed, to be extraordinarily virtuous in comparison with the conduct of most of mankind. This formal acceptance by the representative of the civilisation governed according to Scriptural law seals both Krätzer's acceptance by the society and confirms his spiritual salvation, through the presence of the virtuous and objective listeners.

A further example of post-narrative discussion occurs at the end of Mechanicus Plager's story, when the group debates the rights and wrongs of his past conduct. The debate results in a concise enumeration of his sins, an exegesis of his story which makes the mistakes of the past explicit as warnings for the conduct of others in the future, in the same manner that Christian frequently reviews and interprets his own past mistakes:

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<sup>61</sup> *WF II*, 400.

Also endigte Mons. Plager die Erzählung seiner Lebens-Geschicht, aus welcher wir, an seiner Person und gantzen Wesen, nichts anders zu tadeln fanden: als daß er sich der hefftigen Gold-Begierde, und denn dem Jäh-Zorne allzu starck überlassen, den Vermahnungen seines sterbenden Vaters nicht besser nachgelebt, und sich an dessen Exempel gespiegelt hätte, denn wie er annoch selbst bekennete, so hatte er die meiste Gesellschaft mit unchristlichen Leuten, Quakern und Mennonisten gepflogen, wie denn auch sein ehebrecherisches Weib eine übel conduisirte Reformirte gewesen war.<sup>62</sup>

Plager is criticised for not learning from the experience and warnings of his father, reflecting his failure to recognise the inherent didactic value of bad experiences, a moral position which provides the justification for the narration of past sins, according to the defence of such narratives in the introduction to the second volume:

Deinen Principiis nach dörrften solchergestalt gar keine Historien von allerley Lastern, Mord, Diebstreichen und dergleichen geschrieben werden, und zwar unter dem läppischen Vorwande, daß nicht etwa ein oder anderer zu dergleichen Lastern angereitet werden möchte. ... hierbey aber werden die gezeigten üblen Folgerungen, Straffen, Erkänntniß und Reue über dergleichen Sünden, als der eigentliche Spiegel in keine Consideration gezogen.<sup>63</sup>

Plager's judgement also outlines the importance of avoiding bad company, particularly the company of those of other confessions, who do not share the same discourse, the same understanding of divine law, or the same "reine[] und unverfälschte[] Evangelische[] Wahrheit"<sup>64</sup> as the "redliche[] Leute"<sup>65</sup> on the island. The narrative process confirms the acceptance of individuals into the society. It also reinforces societal norms by provided the subject-matter which is the basis for an interpretation arrived at through the process of discussion and mutual consensus, a function similar to that described above, regarding the function of the spiritual autobiography in nonconformist congregations. Schnabel's pietistic upbringing is in all likelihood a source which contributes to the depiction of these functions of narrative, as it does to the structure of the entire society.

Schnabel's *Wunderliche Fata*, like Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, is full of writers and readers, storytellers and listeners. The sheer volume of narrative activity surrounding the island, with its important socially-constructive functions, tends to implicitly encompass the reader who ideally, following the model of the characters

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<sup>62</sup> *WF II*, 317-318.

<sup>63</sup> *WF II*, "Introduction," 6.

<sup>64</sup> *WF II*, 561.

130

in the novel, provides a sympathetic audience, participates vicariously in the reported events and learns from the moral lessons of the life stories. This believability and the sense of inclusion in relation to the reader is the product of the illusion of two-way communication between the island and the reader's empirical surroundings, and of the sheer breadth and the particularity of Schnabel's vision. The use of documentary material, including maps, genealogical tables, dinner seating plans, sermons, cantatas, organ specifications, letters and diagrams, combined with Schnabel's tendency to borrow events and anecdotes from non-fictional texts, provides a sense of realistic specificity even on the imaginary island. The island itself is described in thorough and complete detail by several narrators, creating the impression of a microcosmic paradise, whose existence extends from the past into the present and future. Perhaps most importantly, characters constantly move from the world of the actual reader of Schnabel's time to Felsenburg. Eberhard Julius, Captain Wolfgang and Captain Horn make multiple trips between the worlds. Most importantly, Gisander, the master editor, remains in Europe. Like the wider public, he claims merely to read (and to arrange) a text which appears as an account of a real society in a real location. Despite Gisander's ambiguous comments in the introduction to the first volume,<sup>65</sup> the overwhelming illusion of the text is that of a society formed of individual narrators, a society which we, the readers of the text, could join, if we could but find a map to the island.

Upon the Insel Felsenburg, autobiographical narration performs a role very similar to that which it plays in *The Pilgrim's Progress* and, indeed, in portrayals of Bunyan's historical congregation. In addition to cementing the ties of blood and marriage which structure the society at the time when Eberhard Julius first encounters it, narrative is used to create a sense of community which transcends time. Through the processes of storytelling and sympathetic listening, the characters in the novel, as well as the readers of the text, come to understand the past history of the island settlement. Like the representatives of the early church, whose stories Christian reads in the House Beautiful, the similarities between the stories of the founders of the Felsenburg society and the newcomers emphasise the existence of a continuous community based on a single narrative model and a shared set of norms and referents. The perception of the empirical reality of the island is, to a great

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<sup>65</sup> *WF II*, 568.

<sup>66</sup> *WF I*, "Introduction," 5 (7 Reclam).

extent, predicated upon these referents, in the form of significant elements of the Felsenburg topography, man-made memorials to past events and celebrations of important anniversaries and birthdays, with the result that the lives of characters from the past are constantly present, structuring the day-to-day lives of the inhabitants. The fictional text, obviously, is based in multi-layered narrative, but it is equally true that life on the island, according to the reports of its citizens, is structured by listening and narration.

### C. *Grimmelshausen*

As the most ambiguous and problematic text with which I am concerned, *Simplicissimus* presents some interpretive difficulties, particularly in episodes which call the narrator's truthfulness into question. Characters in our other texts seek to build their social surroundings through a commonly-agreed narrative discourse, visible both in terms of the format of their narratives and in the individual elements of their language. In all three cases, a concern with honesty and plain speech accompanies the creation of the discursive community. By telling their stories to sympathetic listeners, individual characters receive a recognition of their own identities which transcends their own subjective evaluations of their experiences. *Simplicissimus*, by contrast, presents a narrator who acknowledges his own tendency to lie, carried away by the sheer joy of narration.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, in numerous episodes telling the truth becomes difficult or impossible, because of Simplicius' unsympathetic audiences and his depiction of language as fundamentally flawed and ambiguous. From Simplicius' inability to understand his "Knan" at the beginning of the text, language and narration have become so problematic that they are unable to afford anything but moral reflections on the variability and corruption of human experience and society. The salvation depicted in the *Continuatio*, although exemplary, remains individual.

Where *Simplicissimus* differs radically from the works of Schnabel and Bunyan is in the extremely individual nature of the salvation it proffers. Little or no prospect of social integration appears in Grimmelshausen's vision; even with sympathetic figures in the narrative, social interaction is almost universally problematic. Simplicius' interaction with his real father, the hermit, is sympathetic,

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<sup>67</sup> *ST*, 527-531 (VI, xiv).

but the hermit imparts only one part of his knowledge to Simplicius, hiding from him knowledge of the wicked world, as well as knowledge of the hermit's own identity. He also abandons Simplicius to the world and refuses to contact his friend and brother-in-law in Hanau.<sup>68</sup> This refutation of *all* social relations throws the hermit's recommendation of "Beständigkeit" into question. At times it appears more cold and self-preserving than kind and virtuous. Simplicius, erring in the opposite direction, lies several times in the course of his friendship with Herzbruder,<sup>69</sup> his good intentions frequently interfering with the straightforward communication necessary for a trusting relationship. Even on the island, Simon Meron first plots Simplicius' murder,<sup>70</sup> then succumbs to the lures of palm wine,<sup>71</sup> rather than working with Simplicius to achieve something like the perfect social integration present on the Insel Felsenburg.

Blood and marital relations, so central to building the society in the *Wunderliche Fata*, are of little use to Simplicius. His marriages are topsy-turvy marriages, destructive rather than constructive in terms of his social integration. Following his comical first marriage he leaves Lippstadt, one of the few places of rest in the novel, where he has achieved some measure of rootedness and positive social success. In the second, he discovers his wife to be the reverse of the virtuous and hard-working farm girl he had expected. His second marriage is responsible for blurring the ties of blood, as Simplicius' real son is born out of wedlock and a bastard son and presumed heir born within. The confusion of sexual relations, relations which in the *Wunderliche Fata* are the basis for an entire society, is also reflected in the confusion into which Simplicius plunges himself by assuming women's clothing. This leads to men falling in love with him,<sup>72</sup> an inversion of normal experience, and, more radically, destroys an entire network of family relationships, as father, son, and mother vie for his affections. Even disregarding the possible significance of Herman the Pseudo-Hermaphrodite as an alchemical

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<sup>68</sup> "Der Gouverneur fragte / ob sein seel. Schwager nicht gewust hätte / daß er der Zeit in Hanau commandire? Freylich / antwortet der Pfarrer / ich habs ihm selbst gesagt; Er hat es aber (zwar mit einem fröhlichen Gesicht und kleinem lächlen) so kaltsinnig angehört / als ob er niemals keinen Ramsay gekennt hätte / also daß ich mich noch / wenn ich der Sach nachdencke / über dieses Manns Beständigkeit und vesten Vorsatz verwundern muß / wie er nemlich übers Hertz bringen können / nicht allein der Welt abzusagen / sondern auch seinen besten Freund / den er doch in der Nähe hatte / so gar auß dem Sinn zu schlagen!" ST, 65 (I, xxiii).

<sup>69</sup> ST, 65 (I, xxiii).

<sup>70</sup> ST, 557-559 (VI, xx).

<sup>71</sup> ST, 565 (VI, xxii).

<sup>72</sup> ST, 169-171 (II, xxv).

symbol, his strangely mixed dress and hermaphroditic appearance are indicative, at the important liminal moment of Simplicius' entry into Hanau, of the chaotic nature of social relations in the fallen world. The suspicion under which Simplicius finds himself after addressing the hermaphroditic figure according to its appearance also denotes the peril of social interaction. Voicing an honest perception leads to incomprehension, even danger; Simplicius, with the insight which comes from speaking truthfully, in fact comes close to Herman's real name. His true speech is viewed only negatively by the suspicious soldiers of the garrison, and he is arrested.

The depiction of signification as fundamentally problematic appears even in the final, allegorical chapters of the *Continuatio*. Cornelissen's crew, as uncomprehending readers, interact destructively with their surroundings and with Simplicius. Their complete failure to understand his speech and his inscriptions leads them to label him "ein purer Narr"<sup>73</sup> and to destroy his physical home. Compared with the evidence of Simplicius' spiritual enlightenment as it is displayed to the actual reader of the text and to Jean Cornelissen, this becomes a condemnation of their inability to transcend their own ignorance. The sailors misread Simplicius' text in a very empirical way, in failing to heed the warning inscription on the plum tree. This misreading signifies a metaphorical inability to escape the delusions caused by a perceptive ability fundamentally warped by sin. Eating the fruit makes these latent delusions visible. It is an example of reading/eating only the outward appearance of the text<sup>74</sup> (and the world), without ingesting the inner kernel of truth, the moral which would complete the vision. In their destructive activities and in their folly, the crew become representatives of worldly man, reading the partial sense of the text, but never understanding it as the manifestation of an inherent divine order. They are castigated for their bestial behaviour by Simplicius in several satirical comments,<sup>75</sup> but their primary sin is their ignorance, a total misunderstanding of themselves and their circumstances, which results in a state of visible chaos, the very antithesis to an ordered, harmonious society.

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<sup>73</sup> ST, 572 (VI, xxiv).

<sup>74</sup> Gersch sees the sailors as "Repräsentanten des Lesepublikums" (135).

The insufficient nature of a purely spiritual understanding of the world is reflected in the delusions of two of the sailors, one who has visions of heaven and the other who has visions of hell; as in the case of Simplicius' father, the hermit, the merely spiritual perspective is not sufficient but rather BOTH the spiritual and empirical experience must be accounted for, understood, and reconciled in narrative activity.

<sup>75</sup> ST, 581 (VI, xxvi).

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Jean Cornelissen, the captain of the Dutch ship, is the first reader of Simplicius' story, a positive example of appreciative reading contrasted with the metaphorical misreadings of his crew. Like other exemplary readers, the dreamer, Crusoe's English captain, or Eberhard Julius, for example, Cornelissen displays a path from limited knowledge to a greater, but not perfect, understanding as a result of his reading. This greater understanding leads to a greater ability to comprehend his surroundings, demonstrated in the retrospective commentary which pervades his report of the encounter with Simplicius. He refers to his lack of comprehension when he first reads Simplicius' inscriptions on the island:

... doch waren uns alle solche kurtze und sinnreiche Sprüche lauter  
rätlicherisch und dunckele Oracula, auß denen wir aber gleichwol  
abnehmen kondten / daß ihr Author kein Narr: sonder ein sinnreicher  
Poet: insonderheit aber ein Gottseeliger Christ seyn müste / der viel  
mit Betrachtung himmlischer Ding umbehe [...] <sup>76</sup>

His reported incomprehension contrasts with his description of the inscriptions directly preceding the quotation, in which he seems to display a fair understanding of the meaning of the writings, and of the physical memorials on the island. At the time, however, without some knowledge of Simplicius' story, the words remain full of inaccessible meaning, signifiers, like the riddle of Simplicius' identity, which simply cannot be understood. Only the ship's chaplain seems to glimpse some of the significance of the inscriptions, displaying the keen perception shown by other religious authorities throughout the story, and interprets them for the rest of the ship's officers. Cornelissen does not share in these abilities. Like other narrating readers, his level of knowledge lies between the truly enlightened and the supremely ignorant, and mirrors the knowledge of the supposed reader of the actual work, one informed enough to recognise the moral significance of the text, but so trapped in worldly life as to require instruction and to desire self-improvement.

However sympathetic and however receptive, Cornelissen nonetheless remains an unenlightened figure, unable to understand the level of illumination which Simplicius has reached. He becomes lost in the cave, according to Gersch an allegorical representation of the search for divine light.<sup>77</sup> As a reader of Simplicius' text, and as the recipient of his mercy, Cornelissen observes, but does not participate in, the important generation of autobiographical narrative. His account provides a

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<sup>76</sup> *ST*, 573 (VI, xxiv).

<sup>77</sup> Gersch, 114-116.

positive description of Simplicius, eyewitness proof of Simplicius' spiritual enlightenment, but he understands Simplicius as a wonder or a novelty, rather than as a purveyor of moral lessons. The story only completes Simplicius' solitary narrative, it does not create the mutual narrative exchange which is so important in our other texts. Jean Cornelissen reads and appreciates Simplicius' story, but he is not led to the same state of enlightenment, a state which, in Simplicius' case, leads inevitably to narrative, in the form of the complete life story, and to conversion. Cornelissen leaves the island, and he does not take Simplicius with him. The only community which may be established through their narrative interaction is the potential community between Simplicius' life story and its readers, both actual and fictional. The integrating functions of Simplicius' discourse remain potential, although Cornelissen and his chaplain indicate a basic receptivity to the text.

The list of problematic social relationships could extend much further; in fact, perhaps the single unambiguously positive, if rather comical, relationship depicted in the novel is that between Simplicius and his "Knan," who, although simple, is a competent farmer and may be entrusted with the management of Simplicius' property. It is on this basis that a more integrated social vision, a possible alternative to virtuous isolation, appears in the friendly community on Simplicius' farm depicted in *Der Seltzame Springinsfeld*. Although I have decided not to examine the "Simplicianische Schriften" in detail in this dissertation, I will extend the parameters of my text to examine the frame narrative of *Springinsfeld*, simply because in *Springinsfeld*, unlike *Simplicissimus*, Simplicius does appear to transcend some of the more problematic aspects of his life in a sinful society, creating a community which, like the communities presented on the Insel Felsenburg, in the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and at the end of *Robinson Crusoe*, consists of a shared narrative model, a trust built on honest communication and sympathetic listening. Having aligned himself with the discourse of Providence, shown in his insight into divine truths on the island, and having gained recognition of his own narrative discourse by sending it to the European world, shown in the exemplary figure of the receptive reader, the scribe Philarchus Grossus von Tromenheim, Simplicius is able to return (through a roundabout path) to an improved version of his former life.

The conversation which leads to Springinsfeld's life story begins in association with the previous narratives of Simplicius and Courage. As the writer of



Courage's story and therefore responsible for a work unfavourable to both Simplicius and Springinsfeld, Philarchus overcomes suspicion and enters the narrative exchange as he truthfully recites his own story, proving that he has been taken advantage of by Courage in a manner similar to the other two.<sup>78</sup> In his introduction of his story, as well as in his comments concerning Courage, her autobiography appears as a counter-example to that of Simplicius, to the extent that it has interfered with Philarchus' ability to read Simplicius' story correctly:

[D]arauff fragte er mich / was ich selbst von seinem Buche hielte / und ob ich dardurch geärgert oder gebessert worden wäre? Ich antwortet / mein Judicium wäre viel zu gering / entweder dasselbige zuschelten oder zuloben / und ob ich gleich nit wider das Buch sonder ihn Simplicissimum selbst schreiben müssen / dabey auch des Springinsfelds nicht zum rühmlichsten gedacht worden / so hette ich doch das Buch weder gelobt noch getadelt / sonder damahls gelernet / daß der jenig so übermannet sey / sich nach der jenigen Willen und Anmuthung schicken müste / in deren Gewalt er sich befände ...<sup>79</sup>

Philarchus depicts the knowledge he has derived from the circumstances surrounding his contact with Simplicius' book as a practical lesson, "yield to those more powerful," i.e. Courage. Naturally, however, it is also a lesson which he could have learned purely from reading the story. Simplicius' experiences constantly reveal the lesson that it is impossible to attempt to escape the claws of Fate without some extraordinary form of divine assistance. A significant parallel therefore exists between the lessons present in both Philarchus' and Simplicius' lives; as is illustrated by the initial anecdote in the novel, Philarchus, like Simplicius, plays a passive and dependent role in society, sharing the same profession but not yet having reached the same stage of moral enlightenment. In following Courage's narrative as she intends it, Philarchus has succeeded in imitating only the form and not the content of the earlier autobiography; this inability to read Simplicius' narrative properly is reflected in Philarchus' desire to hear more pranks from Simplicius' past. Philarchus is also impressed by the transformation of Simplicius from "raw" and "godless" to reputable householder,<sup>80</sup> a further indication that his reading has focused on the less savoury elements of the tale, rather than on its conclusion or on the moral of the whole. Nonetheless, because of their shared profession, an association is almost

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<sup>78</sup> Hans Jakob Christoph von Grimmelshausen, *Der seltzame Springinsfeld*, ed. Franz Günter Sieveke (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1969) 38.

<sup>79</sup> *Spr.*, 22.

<sup>80</sup> *Spr.*, 52.

immediately established between the two narrators. A sense of enmity and aggression remains between Philarchus and Springinsfeld, a man of action and not reflection, as his name indicates. The sense of kinship is reinforced by the exchange of stories and, particularly, by the sympathetic listening displayed by both narrators.

The process of establishing a narrative community is reflected in Simplicius' concerns for plain language, displayed for the first time since his arrival in Hanau in *Simplicissimus*. Several times he rebukes Springinsfeld's frivolous swearing, the first time condemning it as a form of negating their relationship: "schäme dich nicht / daß du allbereit so ein alter Krüppel: und dennoch noch so rohe Gottlos und ungeheissen bist / deinen alten Cammerathen mit einem solchen Wunsch zu bewillkommen?"<sup>81</sup> Like Bunyan and Schnabel, Simplicius also condemns gratuitously ornamented language. When Philarchus asks his question in roundabout polite speech, Simplicius' answer both criticises his method of questioning and answers the question with an anecdote condemning frenchified expressions.<sup>82</sup> Just as in Schnabel's novel, plain speech for Simplicius consists of a direct narrative founded on "Deutsche Redlichkeit," a speech in which signifiers and signifieds are directly connected. The principle is emphasised by the difference between Simplicius' and Springinsfeld's discourse. Simplicius' *Gaukeltasche* is full of pictures which encourage contemplation. As he describes their significance to Springinsfeld, each is pregnant with meaning, an exegesis of the objects similar to his mystical meditations as described in the *Continuatio*. Springinsfeld's art, on the other hand, consists in pure imitation, a mimesis of animal noises without reason and without meaning. Rather than imitating God through his insight into the meaning of individual objects and through the production of a rationally-organised narrative, Springinsfeld remains on a bestial level. It is only after being shown the path to enlightenment, first by Simplicius' example,<sup>83</sup> his story, and second through the *Gaukeltasche*, which, like the exemplary novel, provides lessons in interpretation intended to lead to repentance and religious conversion,<sup>84</sup> that he becomes capable of ordered, meaningful, and rational communication.

Once Springinsfeld himself begins to participate in the narrative interaction created by the two narrators, it becomes possible that, in addition to existing as a

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<sup>81</sup> *Spr.*, 16.

<sup>82</sup> *Spr.*, 20-21.

<sup>83</sup> Simplicius emphasises the moral purpose of his account again in *Springinsfeld*, *Spr.* 22.

narrating entity, he may also be converted and die repentant. The narrative exchange which occurs at the inn leads Springinsfeld to recognise the lack of an ending to his own story. Like Courage, he remains trapped in the endless, restless motion of the character without a sense of a positive spiritual destination. As a non-convert, Springinsfeld's story, like that of Courage, is not yet complete, its ending may still be changed: "bette darvor ein paar andächtiger Vatter unser vor sie / daß die Güte Gottes ihr Hertz erleuchten und sie zu wahrer Busse bringen wollen."<sup>85</sup> This idea is emphasised by Simplicius' recommendation that he ought to spend more time contemplating his spiritual end, and by Philarchus' resumption of the story. Springinsfeld's narrative, his reading of his own experiences, leads to an awareness of its lack of teleological meaning, and an appeal to Simplicius for assistance in completing the story:

Weistu aber mein Simplice mir ein anders und bessers [Leben]  
zuweisen / so möchte ich deinen Rath gern hören / und nach  
gestaltsame der Sach / demselben auch gern folgen.<sup>86</sup>

Simplicius provides a physical and social resting place to Springinsfeld. Just as importantly, he commissions Philarchus to write the story, ensuring that Philarchus, like Springinsfeld, realises the importance of the final ending of the tale,<sup>87</sup> and, through exerting his narrative powers in the proper manner, is able to provide a satisfying report when the news of Springinsfeld's repentance and pious death arrives.<sup>88</sup> Springinsfeld and the novel end piously at the same moment:

[W]ie ich mir aber seithero sagen lassen / so hat ihn der verwichne  
Mertz auffgeriben / nach dem er zuvor durch Simplicissimum in  
seinen alten Tagen gantz anders umgegossen und ein Christlichs und  
bessers Leben zuführen bewögt worden; nahm also diser  
abenteuerliche Springinsfeld auff des eben so seltsamen Simplicissimi  
Bauerhoff (als er ihn zuvor zu seinem Erben eingesetzt) sein letztes  
ENDE.<sup>89</sup>

The exchange of adjectives from the titles of their respective novels, which occurs in this passage, is an interesting confirmation of the shared aspects and forms of the

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<sup>84</sup> *Spr.*, 48.

<sup>85</sup> *Spr.*, 38.

<sup>86</sup> *Spr.*, 131.

<sup>87</sup> *Spr.*, 131-132. "allein wäre mir lieber du thättest auch wie ein Christenmensch und fiengest an zu gedencken an deine letzte Ding [...]"

<sup>88</sup> *Spr.*, 132.

<sup>89</sup> *Spr.*, 132.

narratives at the moment when they have reached a common spiritual ending, the final conversion.

The portrait of Simplicius' family that precedes Springinsfeld's story provides an indication that the problematic social relations and disrupted communication which characterise *Simplicissimus* have been overcome upon Simplicius' return from the island. Springinsfeld's rude comments on Simplicius' transformation<sup>90</sup> indicate that Simplicius has changed dramatically, reinforcing the description of Simplicius by the Dutch captain at the end of the *Continuatio*. Philarchus' comment on the pleasant society he encounters, a group based around the harmonious relations between Simplicius' family and obviously belonging firmly on the farm, is the primary indication that the enmity between men in the earlier novel has been overcome:

Wir machtens mit dem Nachtessen / wie oben gemeldet / nicht lang;  
bey welchem ich in acht nam / wie freundlich Simpl. seine beyde alte:  
und diese hinwiederum ihn und seinen Sohn ehreten und tractirten; da  
sahe und verspürte man nichts als Lieb und Treu / und ob zwar ein  
Theil das ander aufs höchste respectirte / so merckte man doch bey  
keinem einige Forcht / sonder bey iedem blickte ein aufrichtige  
Vertreulichkeit herfür ...<sup>91</sup>

This vision of a social integration based not on ties of blood (for it must be remembered that Simplicius' *Knan* and *Meuder* are not his real parents), but on mutual love, respect, and trust comes as a relief after the relentless isolation of *Simplicissimus*. The members of the narrative community, Springinsfeld and Philarchus, are welcomed into this intimate circle, an indication that true, complete, and trusting narrative creates relationships which are similarly harmonious. Perhaps most positively of all, admittance into the small community provides Springinsfeld, who has suffered the same chronic displacement experienced by Courage and Simplicius, with a home. The end of the story for both Simplicius and Springinsfeld confirms their habitation of a home at once social, physical, and spiritual, a fitting end-point for the narrative.

Within the text of *Simplicissimus*, the problems surrounding social integration are reflected in Simplicius' difficulty in understanding his own, spiritual position. The need for a true and comprehensive narrative is constantly frustrated by Simplicius' disastrous interaction with humanity, and, as I stated in the first chapter

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<sup>90</sup> *Spr.*, 16, 45, 47.

on *Simplicissimus*, such a comprehensive narrative is only possible when Simplicius has been spatially removed from society, when no fellow humans appear to disrupt his perspective and his interpretation, and when his position in relation to Divine Providence has been clarified. Despite the mistrust of all humanity displayed in *Simplicissimus*, the narrative produced on the island, the life story which we read, is responsible for the creation of a narrative community similar to that which exists in the *Wunderliche Fata* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*. In *Springinsfeld*, if not in *Simplicissimus* itself, truthful narrative exchange is depicted as socially constructive, able to overcome the radical social alienation of individual characters in the first novel, an isolation which appears in the form of disrupted and unsympathetic communication. For Simplicius, the reconciliation of the individual story with the universal narrative in which it participates is the precursor to a return to the world.

Simplicius' own narrative paves the path for his return, transforming formerly problematic relationships into the more receptive (although occasionally, as in the case of Courage, not particularly sympathetic) relationship between narrator and audience or narrator and reader. Whereas the structure of Simplicius' life story appears at first as an arbitrary, linear progression of episodes through a world completely lacking in unity, through the "Simplicianische Schriften" Simplicius' narrative becomes the centre, both as a narrative model and in terms of content, for the organised and inter-connected pattern of narratives which revolve around it, those of Courage, Springinsfeld, Philarchus, and of the main characters in both parts of the *Das wunderbarliche Vogel-Nest*. As such, despite the pessimism of the main text regarding social interaction, the final impression of the texts, read as a whole, is that of the community situated in a physical and a narrative circle, individuals discussing a common theme, as in the *Rathstübel Plutonis*. In all of the life stories, the common structure is the interplay between individual experience and the divine narrative, whether as emblems of damnation or of salvation.

#### D. Defoe

Robinson Crusoe spends much time in a state of complete isolation, much more time, in fact, than any of the characters in our texts. He does not manage to invent ink, and, apart from his journal and a few preliminary reports prior to his

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<sup>91</sup> *Spr.*, 52.

island adventure, does not begin to tell the story of his adventures until almost the end of the book. To those who arrive upon the island, however, Crusoe's experiences do not require any form of written documentation. The evidence of his past accomplishments appears in the settlement which is their result, and the conclusions of Crusoe's narrative are more than apparent in the system of living into which he integrates the newcomers. Crusoe's practical achievements and his state of interpretive competence form the text of *Robinson Crusoe*. In order to reintegrate himself into society, Crusoe must retain these elements in his system of rational living and ensure their acceptance by the wider world. This occurs through a process of "showing and telling," similar to the narrative tour of the Insel Felsenburg in Schnabel's text, rather than mere narration. This process is successful when it is accepted as the dominant system by Crusoe's fellow man, ensuring the continued extension of Crusoe's innovations, and of his authority, beyond his isolated self.

Crusoe's narrative has been created through the continuous interpretation of memory of past experience, real and imagined, and through the physical civilisation process, Crusoe's comprehensive scheme of settlement, which appears everywhere, a witness to the exertion of his rational capabilities. Both activities, mental and physical, involve the same thought processes and qualities of character, as emphasised in my treatment of the balance sheet in a previous chapter. The possession of a rational soul leads to reflection and the rule of conscience, therefore spiritual knowledge and technical accomplishments spring very much from the same source. The outward, empirical aspects of Crusoe's experience, as much as the words in his journal or in the main text, function as signs of Crusoe's personal success and of the divine sanction for his activity. These outward signs, the organisation of his settlement and his practical achievements in altering and perfecting his surroundings, combine with Crusoe's written and spoken words as important signifiers within Crusoe's discourse as a whole. According to G.A. Starr, the processes of economic, spiritual and psychological ordering are all:

reflected in, and in some sense dependent on, the nature of Crusoe's language, for it is on this level that the ordering of experience most fundamentally takes place. Externally, wild animals are domesticated, the wilderness is enclosed, Friday is Europeanized, and so on; internally, the hero's own chaotic, wasteful and sinful impulses are sublimated, disciplined, or converted into methodical, productive, and virtuous industry: my point is that Crusoe's language not only describes these processes, but enacts or embodies them. By

animating, humanizing, and Anglicizing the alien things he encounters, Crusoe as narrator achieves verbally exactly what Crusoe as hero achieves physically, spiritually, and psychically. In the poetry of the period, personification constantly implies a relation between man and the external world; in *Robinson Crusoe*, the hero not only makes contact in this way with what is foreign and threatening to him, but by imposing on it his own values, he attains through the act of narration a mastery over it.<sup>92</sup>

It is into this discourse, both in narrative and in physical terms, that Crusoe must integrate his fellow man. Such integration is imperative in order to maintain and extend the discourse, to continue the empirical processes which bear witness to Crusoe's success in harmonising his own actions with the plan of Divine Providence, with the supernatural scheme founded in superior divine knowledge. The book as a whole is the greatest product and expression of this overarching theme.

Crusoe's return to society is the result of his understanding and mastery of his own, sinful human nature. The process of social integration is dependent on narrative. For individual characters, telling their own stories in relation to the story of all creation affirms the basic structure of their universe, and their position in it. Rational activities such as the systematic organisation of the environment, writing, and narration also provide a foundation for positive social interaction and the creation of community. Crusoe's system, as it evolves, is centred upon his own personality. As Paula Backscheider observes, "his thoughts and behaviour have made the island a society even before Friday arrives. Rather than creating a society after Friday and the others come, he fits them into the society he has already conceived and created."<sup>93</sup> Positive social interaction, for Crusoe, consists primarily in a successful assertion of both his own discourse and his own organisational system over alternative systems, which threaten to engulf or subvert his identity and his knowledge. This success functions as a further sign of the rational and, indeed, blessed nature of his way of life and his soul.

Crusoe is able to promote his own discourse successfully for two reasons. First, in practical terms he possesses a comprehensive overview of the topography of the island and an exhaustive knowledge of the technical and mechanical activities necessary to exist successfully within this environment. This practical achievement,

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<sup>92</sup> G.A. Starr, "Defoe's Prose Style: The Language of Interpretation," *Daniel Defoe*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea, 1987): 142.

which ensures that he is able to observe the activities of intruders unseen and, possessing a complete physical perspective, is able to manipulate their perceptions with relative ease, is matched by his spiritual competence. Crusoe's knowledge that his own personal story, its goals and aims, conform with the story which Providence has dictated to him, the universal narrative, gives rise to a confidence in the legitimacy of his own narrative and organisational system. Crusoe follows the Protestant tendency described by Christopher Hill, according to which "[t]he elect understand and cooperate with God's purposes, and this sense of intimacy with the ruler of the universe gives a confidence, an inner assurance, which may enable them to prosper in this world as well as to inherit the next."<sup>94</sup> Because of his privileged glimpse into the workings of Providence, Crusoe's practical achievements are reinforced by a sense of the virtue and rightness of his discourse, the victory of the rational over the irrational, of the elect consciousness over the bestial consciousness. This aspect of Crusoe's experience will be further investigated in the next chapter. As in our other texts, in Crusoe's positive social interactions this rationality is reflected in the invocation of narrative forms, primarily storytelling and writing, and in the sympathetic relationship between narrator and audience.

The episode in which Crusoe feeds and names Friday possesses a sacramental quality. As a moment of christening and of communion, which establishes the small community, its coincidence with the establishment of the first laws of the new civilisation has been pointed out by Jean-Michel Racault.<sup>95</sup> The seminal aspect of Friday's advent as the beginning of a new era in Crusoe's narrative is further emphasised by readings which draw attention to the relationship as a father-son relationship.<sup>96</sup> Crusoe has returned to the level of social integration, maintained through filial devotion and obedience, which he once repudiated. Friday's presence perfects Crusoe's state, both by integrating the object of his fears into his discursive system and by causing Crusoe to extend this system physically to a social level, and spiritually to a consideration which moves beyond his focus on the spiritual aspects of his own lot to wider theological contemplations. According to Lisa Zeitz:

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<sup>93</sup> Paula R. Backschneider, *A Being More Intense: A Study of the Prose Works of Bunyan, Swift and Defoe* (New York: AMS, 1984): 47.

<sup>94</sup> Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 152-153.

<sup>95</sup> Racault, 50-51.



Throughout the novel Crusoe addresses the question, 'what am I?' and ultimately finds the answer within a providential order. Only when he had gained control over himself and that island world which is his alone can he function effectively in the larger contexts of the outside world. It is as a result of coming to know who he is and what kind of world he inhabits that Crusoe re-enters civilization.<sup>97</sup>

Saving Friday's soul, like the development of Bunyan's ministering capabilities in *Grace Abounding* or the confirmation of Christian's blessedness through the influence of his narrative, confirms Crusoe's status as a chosen instrument of Providence. G.A. Starr relates this explicitly to the exemplary concerns of the spiritual autobiography.<sup>98</sup> Geoffrey Sill, likewise, describes the instruction of Friday as perfecting Crusoe's spiritual enlightenment:

... it is through Crusoe's instruction of Friday in the principles of religion and submission to authority that Crusoe himself becomes a master of these principles, thereby bringing him into a way of obtaining his deliverance in a manner that accords with the design of Providence.<sup>99</sup>

Through this confirmation, and as the settlement, by Friday's presence, assumes the character of a family home, (it develops further into a series of commonly recognised institutions, as the palace of the governor, for example, after contact with the Europeans), the island becomes an earthly paradise, the pinnacle of Crusoe's development before his reintegration into European society:

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time, and the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and I was such as made the three years which we lived there together perfectly and compleatly happy, if any such thing as compleat happiness can be formed in a sublunary state.<sup>100</sup>

The feast which Crusoe provides for Friday's father and the Spaniard confirms his return to civilisation in a role of authority. Rather than having the fatted calf killed for him, a possibility he once considered in relation to his father, he, as the king of his domains, now has a goat killed for his subjects. The entire rescue attempt, in particular the scene in which Crusoe and Friday view the savages from

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<sup>96</sup> Blackburn draws attention to the father-son relationship in connection with Friday's age: he is born just as Crusoe is shipwrecked. Blackburn, 367.

<sup>97</sup> Zeitz, 265.

<sup>98</sup> Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography*, 120-121.

<sup>99</sup> Geoffrey M. Sill, *Defoe and the Idea of Fiction 1713-1719* (Newark, DE: U of Delaware P, 1983) 165.

<sup>100</sup> RC, 220.

the bushes, underlines the superior knowledge and more comprehensive view of creation which Crusoe has achieved during his island sojourn. According to John Richetti, in the context of Crusoe's later hidden observance of victims in a similar plight, "By mastering the art of observation ... Crusoe (telescope in hand) achieves a divine perspective and his action coincides perfectly with the bizarre swing of events."<sup>101</sup> Like the rest of his activity, Crusoe's movement towards social integration occurs in parallel fashion, on both a physical and a narrative level. He integrates potentially threatening rival forces, cannibals, Spaniards, and mutineers, into his narrative. This occurs first by directing their roles in the "plot" of his life, a control enabled by his superior perspective, an ability to direct the future of his story (and their stories) through his prior organisation and extensive, correct interpretation of its past. Secondly, Crusoe uses the physical infrastructure of the island to protect himself from his fellow man, and later to conquer and subsequently to provide for these forces. The island consumes them at the moment in which they agree to cooperate with the infrastructure and systems, agricultural, defensive and otherwise, which Crusoe has created.

In comments throughout the novel, Crusoe emphasises the threat posed to his own English Protestant discourse by the rival discourse of the bloodthirsty and inhuman Catholic Spaniards.<sup>102</sup> This threat is dispelled by the Spaniard's recognition of Crusoe's divinely sanctioned role in his salvation, while the possible threat posed by the presence of another savage is neutralised by his blood relations to Friday. Significantly, Friday, not the other white man, now acts as interpreter for Crusoe, setting up a hierarchy of discourse and interpretation as follows:

God -> Crusoe as the interpreter of Divine Providence -> Friday as receiver of Crusoe's interpretations and follower of his discourse -> Friday's father and Spaniard as secondary followers, savages tamed by Friday's function as enlightened savage interpreter and by Crusoe's power of life and death over them

Crusoe recognises that, if he assists the Spaniards to escape to the island and, particularly, to return to civilisation, their social discourse as a majority discourse poses a significant threat to his own. Merely being consumed physically is, for Crusoe, preferable to having himself and his religious discourse consumed by the bestial "merciless claws" of Catholicism, a dual negation against which he seeks to

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<sup>101</sup> John J. Richetti, *Defoe's Narratives: Situations and Structures* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975) 56.

<sup>102</sup> RC, 172.

establish a narrative guarantee in (nonexistent) paper, an object which will visibly confirm his discursive authority. The Spaniard Crusoe has saved shows his trustworthiness by his forethought, an obvious exercise of reason and reflection, and his readiness to further Crusoe's cultivating activity in order to maintain Crusoe's authority as provider, in his suggestion that they *first* cultivate more land and *then* rescue his companions. The proposal proves the Spaniard's fidelity to Crusoe. From this point, and throughout the sequel, the Spaniards play a role which is positive and moral, even if they do not always share the sheer ingenuity of the English mutineers.

Crusoe's interactions with his countrymen are even more satisfying, although more challenging, than his simple act of saving the Spaniard and Friday's father.

The contact with the English is a crucial step in his reintegration into his own civilisation, displaying his ability to counteract not only the simple savagery which exists in man, but also the more subtle and deceptive sinfulness which accompanies worldly civilised society. The "Englishness" of the sailors is particularly important. According to one of the Spaniards in the sequel to *Crusoe* (who, one suspects, may have adopted Defoe's biases): "*Englishmen* had a greater Presence of Mind in their Distress than any People that ever he met with."<sup>103</sup> Unlike the Spaniards and the savages, they share Crusoe's language and a similar religious/cultural background. On the part of the "good" sailors, particularly the English captain, this shared discourse enables an almost instant appreciation of the significance of Crusoe's story according to the meaning with which he endows it. The mutineers, particularly Will Atkins, do not participate in an honest narrative exchange. Crusoe initially refuses to reveal his identity to them, but he is careful to leave behind a copy of his narrative, along, significantly, with a bag of peas. Both objects are intended to sow the seeds of a new society. Crusoe himself was a reprobate when shipwrecked on the island, and his autobiography provides an example of the process of thought required for successful survival.

During his first encounter with the sailors, Crusoe benefits from his superior knowledge, reflected in his hidden view of the mutineers and their prisoners as in his skill at manipulating appearances on the island, sending Friday and the English mate to call out deceptively and confuse the villains. He explicitly reflects on his more comprehensive perspective as narrator, viewing the despair of the bound victims in

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<sup>103</sup> *The Farther Adventures of RC*, Vol. III, 2.

207

terms of his own original ignorance of the secret care Providence would take of him, and of the general ignorance of mankind as to God's hidden purposes. Crusoe emphasises the universality of his knowledge, while clouding their ability to identify him fully, by initially addressing the captives in Spanish, despite the fact that he knows them to be English. He refuses to speak in his mother tongue, controlling the perceptions and the appearances of the physical island and of his own voice and taking advantage of the human propensity for mistaken perception. Crusoe's knowledge, derived from correct observation, is also directly responsible for reinforcing his authority. He reveals that he has seen the mutineers threatening to kill the captain, giving the impression of possessing a superhuman omniscience and leading the captain to exclaim: "*Am I talking to God, or Man! Is it a real Man, or an Angel!*"<sup>104</sup> As is the case with Friday's physical and spiritual salvation, Crusoe's success in saving the "good" Englishmen acts as a confirmation of his own moral value, of the fact that he really, in the view of the narrative, has been sent by God, and his actions are undertaken in harmony with the divine plan.

The captain becomes the first informed reader of Crusoe's narrative, and, after the excitement of the first engagement, their first shared activity is to "enquire into one another's Circumstances,"<sup>105</sup> an exchange of providential narratives and an exercise of trust similar to the narrative process which serves as a legitimization for admittance into society on the Insel Felsenburg. According to William Ray, who sees the narrative process as achieving an individual primacy over the original providential order represented by Crusoe's father:

By the time he comes once again into contact with Europeans, Robinson will have completely assimilated the intent of providence into the structure of his history, which story will then serve as the vehicle of his reintegration into society at precisely the middle station he originally fled. His history, in both the sense of his life and its narrative, brings about the merger of individual experience, providential design, and social imperative which eluded him at the outset of his adventure.<sup>106</sup>

By narrative means, Crusoe makes clear the manifestly providential nature of his intervention in the captain's plight, interpreted by the captain in terms of its final end

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<sup>104</sup> RC, 255.

<sup>105</sup> RC, 258.

<sup>106</sup> Ray, 57.

in his own preservation, and by Crusoe himself, as has been stated above, as a confirmation of his own authoritative status as a knowing instrument of Providence.

The English captain places a correct interpretation on Crusoe's experiences during their mutual narrative exchange. As a part of his chronicle, charted in the landscape he has civilised, Crusoe displays his entire miniature civilisation to the captain and his two companions, who are properly amazed at all the "Contrivances,"<sup>107</sup> an indication that they appreciate Crusoe's entire system of survival, the evidence of his discourse. The captain, however, has not reached Crusoe's level of enlightenment. When he seems to fall into a state of despair, a sinful lack of trust with which Crusoe is all too familiar, Crusoe corrects the misapprehension by retelling the tale:

I smil'd at him, and told him, that Men in our Circumstances were past the Operation of Fear: That seeing almost every Condition that could be, was better than that which we were suppos'd to be in, we ought to expect that the Consequence, whether Death or Life, would be sure to be a Deliverance: I ask'd him, What he thought of the Circumstances of my Life? And, Whether a Deliverance were not worth venturing for? And where, Sir, said I, is your Belief of my being preserv'd here on purpose to save your Life, which elevated you a little while ago?<sup>108</sup>

He reaffirms its providential aspect and draws attention to their spiritual position; under God's direct governance and approval, death itself can hold no threat. Crusoe also invokes his law of contraries, weighing the alternative destinies against the path they plan to take. The invocation of his previous narrative, and reaffirmation of the basis of his interpretation corrects the captain's tendency to misread the immediate situation and the circumstances of his life story.

Although the narrative as a whole is slanted strongly towards the interpretation of the role of Providence, the captain's recognition is the central prerequisite for the repatriation of Crusoe's narrative and of Crusoe himself. Reinforcing the impression of truth and of integration, unlike the pagans and the Spaniard, the captain shares a similar religious discourse with Crusoe, the discourse against which Crusoe at first rebelled. Their narratives complement each other, both displaying similar universal elements. This complementarity indicates that Crusoe has perfected his knowledge as well on the social level as on the level of self-

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<sup>107</sup> RC, 258.

<sup>108</sup> RC, 260.

awareness. His authority in his interactions with the captain is a further indication of his nature as chosen, and his self-division into “servant” and “governor of the island” reflects his dual status as the saviour and the one being saved. This is a physical salvation for Crusoe and for the crew of the ship, and spiritual in terms of his simultaneous function as spiritual instructor/narrator and still imperfect reader of the divine plan.

Crusoe’s superior knowledge and ingenuity are responsible for the deception of the mutineers. As wilfully sinful characters, they are, in any case, prone to being deceived, and the first group quickly falls victim to an inherent lack of moderation and forethought, by drinking, sleeping, and wandering aimlessly.<sup>109</sup> The worst character, Will Atkins, is condemned for using “injurious Language”<sup>110</sup> to the captain. Like the unenlightened Crusoe, Will Atkins speaks a reprobate language and has rebelled against his “father,”<sup>111</sup> the captain and, as it later transpires, against his real father.<sup>112</sup> Crusoe sentences Atkins to imitate his island sojourn. By telling the men their own stories, according to the principles of interpretation which he has developed, Crusoe endeavours to set them onto a similar path of reading their circumstances as a complete and meaningful narrative within a wider divine plan:

I caused the Men to be brought before me, and I told them, I had had a full Account of their villanous [sic] Behaviour to the Captain, and how they had run away with the Ship, and were preparing to commit farther Robberies, but that Providence had ensnar’d them in their own Ways, and that they were fallen into the Pit which they had digged for others.<sup>113</sup>

Most importantly, Crusoe leaves behind his own account.<sup>114</sup> His emphasis on the completeness of the work, and his inclusion of episodes which demonstrate his own sinful behaviour (“the whole History of the Place, and of my coming to it,” “I gave them every Part of my own Story”<sup>115</sup>) is an explicit recommendation that they should imitate him in every aspect of living. Receptivity to his tale is prerequisite to an imitation of Crusoe’s rational reflection, the source of his success on the island, by

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<sup>109</sup> RC, 253-254.

<sup>110</sup> RC, 268.

<sup>111</sup> RC, 270. The repentant men, excluding Atkins, swear to the captain “that they would own him for a Father to them as long as they liv’d.”

<sup>112</sup> *The Farther Adventures of RC*, Vol. III, 43-44.

<sup>113</sup> RC, 275.

<sup>114</sup> William Ray draws attention to the role of the account (52).

<sup>115</sup> RC, 277.

his successors. It is the necessary precursor to the establishment of a successful society on the island.

Even after Crusoe leaves the island, it is his narrative, like that of Don Cyrillo de Valaro, which forms the practical basis of the new civilisation. The sequel to *Crusoe*, which describes Crusoe's return to the island, uses Will Atkins to illustrate the importance of imitating the spiritual aspect of the narrative, as well as its practical recommendations, in order to structure the society successfully. Atkins' transformation from reprobate and quarrelsome rebel into an innovative convert and family man occurs as a result of his overt imitation of Crusoe's spiritual model. His "natural Ingenuity"<sup>116</sup> is reflected in his talent for "wickerwork" designs. This successful practical application of the principle of rational reflection foreshadows Atkins' eventual religious conversion, which retraces Crusoe's path from natural deduction through conviction of sin, to the revelation of Christ's forgiveness. This is explicitly compared to Crusoe's own experiences, and Atkins' conversations with his wife echo the earlier conversations between Crusoe and Friday.<sup>117</sup> Atkins' conversion appears as the prerequisite to the official institution of the society in the colony, in a manner recognisable and acceptable to the outside world: the marriage of the Englishmen to their native wives.<sup>118</sup> As in our other texts, a central emphasis of *Robinson Crusoe* is the principle that reading and interpretation leads to the generation of a narrative which imitates its preceding text in structure as in content. These narrative bonds are constructive, leading to successful integration, not only on a spiritual level, but also on a practical level, in terms of the organisation of society.

Robinson Crusoe's return to society is predicated on his complete mastery of himself and his surroundings, an ability to align his actions with the divine plan. The acknowledgement and acceptance of this authority by an audience which becomes, from Crusoe's perspective, progressively more sophisticated and civilised is a crucial aspect of his repatriation. The acceptance of Crusoe's authority occurs on several

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<sup>116</sup> *The Farther Adventures of RC*, Vol. III, 10.

<sup>117</sup> *The Farther Adventures of RC*, Vol. III, 44.

<sup>118</sup> *The Farther Adventures of RC*, Vol. III, 19-20, 29-30. The Roman Catholic priest describes the important social significance of marriage, as a contract between both parties, according to the law of the world and of God, and advocates the marriages as a means to curb quarreling in the colony. In order to marry their wives officially, the sailors must first convert them. For Atkins, this leads to religious introspection and a conversation with his wife. Both follow the pattern of Crusoe and Friday's conversions. Atkins' efforts to convert his wife, to impart the story of creation, requires him first to understand it himself, and to understand, and be able to demonstrate through narration, its role in his life.

parallel levels: his audience accepts his authority in naming, directing, organising, and governing all aspects of island life. As sympathetic and subservient listeners, they acknowledge the primacy of his past experience. As helpless individuals, they recognise his practical success in survival and his mechanical accomplishments. As citizens under the common governance of Divine Providence, they understand the role of God in Crusoe's preservation, and Crusoe's role in their own lives, as an element in a greater divine plan, a plan concerning which Crusoe possesses a high degree of spiritual enlightenment. All of these levels of acceptance depend upon Crusoe's ability to tell his own story through words and through the empirical evidence of his accomplishments which surrounds him, to share with others the comprehensive organisational system and the discourse which he has developed for himself in the course of his sojourn on the island.

The works of our four authors are, obviously, written works, and their thematic focus is the signification process. Despite the initial pessimism and isolation in the portraits of social interaction in each of our main texts, their conclusions and their very status as books written in order to entertain and improve an audience portray the positive, socially-constructive role of narrative. This integrating role is closely connected with the exemplarity of the primary discourse. Like Scripture, the discourses of our main protagonists exist to be imitated, following and unfolding a universal pattern, the common discovery of an overarching structure in worldly experience. The common structure, the universal pattern of experience, possesses the power to bind man to man, as much as to bind man to God, forming a shared language which is the foundation of the community of the blessed.



## VI. *The Eventual Ending?*

### 1. *The Universal Language*

In the previous chapters, I surveyed the roles of language and interpretation, of journeying and the operation of Scriptural models in the landscape, and of narrative as a vehicle for social and spiritual integration in the texts of our four authors. I would now like to turn towards an examination of the endings of the texts, the achievement of a state of enlightenment and spiritual salvation, which consists of a final unification of these disparate elements and of the assorted levels of meaning and signification in each narrative.

At the beginning of my analysis of the works by Bunyan, Schnabel, Grimmelshausen and Defoe, I referred to the basic, Scriptural pattern of all of the narratives. The pattern followed by each, roughly “Fall - wandering through the wilderness of the world - baptism - conversion through Grace - salvation,” is the pattern of the Old and New Testaments, read as a whole. The plot of each text is clearly *not* limited to a linear cause-and-effect chronology. This is demonstrated by prophetic influences and by the presence of retrospective narrators in the works. Instead, the plot of a text is preordained along a universal framework, and must, in a sense, be discovered by the characters who journey through it. In this sense, each of our texts is a revisitation of Scripture on the individual level, a rereading of Scripture in terms of its meaning for the individual, and then a rewriting of the Scriptural pattern as it appears in individual experience. The initial main characters of our texts, Christian, Crusoe, Simplicius, Eberhard, and Albertus all appear to some extent as “Everyman,” passive, victims of circumstance, treading a path which must be trodden by every person. As vehicles to convey the reader to salvation through vicarious participation in their narratives, these characters take on a priestly quality, something of the character of Christ, mediating between man (the reader) and God from a point of higher knowledge. This role is reflected in creative activity, which reinstates an ordered world of meaning from the chaotic world of experience through narrative. It thus mirrors both Christ’s action in redeeming the fallen world and the original act of creation by God the Father.

The predominant unifying force is the universal narrative, the concept of the existence of a single, unified, and divinely-generated system of signification. Because of the comprehensive nature of this discourse, the individual who succeeds in understanding the relation between his or her own experiences and this universal

story also succeeds in understanding his or her empirical surroundings and is able to read the natural world in terms of its spiritual significance. Within the two German *Robinsonaden*, in particular, this ability is strongly connected with the idea of regaining the Adamic language, a seventeenth-century preoccupation associated with emblematics,<sup>1</sup> the early study of linguistics, and even natural history, as a crucial aspect of the reentry into paradise. In the context of popular seventeenth- and eighteenth-century religious and hermetic literature, the search for the Adamic language frequently does not focus on an actual grammatical language, but rather on the restoration of an ability to read the divinely-appointed meaning of signs, whether in the form of words or objects. As such, it is connected with allegoresis and the Behmenist signature of things,<sup>2</sup> as well as with the ability to generate a purified, true, and complete discourse.

If the sinful world is depicted as an area of disrupted and problematic communication, the regenerate world appears as an area of harmonious discourse, reversing the communication difficulties which are the result of original sin and reinstituting the direct relation<sup>3</sup> between word and meaning, signifier and signified.<sup>4</sup> Like Adam naming the animals, individual characters in the earthly paradise are able to perceive the true nature of their surroundings and describe and use them accordingly. Arndt describes Adam's command of language as follows:

Welche Merckzeichen und Signatur Adam aus eingescaffener Weißheit alle wohl verstanden; nemlich die Physiognomiam aller lebendigen Thiere, daraus er ihre eingepflanzte Art, Natur und Eigenschaft erkannt und dieselbe ihrer unterschiedliche Art nach mit ihrem eigentlichen natürlichen Namen genennet, welcher Name eines ieden Thiers Art, Natur und Eigenschaft in sich begriffen hat.<sup>5</sup>

Thomas Browne, too, emphasises the function of the divine language in completely encapsulating the nature of what it signifies:

The finger of God hath left an inscription upon all his works, not graphically or composed of letters, but of their severall formes, constitutions, parts, and operations, which aptly joyned together doe

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<sup>1</sup> Dietrich Walter Jöns, *Das "Sinnen-Bild": Studien zur Allegorischen Bildlichkeit bei Andreas Gryphius* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966) 6-11. According to Jöns, the "sensus mysticus" and "Bildsprache" of the Bible connect it with emblems and hieroglyphs as examples of a hidden, ancient, universal writing in Renaissance neo-platonic thought.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *A Collection of Ranter Writings from the 17th Century*, 30-31. Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, 279-280.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987) 285.

<sup>4</sup> Reiss, 76-77.

<sup>5</sup> Arndt, 945-946.

214

make one word that doth expresse their natures. By these Letters God calls [sic] the Starres by their names, and by this Alphabet *Adam* assigned to every creature a name peculiar to its Nature.<sup>6</sup>

George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, moves beyond Arndt and Browne in describing the Adamic state as a state which may be regained, even transcended, by the enlightened individual:

I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, so that I say I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me, and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and viture. And I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physick for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord.<sup>7</sup>

Fox describes a practical mastery of the medicinal arts as a result<sup>of</sup> the insight provided by his enlightenment. The concept of the Adamic language and the return to the Adamic state implies a mastery of the empirical world which is the result of understanding the true nature and significance of material objects. This includes a perfection of perceptive ability, and therefore of the skills which depend on accurate perception and interpretation, as well as the perfected ability to generate discourse.

In our texts, the linguistic reversal of the Fall is indicated in several different ways: through an ability to read the Book of Nature correctly,<sup>8</sup> through the mastery of different arts which, as in many utopias, indicates a return to some form of universal knowledge, based in man's capabilities to master his surroundings by understanding them rationally,<sup>9</sup> through an understanding of multiple languages,<sup>10</sup> and through the agreement and complementary functions of natural law and divine law in governing the earthly paradise.<sup>11</sup> The narration of each individual text, from the enlightened and reconciled viewpoint of the narrator at rest, acts as the ultimate confirmation of the mastery of the universal discourse. In our three *Robinsonaden*, the return to the Adamic language is intimately connected with the return to a

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<sup>6</sup> Browne, 138.

<sup>7</sup> George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. John L. Nickalls (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1952) 27.

<sup>8</sup> Grimmelshausen, Bunyan.

<sup>9</sup> Schnabel, Defoe.

<sup>10</sup> Grimmelshausen. According to Smith, who describes the linguistic understanding of the Ranters: "Total illumination would result in the ability to understand all tongues." Smith, *A Collection of Ranter Writings*, 30, also 63.

<sup>11</sup> Primarily Schnabel and Defoe, but to some extent also Grimmelshausen.

harmonious natural state, the return to the Adamic rule<sup>12</sup> over the Garden of Eden in the form of the island paradise. The earthly paradise is a location, but it is also a blessed spiritual state, an area which leads to the generation of narrative.

#### A. Bunyan

It is with respect to the exemplary and imitative functions of Bunyan's text that landscape, narrative, and memory intersect, a nexus which appears in Bunyan's Preface to *Grace Abounding*, in the passage which I quoted in the chapter on interpretation. The Scriptural narrative, the story of all creation, is the product of God, the creator, as the paradigm memory. According to Spengemann, in his discussion of Augustine's *Confessions*, "God's eternal being gives reality, sequence, pattern, and meaning to all things known and unknown, remembered and forgotten, past and future."<sup>13</sup> More important than the mimesis of the created world which occurs during the writing process, the re-creation of empirical reality, is the appearance in the spiritual autobiography of the individual author's memory as a shadow or imitation of the divine memory. The narrative as a whole follows the framework of Scripture (read as the universal story of all creation) as the paradigm product of this memory, sharing the same beginning and the same end. The individual life story may be characterised as a personalised re-creation of Scripture, both in structure and in theme, an individualised participation in this universal narrative. The ideal result of this task is a state of rest, the moment of unity between the remembering narrator and the remembered experiencing self, both having reached the state of salvation, which is the end-point of the spiritual autobiography, and which is simultaneously the conclusion of the Biblical account, the final unity of a creation which has been reconciled with its creator. It is this state of physical and spiritual rest towards which Bunyan strives in *Grace Abounding*. Likewise, it is this state of combined physical and spiritual rest, the state of unity between the narrated and the experiencing self, which is represented as the attainment of the stability of the "earthly paradise" in our fictional narratives.

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<sup>12</sup> According to Keith Thomas, in his discussion of the sixteenth and seventeenth century popular world view: "It was taught that by mystical regeneration it was possible for man to regain the dominion over nature which he had lost at the Fall." Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline in Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991) 267.

<sup>13</sup> William C. Spengemann, *The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1980) 9.

I have already mentioned Christian's role as a spiritual exemplum in the text of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The role of this work as providing a model for imitation by the reader is emphasised by Bunyan's depiction of Christiana's journey and the rereading of the first text which accompanies it. Several critics have, likewise, drawn attention to the exemplary nature of *Grace Abounding*, and to the possibility that it had the function of confirming Bunyan's authority as a preacher to his congregation,<sup>14</sup> in addition to the regular functions of a spiritual autobiography or conversion narrative. According to Dayton Haskin:

Subtly, unmistakeably, the medieval *imitatio Christi* has given way first to an *imitatio Pauli* and then, quite unashamedly, to an *imitatio mei*. The preacher or writer has become a presenter of self: he is the model Christian, and his authority to speak is based on the fact that he has personally fulfilled the paradigm of his own experience.<sup>15</sup>

Each of these works derive its authority from following and reworking the path of Scripture, particularly in terms of a movement from the law to grace. By conforming to this narrative model, by, in a sense, rewriting Scripture in terms of its more personal significance, they partake in its authority. The texts interpret the Bible in order to make its import clear and personal, and derive the sanction for this interpretive process from the conformity of the process itself to the authoritative Biblical model (which is revealed in the interpretation). The derivation of the authority of the text from Scripture and the revelation of Scripture, which is at once the source of this authority and the subject-matter of the text, are inextricably linked.

Bunyan depicts the process of learning to interpret Scripture in order to gain the authority to interpret Scripture. The effect of this depiction is to carry the reader along with the process. The reader will develop in understanding as the narrative develops, coming at the end of *Grace Abounding*, in theory, to a recognition of Bunyan's preaching authority, and at the end of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to the state of spiritual integration within the divine order and the discourse of Scripture, which may lead to salvation. Necessary within this movement, particularly in order to legitimate the instructive element of the text, and in order to further the conformity of the personal narrative to the superhuman narrative model of Scripture, is an

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<sup>14</sup> Richard L. Greaves, *John Bunyan and English Nonconformity* (London: Hambledon, 1992) 38. Roger Pooley, "Grace Abounding and the New Sense of the Self," *John Bunyan and His England, 1628-1688*, eds. Anne Laurence, W.R. Owens, Stuart Sim (London: Hambledon, 1990) 110, 114.

<sup>15</sup> Dayton Haskin, "Bunyan, Luther, and the Struggle with Belatedness in *Grace Abounding*," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 50 (1981), 310.

element of revelation. Within *Grace Abounding*, this occurs to a great extent through Bunyan's attribution of his own subjective, mental turmoil to the objective, outside forces of God and Satan, and through his depiction of his own passivity. *The Pilgrim's Progress* appears as the continuation of this process of objectivisation; through the allegory the elements of spiritual conflict are turned into objects made physically manifest in the text. These objects, however, remain trapped in the subjective words which describe them; it remains for the actual texts, the actual physical books, to give objective substance to the narrative matter of Bunyan's accounts. This appears most clearly in Bunyan's concentration on his book in the preface to *Part Two*, in which he equates the subject of the book, Christiana, with the book itself:

Bunyan's ambulating book [in Prologue, Part II] nerving herself up on the doorstep is a natural development from the conception of Christiana as a reader of Christian's narrative who, like any other reader, invests herself in the text, laying together book, head, and heart: she follows his way. Real readers are then invited to identify themselves in her text, and so it goes on, people transforming themselves into texts and texts taking on anthropomorphic vitality. Both book and person insert themselves into a discourse - the (puritan) Word - of which they become vehicles. Allegory could push the assimilative process beyond the scope of spiritual autobiography, bringing together body and soul by anchoring the spiritual record to a material ambience, so that a fuller sense of the book as a literally encapsulated life was possible.<sup>16</sup>

Through this physical manifestation, the subjective narrative is pulled outwards to become an object, the book, independent of its author, and given a social manifestation. It can be read, recognised, and reacted to. It thus reinforces the objective nature of the insights it depicts through social acceptance.

The device of the dream performs a similar function. Dreams are depicted in the text as a vehicle for divine revelation, leading us to infer that the text itself, given to the narrator in dream-form, is a revelation. Christiana and Mercy present their dreams as warnings or messages from God which enable the spiritual movement from the conviction of sin to justification through Christ,<sup>17</sup> while Hopeful reports a waking vision of his despair and salvation.<sup>18</sup> Even when the dream device is subverted by Bunyan's depiction of himself as its creator in the Apology to *Part*

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<sup>16</sup> Stachniewski, 172.

<sup>17</sup> *PP*, 178-179, 222-223.

<sup>18</sup> *PP*, 142-143

210

*One*, he retains a revelatory element by describing the substance of the book, not himself as author, as the active agent in the almost involuntary writing process, “*I writing of the Way / And Race of Saints in this our Gospel-Day, / Fell suddenly into an Allegory ...*.”<sup>19</sup> Creative genius is equated with revelation from without; the message conveyed in the dream, although, as an inward vision, inherently subjective and personal, is the encapsulation of an objective truth.

Understanding Bunyan’s texts as embodying an objective truth enables an understanding of them as mediators in a number of problematic relationships. Firstly, the texts, particularly *Grace Abounding* as a spiritual autobiography, may have functioned to overcome the author’s difficulty in discerning his own election. As Stachniewski points out, the author’s rewriting of his own experience moderates his fearful relationship with God in order to ascertain his own salvation:

[T]he main motive for autobiography [was] ... to put if possible a good construction on a providence that often felt malevolent. A life described one of two narratives and the aim was to construct a narrative governed by a teleology to construct a narrative governed by a teleology of election, love, acceptance which could convincingly subordinate, while accounting for, all the evidence of experience that seemed to document a narrative governed by a teleology of reprobation, hatred, rejection.<sup>20</sup>

It is interesting that in both *Grace Abounding* and *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, the fears which need to be favourably rewritten are fears of the law, that is, of the Old Testament. The rewriting process seems to fulfil the same function as the New Testament itself, replacing the law which damns with the grace which saves, and providing an account of salvation which will reconcile the disparity between the unreachable divine order and the life of the sinful individual. In other words, the process of writing the text becomes sacramental, replacing the saving action of Christ’s sacrifice by retracing its pattern and supplanting it on the individual level. That the text is replacing Christ as mediator between man and God becomes doubly apparent when we consider its exemplary function for the reader. As a devotional text, it possesses an explicitly didactic purpose, as a general and universal model for imitation in the path through life, at the same time as it relates the story of a single individual.

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<sup>19</sup> *PP*, 1.

<sup>20</sup> Stachniewski, 104.

It is noteworthy that Christ is surprisingly absent from the religious discourse of the Felsenburgers.<sup>21</sup> This may be explained, in part, by the fact that the narrative models of the work are taken from the Old Testament rather than from the New Testament, with Albertus Julius himself reversing the activity of the Fall as a second Adam, and the island perceived as the Garden of Eden. Likewise, the Felsenburg society as a whole perceives itself as an elect nation, describing itself in metaphors and similes as the nation of Israel, with the island as the Promised Land or Canaan. These Biblical analogies may be extended more specifically; according to Nicholas Saul, Captain Wolffgang, saving the elect from the corrupt world in his ship, becomes a Noah figure.<sup>22</sup> The island takes on characteristics of the Heavenly Jerusalem as it is civilised. It shares the important elements of spatial integration, order, harmony, indescribable riches, and direct communication with the divine will (with Bunyan's depiction of the Celestial City). What is occurring in these instances, resembling *The Pilgrim's Progress* but in a more secular and fictional way, is an exaggeration of what occurs during the marriage prayer of Albertus and Concordia. Without any external church authority, in the absence of a pastor, Albertus must himself assume priestly duties, an action not particularly problematic in the Lutheran context. He likewise later describes himself baptising his children, beginning with the small Concordia "nachdem wir uns also wegen dieser heiligen und christlichen Handlung hinlänglich unterredet, vertrat ich die Stelle eines Priesters, tauffte das Kindlein nach Anweisung der heiligen Schrift,"<sup>23</sup> and marrying them "als Vater und Priester."<sup>24</sup> More significant than the assumption of these holy offices is the narrative aspect of the ceremonies. Albertus and Concordia marry each other by reciting pertinent passages from the Book of Tobias; they recite them, but they alter them in a crucial manner, replacing the names of Biblical figures in the

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<sup>21</sup> "Within the many church services and religious festivals described on the island, only once is a reading taken from the New Testament, from Paul's letter to the Corinthians. Apart from this one instance, all other cited readings are Psalms and excerpts from Old Testament books, particularly the prophetic book of Isaiah. Excluding very occasional mentions in the titles of Lutheran hymns, Jesus is mentioned only once in the Felsenburg vocal music compositions ('Mir steht Jesus bei.' *WF IV*, 36), while reflections on divine providence, the elect nature of the inhabitants on the island, and appeals to the direct guidance of heaven are major themes." Bertsch, 63.

<sup>22</sup> Saul, 115.

<sup>23</sup> *WF I*, 225 (205 Reclam).

<sup>24</sup> *WF I*, 298 (268 Reclam).



220

passages with their own names, and changing the text slightly to apply to their own situation:

Ich aber schlug das 8. Cap. im Buch Tobia auf, und betete des jungen Tobia Gebeth vom 7. biß zu ende des 9ten Verses; wiewol ich etliche Worte nach unserm Zustande veränderte, auch so viel zusetzte als mir meines Hertzens heilige Andacht eingab.<sup>25</sup>

Here, as in Bunyan's texts, transforming the Biblical narrative and generating a new narrative from it is given legitimacy through an appeal to revelation, with an equivalent passive emphasis, "als mir meines Hertzens heilige Andacht eingab."

Their subsequent imitation of Tobias' three nights of chastity before consummating the marriage becomes more than a mere imitation of a good moral model. Rather, it is a complete reenactment of the Scriptural text, replacing the original letter of scripture with a living example (which is, for the reader, another written example), inserting the individual into Scripture. The experience of the individual replaces the Scriptural figure. This tendency, I believe, appears throughout the text of the *Wunderliche Fata*, and may be seen as an exaggeration of the tendency of Bunyan's texts to encapsulate individual experience by speaking through Scripture, and to retrace the universal path of Scripture on an individual level.

The numerous levels of narration in the text reinforce the novel's function as replacing Scripture by fiction. The individual life stories related by those who come to the island all contain similar elements, indicating, as in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, a narrative model which transcends the individual. As in Bunyan's work, but with less emphasis on spiritual and more on physical drama, the characters of the *Wunderliche Fata* experience isolation and persecution for their virtues. They reach a stage of extreme physical danger and desperation, frequently relinquishing their welfare to the guidance of Divine Providence, and are then delivered onto the island with all of its paradisaal connotations. I have already mentioned, in connection with the episode of Lemelie's death, the possibility that the narration of the events which generate the Felsenburg society follows approximately the pattern of conversion narrative. It is this general pattern which, though not as specific and explicit as the conversion narrative as it appears in the Bunyan texts, underlies both the narrative of redemption of the Felsenburg society as a whole, at the moment of its inception, and the individual narratives which roughly follow this universal model.

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<sup>25</sup> WF I, 266-267 (240-241 Reclam).

221

The island as an earthly paradise is intimately concerned with the possibility of achieving, maintaining and improving this state, reversing, at one and the same time, the evils of Adam's Fall, the flood, and the tower of Babel. I have already addressed the importance of reversing the Fall, through gaining a proper knowledge of the nature of man and God and their place in relation to creation, and most importantly, a knowledge of man's subjection to God's commands. In the previous chapters, I examined the reversal of the flood, in which social evils lead to physical displacement, through the reconstruction of harmonious social and personal relations. Here, social integration accompanies the process of physical integration through a transformation of the environment. The flood is also physically reversed through surviving shipwreck. The third important reversal of man's fallen nature is the reversal of Babel, regaining the Adamic language, a pure discourse in which the names and essences of things correspond. For Schnabel, as for Bunyan and Defoe, this occurs in the creation of a community of shared discourse, a society based in language, on narrating and narrative reception. As will also be seen on Simplicius' and Crusoe's islands, it includes a regaining of universal knowledge in a broader context, in terms of natural science and natural law and, most importantly for our purposes, in terms of the creation of each text itself.

In the *Wunderliche Fata*, as in Bunyan's text, emphasis falls on an entry into an exclusive discourse, here the honest, "redlich" narration of the island, in which word and meaning correspond. As I mentioned above, the narrative model which underlies the individual and the group narrative is patterned on the general model of Scripture (Fall, erring in wilderness and corruption, final salvation). Individual narratives, particularly Wolfgang's narrative on the way to the island and Albertus' account of the early days of the society, initiate listeners into this model. Their narratives, too, conform to the universal pattern. Because the society as a whole and each member individual share and generate the same narrative pattern, the island appears as a narrative paradise. Salvation is intimately connected with the processes of narrative generation which accompany the physical transformation and perfection of the island. These processes are explicitly connected to narrative in Don Cyrillo de Valaro's written accounts of his civilising activities, as in Albertus' written constitution of the society in Volume Three). One could, indeed, almost proclaim that the island *is* the text, so thoroughly is it constituted by narrative. This impression is reinforced when, at the end of Volume Four, Gisander is consumed by

the text, raising the possibility of leaving the material world to his readers in order to journey to the earthly paradise, as Bunyan's Dreamer cannot:

Er bitte aber Gott, daß mir eine Gelegenheit, Zeit und Musse von ihm  
geschenckt werde; so habe nicht in Abrede, als ein Gast mich eine  
Zeitlang in dem angenehmen Felsenburg aufzuhalten.<sup>26</sup>

The power of individuals on the island to generate their own narratives and thus, by entering the realm of honest discourse and direct relation to God, to enter into the salvation signalled by their conformity to a universal pattern, creates a spiritual autonomy, in which narrative and the ability to narrate replace Christ as the mediator who restores man to grace.

That the text has effected the restoration of the Felsenburg populace to grace is signalled in some of the more bizarre events in Volume Four, in Gisander's revelation of the "naturalistic" meaning of the symbols of the "Heidentempel" and of alchemical secrets, for example, and in the strange marriage of the lion brought by Princess Mirzamanda to a Felsenburg lioness. The tame and mating lions seem to indicate a perfection of the society; even the most savage of beasts now structure their lives in harmony with the predominant social structure. Lions possess certain alchemical connotations, in connection with gold and the sun, likewise indicative of perfection. Gisander's mention of his possible visit to Felsenburg occurs, as does his initial discovery of the manuscripts, in connection with alchemical secrets, through the revelation of which the Felsenburg society will gain a further glimpse into universal knowledge and the universal narrative. The world view displayed on the island moves beyond orthodox Lutheran pietism towards a holistic integration of the supernatural and natural worlds based on a "theosophical" reading of Scripture and the world, and is undeniably influenced in sections by Schnabel's own borrowing from alchemical treatises.<sup>27</sup> The ultimate transformation of nature, its final redemption and purification through the discovery of the "Stein des Weisen" is possible on the island (in Volume Four, alchemical instruments are shipped to the island, despite an earlier rejection of this pursuit in the Mechanicus Plager story). That this occurs in connection with narrative, specifically in connection with the extra, overarching knowledge possessed by the narrator, who acts in God-like fashion to assist in the final perfection of the paradise, seems to indicate further that

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<sup>26</sup> *WF IV*, 561.

the novel has assumed the mediating claims of Scripture, leading to salvation through its own constantly regenerated and transforming narrative.

### C. *Grimmelshausen*

As in Schnabel's novel, *Simplicissimus* provides a clear vision of the island as earthly paradise, particularly in its representation of the rediscovered universal language. Specific aspects of this depiction, particularly Grimmelshausen's use of emblems, have been widely treated in the secondary criticism, by Gersch and Ashcroft among others. It is unnecessary to repeat the conclusions of these thorough examinations. Instead, I will confine myself to general description and to those aspects most pertinent to my argument, particularly in their relation to the other works with which I am concerned. It is clear from the depiction of the island that Simplicius has succeeded in his efforts to read and to interpret his empirical surroundings within their cosmic parameters, clear that the world has indeed become a book to him. This ability to read objects in terms of their religious/allegorical significance is closely affiliated with the process of allegoresis in Roman Catholic mysticism, in which "all things raise the thoughts to the eternal; being thought of as symbols of the highest, in a constant gradation, they are all transfused by the glory of divine majesty."<sup>28</sup> It appears in association with the conception of memory which I examined in my first chapter, by which the true meaning of the things of creation is recognised when they are perceived in their relation to their original divine Source, the whole of creation as the spelling out, the objective representation, of this relation. The universal language has been regained when the objects of creation are read in this context, in their relation to a divine Source, which relation appears most obviously in Simplicius' inscriptions on trees, universal in this directly religious sense and in the number of assorted languages and symbolic characters which bring out this manifold meaning:

... wo aber keine gantze Sprüche stunden / da befanden sich wenigst  
die 4. Buchstaben der Überschrift Christi am Creutz / als INRI oder  
der Nahmen JESU und Mariae / als irgends nur ein Instrument deß  
Leydens Christi / darauß wir muthmasseten / daß er ohne zweiffel ein  
Papist seyn müste / weil uns alles so Päbstisch vorkam; da stund

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<sup>27</sup> Sections of Schweitzer's "Das guldene Kalb" appear in the Mechanicus Plager life story, with other alchemical texts borrowed from in the final pages of Volume Four.

<sup>28</sup> J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Dawn of the Renaissance* (New York: Anchor, 1989) 206.

memento mori auff Latein; dorten Ieschua Hanosrum Melech  
Haichudim auff Hebreisch / an einem andern Ort dergleichen etwas  
auff griechisch / teutsch / arabisch oder malaisch (welche Sprach  
durch gantz Indien gehet) zu keinem anderen Ende / als sich der  
Himmlischen Göttlichen Dinge dabey Christlich zuerinnern ...<sup>29</sup>

Simplicius' reading of nature on the island is not subject to the bad infinity present in the Schermesser's narrative. It is, instead, infinite in the sense that an infinity of meanings, which reflects a manifold relation to the Infinite, is present within each thing, and this manifold universality is reflected in Simplicius' use of the whole of his linguistic knowledge, which hints at but cannot encapsulate "den grossen Glantz"<sup>30</sup> of the highest Good. Simplicius' hitherto undescribed knowledge of six languages, including those Biblical languages generally recognised as the most ancient, indicates a communicative ability which has reversed the effects of Babel. In addition, the reading of natural objects has a connection to emblematics, and particularly to theories of the language of the hieroglyphs as a magical, symbolic, natural "Ursprache." Simplicius' ability to perceive and make explicit the latent spiritual meaning present in the trees or even in the palm leaves on which he writes his narrative is a further confirmation of his grasp of the Adamic language, his ability to name and describe things according to their true meaning. This possesses an additional relation to the contemporaneous microcosm/macrocosm idea and the doctrine of the signatures present in the writings of Paracelsus and Böhme, which was investigated in early Grimmelshausen criticism.<sup>31</sup>

Interesting particularly in this Catholic text, Simplicius seems to have no need of the institutional church or its sacramental responsibilities, confidently rejecting the need even of the prayers of a fellow Christian in his dying hour. His only wish with regard to institutional Christianity is for spiritual books and a Bible, which wish, however, is revealed as unnecessary by his substitution of his own reading of his surroundings and writing of his experiences as a sacred text. As Dieter Breuer writes, this reflects, problematically, the tendency of seventeenth-

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<sup>29</sup> ST, 573. (VI, xxiv)

<sup>30</sup> ST, 573 (VI, xxiv).

<sup>31</sup> For example: Emil Ermatinger, *Weltdeutung in Grimmelshausens Simplicius Simplicissimus* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1925).

Paul Böckmann, *Formgeschichte der Deutschen Dichtung: Von der Sinnbildsprache zur Ausdruckssprache: der Wandel der literarischen Formensprache vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Vol. I (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1949).

Käte Fuchs, *Die Religiosität des Johann Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen* (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1935).

century religious didactic texts to focus on the individual's path to salvation, to read Scripture increasingly in terms of its individual significance:

[Grimmelshausen] radikalisiert ... eine Tendenz, die die überaus erfolgreiche Erbauungsliteratur des 17. Jahrhunderts ohnehin gefördert hatte und der er Rechnung trug: die notwendige Individualisierung christlicher Frömmigkeit, indem er ein zeitgenössisches Individuum das eigene Leben, die eigene Selbstfindung erzählen läßt. Er reflektiert damit die religiöse Krise des 17. Jahrhunderts, das sich bereits abzeichnende 'Elend des Menschen ohne Gott' (Pascal); er reflektiert sie auch als eine Krise der Erbauungsliteratur, ihrer Sinnangebote und ihres meist naiven, nur für bereits Gläubige akzeptablen Verfahrens.<sup>32</sup>

Even when he has the opportunity to ask the Dutch crew for a Bible, he does not do so (instead requesting only glasses, and that for the purely material reason that they can be used to make a fire), and, instead, gives them his own narrative. Simplicius at all moments resists any form of verbal confession or verbal narrative. The entire story could have appeared as the report of Jean Cornelissen. Instead, Simplicius allows the written narrative, as a complete story, to stand alone as the object which establishes his identity, refusing to alter or reinterpret it through excessive verbal narration, which has throughout the text appeared problematic:

seine Conversation war sehr holdseelig / hingegen aber mehr als viel  
zu kurtz / und wann ich ihm etwas seiner Persohn halber fragte / wise  
er mich in gegenwertiges Buch / und sagte / zu demselbigen hette er  
nach genüge beschriben davon ihn jetzt zu gedencken verdrießen thät  
...<sup>33</sup>

In comparison with the *Wunderliche Fata* and *Robinson Crusoe*, Simplicius displays a relative lack of concern with physical handiwork and other arts on the island. In these other novels, as in the utopian works of Bacon, Campanella, or Andreae, the utopia or *Robinsonade* which reverses man's imperfect postlapsarian intellect tends to focus strongly on artistic/scientific knowledge and achievement, reflecting a common association between encyclopaedic knowledge and eschatological thought.<sup>34</sup> On the Kreuzinsel, such knowledge is unnecessary, even potentially sinful, and is supplanted by theological contemplation. Within the main narrative of *Simplicissimus*, Simplicius' artistic/scientific competence generally has negative implications. It may, like music or romances, be condemned as too much

<sup>32</sup> Breuer, "Grimmelshausens simplicianische Frömmigkeit," 218.

<sup>33</sup> *ST*, 583 (VI, xxvii).

<sup>34</sup> As described by Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggeman and summarised in Locher, 55-56.

an end in itself : “Das sinnliche Ausdrucksprinzip der Sprache kann sich, instrumentell gesteigert, vom Sprachkörper lösen. In diese Ablösung verfeinern Musik und Gesang jedoch die Magie des reinen Lauts und mit ihr die Fähigkeit, sinnlich erotische Wirkungen auszulösen.”<sup>35</sup> Those technical arts concerned only with deception, with the manipulation of surface appearance, and the destructive arts of war are likewise condemned, implicitly if not explicitly, through the difficulties into which Simplicius falls as a result of his mastery of them. After his Mummelsee experience, Simplicius returns to his studies and concludes that theology is the highest art, the sum of all the others, so it is not unduly surprising that it supplants other arts on the island, in the form of the reading of the Book of Nature and the contemplation of revealed truths. The notable exceptions to this are gardening (which I have examined in a previous chapter) and narration, both of which are integral constituents of Simplicius’ theological contemplation. The overt, even humorous, rejection of civilised technical achievements occurs in the sudden disappearance of the devilish Abyssinian and, more importantly, her trunkful of dishes, while Simon Meron’s invention of palm wine only brings about his death. Apart from the technical achievements which provide Simplicius with the necessities of life (the hut, dishes, shovels, a small dam, and a loincloth and hat made of leaves; the *bare* necessities, literally, when we consider his lack of clothing in comparison to the characters on the Insel Felsenburg or to Robinson Crusoe) the remaining inventions, for example the glow worms described by Jean Cornelissen, possess emblematic significance which has been described in other works of criticism. These emblems and the art of making ink and paper all appear in connection to narrative and inscription, in many ways depicted as the consummation of theological activity insofar as inscription acts to provide contemplation with a substance as object, to make it manifest in the empirical world and recognisable to mankind in general.

The loose narrative structure of *Simplicissimus*, following the general Biblical scheme (innocence (Paradise) - knowledge of evil (Fall) - wandering in the wilderness of the world - shipwreck (baptism) and recognition of Divine Providence (conversion through grace) - earthly paradise (salvation)) and its exemplary and didactic role, stated in the first chapter of the *Continuatio*, in the sugared pill

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<sup>35</sup> Busch, *Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen*, 54.

metaphor, reveals Simplicius, like Christian, as a mediating figure who, by revisiting the Biblical narrative and by regenerating it in terms of its individual significance, is able to reverse the effects of the Fall. This idea appears particularly in the kernel and hull metaphor in the Dutch sea captain's narrative, as the sailors who, without permission and, significantly, at the same moment as they steal Simplicius' life story, eat the outer flesh of the peaches on the island and fall victim to the deceptions of their own flawed, sinful perception. Simplicius, by giving the sailors the inner peach kernel to eat, also imparts a healing understanding which returns them to normal perception, a fairly obvious analogy to Christ's healing actions (seen also in Simplicius' appearance as a light in the darkness). The analogy reflects the moral/didactic aspect of Simplicius' own text, which must be read as a whole, both for entertainment and for its value in imparting instruction and understanding.

Interesting in terms of Simplicius' close affiliation with Christ is the Dutch chaplain's role as a mediator between Simplicius and the sailors. He recognises the import of Simplicius' writing on trees ("So weit kombt ein Mensch auff dieser Welt und nicht höher / es wolle ihm dann Gott das Höchste Gut auß Gnaden mehr offenbaren."<sup>36</sup>), <sup>The chaplain</sup> perceives that Simplicius lives directly under God's protection. ~~The sailors may have been punished for attempting to harm him,~~ <sup>he</sup> and preaches "eine schöne Predig / in deren er die Wunder GOTTes priese / vornemblich aber vilgemelten Teütschen der zwar alles bey nahe mit einem Vertruß anhörete / ... lobte."<sup>37</sup> Simplicius himself has become the subject of the sermon, emphasising the nearly divine role which he has assumed through his healing and creative powers, through generating narrative and, through narrative, reconciling the disparity between the world as perceived and as interpreted. Continuing this association, the sailors and officers of the ship honour Simplicius "wie einen Abgott" for his healing work among them, a hint of ambiguity regarding the morality of Simplicius' usurpation of the role of divine author.

To summarise: Simplicius' narrative is the most important aspect of his recovery of the Adamic language. It is founded upon two necessary elements, first, Simplicius' experience in the world, and, second, the revelation, in his final conversion through being saved from shipwreck, that Divine Providence lies behind this experience. The island, as physical telos of the narrative, mirrors Simplicius'

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<sup>36</sup> ST, 573 (VI, xxiv).

<sup>37</sup> ST, 582 (VI, xxvii).



discovery of God as the spiritual End of all creation, the earthly paradise as narrative paradise. The actual process of narration is the process of re-creating empirical experience in the light of its spiritual conclusion, of regenerating the empirical world by revealing its general allegorical significance. Imaginative/artistic activity is able to reconcile the split between appearance and reality which pervades the text. This is the lesson of Baldanders, coupled with the spiritual insight which is the product of divine grace. Acting as creator, in the sense that he regenerates the world in terms of his own regenerated perceptive ability, Simplicius' own narrative parallels Scripture, both in its structure and in its exemplary and didactic function. Because he is responsible for reinstating the correspondences between earthly manifestations and their heavenly meanings, and leading his audience to salvation by giving them the narrative of his own life as an example, Simplicius himself assumes the role of saviour in relation to the reader. His narrative possesses a sacramental function otherwise absent from the text. This mediating role between eternal and transient realms is particularly clear in his interaction with the crew of the Dutch ship, an episode investigated in a previous chapter, which mirrors the relation between the text and the reader.

#### D. Defoe

As in the *Wunderliche Fata* and Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, Robinson Crusoe on his island appears directly under the governance of Providence. His mere presence there is an indication of his salvation, both spiritual and physical, as having been chosen by God from among his less fortunate companions. The progression of the novel is Crusoe's progression in realising this dual state, in developing his physical settlement. His physical salvation is confirmed by the state of perfection at which it arrives in connection with Friday's familial companionship, and in confirming his spiritual salvation through an ability to discern and work in concert with the demands and suggestions of Providence. In these capacities, he, like Albertus Julius, almost necessarily assumes something of an Adamic role, a tendency which Schnabel and some authors of later *Robinsonaden* recognised and imitated. Manuel Schonhorn,<sup>38</sup> in his analysis of the evolution of civilisation on the island, even goes beyond this first, fairly obvious Biblical model to see a reflection

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<sup>38</sup> Manuel Schonhorn, "Defoe: The Literature of Politics," 15-56.

of the sons of Noah as military rulers in later political developments. The island itself displays the characteristics of the earthly paradise in its fruitfulness and relative hospitality, but unlike our other two island examples, it is not the island's initial status as an earthly paradise which is of key importance. Rather, it is the process of achieving this perfection, of refining rough and seemingly imperfect materials, which becomes the central aspect of the novel as a whole.

Crusoe is placed on the island in an unmediated relation to everything - to nature, his surroundings, the God who watches directly over him, and, perhaps most importantly, to himself. Through his gradually developed technical competence, Crusoe becomes the master of every trade, mirroring the rise of society in the microcosm of the universally skilled individual. His accomplishments separate him from pure, formless nature into a state of mastery over it, in virtually every facet of his life. Crusoe succeeds in regaining the Adamic language, not by displaying his polyglot abilities, but by coming to realise, read, and apply the significance of his empirical experience. This reading and application of his experience occurs in his physical work, as Crusoe uses reason and reflection on his past attempts to refine his technical plans for the future, in his boat-making, for example, and in the entire operation of memory as reimagining and reinterpreting the past, of which the text itself is a single, striking example. The discursive authority at which Crusoe has arrived through this process appears in his success in mastering first himself, then Friday, and then his relations with civilisation at large, even in its most threatening forms (cannibals, Spaniards, mutineers). His mastery over himself is confirmed by his ability to tame Friday, to the extent that Friday physically buries and destroys his savage past, in burying the dead cannibals and mastering wild beasts, particularly the bear, at the end of the story. Crusoe's success on the island is recognised by the providential force in a greater context, when he returns to civilisation to discover that his former riches and estate have been preserved and multiplied in his absence, the Brazil estate looked after, significantly, by the monastery of St. Augustine. The rewards of Crusoe's salvation are not to be awaited in heaven, or even on the island as a precursor to heaven, but to be enjoyed on earth.

Crusoe's narrative, like that of the inhabitants of the Insel Felsenburg, plays a directly mediating role in the life of the new colony. It must be remembered that Crusoe, at the end of the island episode, has become the hand of God. He saves the Spaniard, Friday's father, and the English prisoners from death, and then, having

gained authority over them in his capacity as the instrument of Providence, mediates in every possible additional manner as well. His settlement now creates a mediated, rather than unmediated, relation to nature on the island for his guests, particularly because Crusoe is now recognised as a property owner acting as host on his estate. Recognition of his mediating role occurs in Crusoe's physical play/deception in his dual role as mediator (servant) and as supreme authority (governor) with reference to the English mutineers. This is reinforced by Crusoe's pretence of spontaneous merciful intercession on behalf of their freedom to the English captain. Crusoe has exercised his capacity for physical salvation and literal redemption, a capacity furthered in the sequel when he brings a priest to the island and plays a role in converting its inhabitants.

Crusoe's mediating role becomes most clear with respect to the narrative account which he leaves behind for the settlers, a narrative which, like the text as we read it, presumably, is exemplary in both senses, physical and spiritual. Several critics have drawn attention to Crusoe's seemingly inexplicable failure to invent paper and ink on the island. As becomes clear when he tells his story to the Englishmen, however, Crusoe has not had to invent writing instruments, but has instead inscribed himself and his story directly on the landscape, which at every installation gives substance to his past experience. His simultaneous telling and showing of his story is similar to the cycle of narratives of the past and observation of their results in the present which accompanies Eberhard Julius' initial sightseeing tour on the Insel Felsenburg. The island, like the book we read, encapsulates the entirety of his development. As an exemplary text which retraces the path to salvation, Crusoe's text, like those of our other authors, becomes a rewriting of Scripture on a now intensely personal basis, one intended to guide its readers to physical survival and spiritual knowledge as a documentation of the role of Providence in the world which replaces the sacramental significance of Christ in the New Testament.

Crusoe emphasises the completeness of his narrative, an emphasis on the need to know the *whole* story which also appears in his relation of the story of creation to Friday, and which, as the necessary precursor to an understanding of the world, likewise plays a role in *Simplicissimus* and the *Wunderliche Fata*. The difficulty of describing the world, of encapsulating experience within some greater

order, is overcome by this complete narrative, which Crusoe relates in order to endow his listeners with a similar control over their circumstances:

Throughout his narrative, Crusoe will continue to allude to that inchoate world of experience and indeed succeed in making us see it to some extent, but only by constantly giving up the attempt to describe it and rendering it in the solid sequences of orderly narrative. What we read is not simply the sequence but the sequence offering itself again and again as a partial description and evocation of the experience itself.<sup>39</sup>

It is only when Crusoe has achieved a comprehensive interpretation for his experience, has vividly regenerated the world and the past through imagination, and in terms of his final, comprehensive knowledge, that he possesses the authority and control over experience for which Simplicius constantly strives.<sup>40</sup> This control enables Crusoe to leave the island. The mediating nature of the text he leaves behind appears in the Editor's preface, as a description of the purpose of Defoe's text as a whole: "*to the Instruction of others by this Example, and to justify and honour the Wisdom of Providence in all the Variety of our Circumstances, let them happen how they will.*"<sup>41</sup>

The important aspect of the reconciliation attempted by each of these works appears in the relation between the text and its readers. Each work claims to educate and instruct, as well as to entertain, and so functions, to some extent, as a vehicle conveying the reader towards the unity which forms the end of the narrative. Because of the strong religious element in these works, the exemplary function of the texts forms a mediation between the reader and his or her own salvation. In other words, each text takes on some of the function of Scripture itself, showing the reader the way from ignorant wandering to the Promised Land, whether as a religious journey, as is the case for Bunyan's work, or as a journey of the imagination, as is the case for Schnabel's text. The basis of the didactic function of each work is a characteristically early modern understanding of the power of language and narrative. The didactic aspect appears in the simple, cognitive comprehension of the text, in which the words of the work are read and the stories are understood for their

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<sup>39</sup> Richetti, *Defoe's Narratives*, 36.

<sup>40</sup> Note the focus on measuring, observing and otherwise knowing their external environments which pervades both narratives. In the case of *Robinson Crusoe*, Maria Suarez draws attention to the pervasive presence of "rationalistic mechanistic measuring, weighing and quantifying" in Crusoe's interactions with his environment in Maria Luz Suarez, *Robinson Crusoe Revisited: Contemporary Revisions of the Robinson Crusoe Myth* (Braunton, Devon: Merlin, 1996) 10.

232

moral value, as warnings or recommendations for the actions of the reader. It also, however, operates at a more subtle and, in a way psychological level, by which the narrative which has been read is absorbed into the mind and the memory, transfiguring the substance of the psyche.

Bunyan's textual feast at Gaius' Inn utilises the metaphor of digestion for the internalisation of the text. In the Book of Common Prayer and in Bunyan's work, this metaphor applies to the text of Scripture, although Phyllis Mack also mentions its use in the non-Scriptural context, to apply to learning generally, by seventeenth-century Quakers. The idea that a text, read and understood, has become a part of the reader, actually altering his or her intellect, very much strengthens the normative impact of the didactic element of the text. In their capacity to provide mental refreshment or nourishment, words possess a power which is transformative, almost magical. This affective quality of a narrative is strengthened when it appears as a version of the Scriptural story, deriving authority from its structural framework. As a personalised version of the universal narrative, such a text possesses a sacramental function, actually recreating the important aspects of the Biblical narrative within the mind of the individual reader. This creative and transfigurative ability of the author or narrator is, in essence, the function of the priest, as interpreter of Word and world and as mediator between things eternal and things temporal. Creating a world, even a fictional or allegorical world, is an imitation of the divine author, who is responsible for the comprehensive narrative of the cosmos.

It is because of the sacramental aspect of the text that our authors are all able to claim that the stories told within the work are true.<sup>42</sup> This claim appears in relation to every text, even though the allegorical, fictional or fantastical elements of the text appear, initially, to conflict with the emphasis on the identity of words and their meanings, on true speech and complete narration, which pervades most of the works. Defoe, famously, claims that the text of *Crusoe* has been experienced allegorically, if not empirically, in the *Serious Reflections*. Bunyan defends his decision to relate his tale in the form of an allegory in his Preface. Grimmelshausen, Defoe, and Schnabel use the fiction of the found manuscript to defend the empirical reality of their texts, while tacitly acknowledging the possible fictionality of the

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<sup>41</sup> RC, 1.

<sup>42</sup> In addition to claiming to represent a greater moral truth, *Simplicissimus* also claims to depict a negative truth, in its satirical portrait of human conduct.

accounts. In fact, the important truth of the narratives is founded upon their basic framework, the universal story of salvation. This ideal truth, as a truth which exists beyond and behind empirical reality, becomes the guarantor of the authority and legitimacy of the texts. Within the works themselves, empirical reality generally hides the narrative of salvation and the workings of Providence. By uncovering this hidden aspect of worldly existence, albeit through the creation of a fictional story, individual authors are dispelling the bad and carnal realm, a realm ruined by the sin of Adam, in which empirical phenomena possess hidden or deceptive meanings, in favour of a realm of correct signification, in which spiritual truths and empirical existence are directly related. If the events in the texts did not occur, they really should have occurred, and would have occurred if the world were not so corrupt.

The extraordinary aspect, mentioned by many critics, of the works by all four authors is the presence of a high degree of empirical realism, combined with the allegorical or ideal aspect of the texts. This is true on two levels, both in terms of the content of the individual narratives, and in terms of the purpose and defence of the texts, mentioned in the previous paragraph. Within the texts, as in the statements justifying their purpose, the two elements coexist in a slightly ambiguous, indeed uncomfortable relation; at times, the realistic aspects of the works seem to undermine their allegorical claims. This leads to a self-conscious reflexivity within the texts, a representation of the processes of interpretation, of mediation, of integration, and unification, which are necessary to attempt to overcome this ambiguity. The position of our four authors, writing within a period of social upheaval and of spiritual and intellectual transition appears clearly in the texts. Within the works, the solution to this situation is the reinstitution of the state of true signification, the reconciliation of the two realms, through the process of individual narration. This solution presents significant paradoxes, which I will examine in the second half of this chapter.

## 2. *Ambiguities and Conundrums*

For characters in the texts of Bunyan, Schnabel, Grimmelshausen, and Defoe, physical and spiritual salvation occur simultaneously, resolving the break between empirical appearance and spiritual reality which pervades each of the texts. The predominance of this theme, the disparity between appearance and reality, in the works of all four authors agrees with critical observations and analyses concerning

the melancholy of the age,<sup>43</sup> in connection with the breakdown of the holistic world view and the perception of a disjunction between the finite and the infinite worlds.<sup>44</sup> Regardless of whether this tendency is attributed to the rise of modern science, to social disruptions, or to the religious change which is the result of the Reformation, our four authors belong within this transitional phase. Their works recognise and depict the problematic nature of communication in the world and the difficulty of understanding individual experiences within a Scriptural framework. Perhaps more importantly, however, each of these works seeks to overcome these problems and disparities, either by reconciling the rift between the world as it is and the world as it should be, or, more frequently, by rejecting the sinful world in favour of a Scripturally-based existence, accessible only to a select group of virtuous characters.

Despite the universalizing structure of the texts, all of the characters in our works are necessarily individual in relation to their own salvation. This is true, at least in part, because conversion, the action of grace, and sincere belief are experiences which, particularly in the Protestant context, but also in Simplicius' mystical tendencies,<sup>45</sup> occur only on the most individual and most interior level. Individuality is a necessary aspect of the fictional hero, just as post-Lutheran salvation is crucially structured around a moment of felt, interior religious experience. Both of these factors pull figures in our texts away from the universal parameters of their activities, and towards action as characters, as specific individuals. This movement from pure allegory, from mere utopian description, and from morally didactic/exemplary writing towards novelistic narrative appears clearly in all four texts. With such an emphasis on individuality, however, (and this is the central problem of early modern consciousness) the relation to the cosmic scheme and the universal significance of experience becomes problematic. As the depiction of one individual's path to salvation, as a rewriting of Scripture only in terms of one

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<sup>43</sup> Among others: Philip Almond; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melacholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson (London: J.M. Dent, 1972); N.H. Keeble *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity*; D.P. Walker, *The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth Century Discussions of Eternal Torment* (London: Routledge, 1964); John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination*.

<sup>44</sup> Among others: Hans Blumenberg; *Die Lesbarkeit der Welt*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1981; Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London: Faber & Faber, 1979); Waswo; Walter Benjamin, *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1955); Will Flemming, *Der Wandel des Deutschen Naturgefühls vom 15. zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1931); McKeon; Reiss; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983); Thomas, *Religion and the Decline in Magic*.

<sup>45</sup> *ST*, 568-569 (VI, xxiii).

character, our texts fail to offer a general salvation. It is from this tension that the problem of closure arises in each text, with a move from representative main characters without specific characteristics to characters who explore a wider range of social roles (male/female, old/young, differences of race, differences in profession) and possible responses to the Scriptural pattern of narrative, in an endeavour to depict *all* the possible variations in individual experience in order to continue to reconcile the individual and the universal.

#### A. Bunyan

The final event in Bunyan's spiritual autobiography is his retention of faith while facing the fear of death. It is this victory which brings him to the sight of heaven, in the form of the text of Hebrews 12: 22-24, which concludes the conversion narrative proper. Following the Scriptural pattern of our narratives, the end of the text, in allegorical or metaphorical terms, is eternal salvation, the Heavenly Jerusalem, that is, a state of spiritual enlightenment and of assurance of salvation. The account of his preaching which follows Bunyan's spiritual autobiography is interesting, however, in that it maintains the idea of a continuous battle for understanding and rightful speech which appears in the main text. Bunyan continues to be a much divided personality, filled with fears and temptations to blaspheme while off the pulpit, but impelled by the Holy Spirit to speak as God's mouthpiece while delivering a sermon. At the same time, he says: "I preached what I felt, what I smartingly did feel."<sup>46</sup> As he experiences them, he describes the terrors of the law, then the grace of Christ, then the mystery of union with Christ. The continuation of interpretive development beyond the end of the autobiography and the continued sense of division between Bunyan's own linguistic identity and the words of Scripture are an indication that the text is subject to tensions which have not reached a final resolution.

Bunyan does not ignore the continued ambivalence of his earthly situation. Unlike St. Augustine, for example, he does not feel that his illumination is a token that he has reached a certain resting place in terms of election, and considers the possibility that he may be only a "tinkling cymbal," used to bring others to God, but himself laid aside at the Day of Judgement. This ambivalent note agrees very much

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<sup>46</sup> GA, 85.



with the additional addenda to the text, in “A Brief Account of the Author’s Imprisonment,” and the Conclusion which, although approaching some sort of closure for the text in Bunyan’s positive assessment of his current situation, nonetheless maintain a clear awareness of the difficulties of discerning a divine order behind experience,<sup>47</sup> understanding Scripture correctly and beneficially,<sup>48</sup> and remembering the comforts of faith.<sup>49</sup> This difficulty with closure is, as we shall see, also common to our other texts; it reflects the basic paradox of autobiographical writing and first-person narration, i.e. that the life of the narrator continues even after the text has been written. It further emphasises the linguistic and interpretive tension present in each text between the process of reaching its end and the end itself.

For Bunyan, the attempt to discern the universal salvation depicted in Scripture has become sufficiently problematic that new texts are necessary in order to assist readers in interpreting Scripture and their own experiences, seeking to confirm as books, as texts, the objective truth of specific interpretations. Specific texts are necessary, in order continuously to reaffirm the connection between man, the empirical individual, and the obscured divine discourse. It is to this tendency that we may attribute the possibility of an infinitely continued *Pilgrim’s Progress*; the path of Scripture is explicitly rewritten as exemplary for a specific individual, who in his journeying becomes exemplary for more specific individuals, who by following him become exemplary for more specific individuals, and so on. Each sequel reconnects the single protagonist with a universal truth, but the link maintains itself for the reader only until the single protagonist is himself or herself taken up into this truth, the transcendent entry into the Celestial City at the end of the text. Successful transcendence denies the problematic religious experience of the uncertain and fearing reader, and so demands another text in order to reconstitute this link. The connection between individual experience and Scriptural certainties can be maintained only through the constantly transformed and revised “progress” of the text, the shuttling between individual appearance and universal significance which is the constituent feature of allegoresis. In this context, *The Pilgrim’s Progress* moves beyond allegory to the representation of an allegorical reading of Scripture, a

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<sup>47</sup> GA, Conclusion (2), 102.

<sup>48</sup> GA, Conclusion (1, 4), 102.

<sup>49</sup> GA, Conclusion (3, 6), 102-103.

237

representation in which the readers appear as characters and their reading experiences as novelistic plot.

Bunyan's texts are the most explicitly religious and the most explicitly exemplary of all of our four texts. Because his spiritual autobiography and his fictional works are primarily concerned with revisiting and regenerating the narrative of Scripture on an individual basis, the sacramental aspect of narrative, a vehicle to assist the reader of the text to bridge the abyss between the earthly and the divine, appears most clearly in these texts. Paradoxically, however, it is also in the first volume of *The Pilgrim's Progress* that, in a certain sense, man remains most limited to the empirical realm, to an uncertain salvation. The narrative is allegorical and exemplary, rather than presenting a circumstantially realistic world, in which the reader can participate through a personal association with a fictional narrator. Because of this, at the end of the volume the reader must return to the frame narrative, the dreamer in the den. In the other texts, the fictional communication between the island paradise and the European world maintains a connection between the two realms. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, however, the dreamer himself remains outside the gate of the Celestial City, viewing the exemplary damnation of Ignorance, just as he viewed the salvation of Christian. The device of the dream reflects the impotence of the individual regarding his or her own destiny; even to envision the path to salvation, the dreamer requires the assistance of divine revelation.

The second volume of the work, like our other texts, shifts the final focus of the narrative to the earthly paradise, the Church as it continues through Christiana's children. It also, quite subtly, overcomes the absolute division between the allegorical dream world and the den, through the dreamer's comments on the necessity of travelling "whence [Christian] went"<sup>50</sup> in order to hear the continuation of his story. Although Mr. Sagacity appears as a character in the dream, his companionable chat with the dreamer-narrator and their walk together seems to reinforce the connections between main and the frame narratives. By appearing as a fictional character in his own dream, and by imitating the travelling activity and instructive conversation which forms the bulk of the narrative, the dreamer appears to overcome the split between the empirical and the ideal worlds which characterises

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<sup>50</sup> *PP*, 174.

the ending of the first text. Paradoxically, by abandoning a relatively realistic, if symbolic, account of his own activities (the den is glossed as “The Gaol”<sup>51</sup>) in favour of the fictional representation of plausible social interaction, Bunyan reinforces the verisimilitude of the text and resolves the problem of entrapment in the sinful world, which characterises the ending of the first volume. Like Gisander in the *Wunderliche Fata*, he ends the second volume by mentioning the possibility of a return to the fictional landscape: “Shall it be my Lot to go that way again, I may give those that desire it, an Account of what I here am silent about ...”<sup>52</sup> This successful solution to the almost devastating ending of the first volume, the abrupt disappearance of Christian and his salvation, once again emphasises the impossibility of closing the text. In order to function effectively as a mediator between the reader and his or her salvation, it must continue, or seem able to continue, to bridge the gap between the allegorical and the empirical realms. In order to maintain this reconciling activity, Bunyan is almost driven into the fiction by which the dreamer appears to travel, simultaneously, in the allegorical and the real landscape, and to interact both with the readers and with the characters of his narrative.

By becoming a character in his own narrative, the dreamer moves towards the function of first-person narrators such as Simplicius and Crusoe, who, by relating their fictional and morally-interpretable experiences directly to their intended readers, constantly mediate between the fictional and allegorical territories which they inhabit and the empirical realm. The difficulty with this solution is the fictionality of the narrators themselves, and the only way to resolve this paradox is by embracing the fictionality of the novel form as a whole, by relinquishing its claims to re-present the universal narrative, the central truth of all creation, in favour of a narrower individual, psychological, and secular focus. Such a narrow focus does not resolve the tensions between truth, fiction, and verisimilitude, or even eliminate the existence of a latent Scriptural framework in the plot of many, possibly even most, novels, but it does mitigate the tensions in the text.

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<sup>51</sup> *PP*, 8.

<sup>52</sup> *PP*, 311.

## B. *Schnabel*

The effect of the process of reenacting Scripture upon the Insel Felsenburg is to set up Schnabel's text virtually as a replacement for Scripture, an account in which salvation is achieved, not through faith in Christ, but through Albertus Julius' activity in re-entering and perfecting the state of nature. Just as Albertus Julius assumes the role of priest and second Adam on the island, acting in direct harmony with the commands of Divine Providence, the novel itself moves beyond a mere mediation between eighteenth-century man and the problematic letter of Scripture to subvert the Bible itself, affording the reader a path to a (fictional) salvation through reading the work. The text makes no explicit claims to this role, but through its masquerade as a possibly true travel narrative, particularly through its intrusion into what is presumed to be the reader's reality in the figure of Gisander, and in his interaction with characters from the island (lunching with Captain Horn, for example, and possibly visiting the island at the end of Volume Four), it does function misleadingly as a pseudo-guidebook to a physically-approachable earthly paradise. Even if the text is read as purely fictional, as pure escapism, it subverts the text of Scripture and the possibility of perceiving the action of Providence in the real world by replacing and reducing them to this fictional level, drastically divided from the reader's world, with salvation to be regained only in an imaginary manner.

The *Robinsonade* as a motif or genre is inherently progressive, but the *Robinsonade* activity of the text has already been completed by the time Eberhard Julius arrives to view the island, which now displays the utopian characteristic of stability. This stability is the characteristic which fundamentally separates the utopia, as a descriptive, frequently satirical comparison between an ideal and a real society, from the conflict-centred novel. The novel presupposes a movement from the real to the ideal, whatever its form (marriage, death, living happily ever after, spiritual enlightenment), as a genre in which, from its beginnings in the ancient world, chance, Fortune, discord and malevolent Fate reign, in order to be defeated, finally, by each happy ending. In this context, it is, I think, no accident that the greatest novels have appeared historically at times of social upheaval, encapsulating the urge for reconciliation (and, frequently, depicting the impossibility of satisfying this striving) of their authors and audience. Despite its identification with the Bible, the *Wunderliche Fata* is not a work of devotional literature, and the salvation which it affords is the interior satisfaction of the reader glimpsing a fictional spiritual and

social integration, a satisfaction which maintains itself only as long as the reading process continues. The central paradox of this novel, as of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, is that only the progression of the narrative, not its final and paradisaal result, mediates effectively between the reader and this integration. In order to approach spiritual and spatial integration, and in order to continue this mediation, the text itself must continue.

Once the main activity of the first volumes of the *Wunderliche Fata* has taken place, a description of the island's present and, more centrally, the narration of its past and the past of its inhabitants, Schnabel has little choice but to move from utopian description to activity on the level of Eberhard's narrative. In order to provide continued reading satisfaction, reader interest must be maintained by a continued provision and defeat of threats and conflict. Although the defeat of each danger is intended to reaffirm the stability of the society, the continuous provision threatens and belies the paradisaal character of the island. Because the island society is so harmonious and ideal, the conflict must necessarily come from diverse and often bizarre outside sources, removed either politically (an attempted takeover by the King of Spain), physically (archaeological discoveries and supernatural occurrences on Klein Felsenburg, the voyages of Horn's ship between the island and Europe), or supernaturally (the evil ghosts of Lemelie and Don Juan de Silves) from the society itself. The constituent process of this work, particularly in its later sections, is this unceasing tension, Schnabel's need to continue his text by providing more conflict which, in its resolution, will reaffirm the sense of integration and redemption which the island embodies. The very nature of plot-centred novelistic discourse conflicts with the aim of depicting a utopian or paradisaal, conflictless state, making the process of narrative integration endlessly necessary as the product of this tension. Just as Bunyan moves away from pure allegory, Schnabel moves further from the utopian description of Eberhard's narrative the longer the novel continues, pressed by the necessity of the novel form, by the necessity for continuous reconciliation, into disrupting and threatening the ideal society he has created. I will return to the problem of closure, and to the further implications of the presence of the Scriptural narrative in our texts, in my treatment of *Simplicissimus* and *Robinson Crusoe* and in the conclusion of this section.

### C. Grimmelshausen

*Simplicissimus*, unlike *The Pilgrim's Progress*, is not a purely spiritual text, and was indeed, despite the claims to didactic value which appear throughout the narrative, never intended simply as such. The spiritual viewpoint appears as a component in the comprehensive synthesis provided by a teleological narrative, provided, that is, by the imaginative activity of the individual, and is based in the abilities to manipulate appearance through artistic competence which Simplicius has acquired through worldly experience. Because the text is more obviously written to entertain than Bunyan's texts, the text's dependence on its fictionally-depicted author rather than on a divine Author is much more obvious. Likewise more obvious than in Bunyan's texts is the insoluble nature of the communication problems present in the novel. Whereas Bunyan provides an alternative to worldly communication in his depiction of the privileged language of the community of the faithful, Simplicius' focus on narrative as salvation remains an ambiguous solution, primarily because of his own unreliability as a narrator. References, particularly in Chapter Fourteen of the *Continuatio*, to Simplicius' propensity to embellish his own experience in order to entertain his audience and fulfil their expectations, which embellishments seem at times quite similar to the text as he has supposedly written it on the island,<sup>53</sup> reinforce the difficulty of reading the text as true, even in a generally allegorical sense, despite its Scriptural framework.

The text's satiric orientation towards sinful activity displays a preoccupation with worldly matters which is likewise visible in Schnabel's voyeuristic treatment of sin in the life stories in the *Wunderliche Fata*. Although Schnabel certainly remains trapped in a dualistic understanding of the worldly and the spiritual, his vision in the first two volumes of the novel, like that of Bunyan, at least depicts a clear alternative to the unpleasant world, a possibility of escaping man's basic sinfulness through the creation of a narrative community. Grimmelshausen's text is remarkable in the absence of such a narrative community, at least until the community connected to the exemplary function of narrative and its ability to prompt conversion appears in *Springinsfeld*. Because verbal communication remains problematic even on the island, the existence of the mediating power of narrative is limited (except for the allegorical depiction of the healing plum or peach kernels, which, however, only

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<sup>53</sup> The stories of Simplicius' travels through land and sea seem suspiciously similar to the Mummelsee and the voyage around the world in Book Five. *ST*, 512 (VI, xi), 527-531 (VI, xiv).

reverse the harm done by too cursory or too carnal a reading/eating in the first place) to Simplicius' writing on trees and to the narrative itself. The inscriptions on trees make their meanings explicit to him, but this insight is obviously not shared by the sailors, who display a total lack of interpretive ability in failing to heed the Circe inscription on the plum tree and in misreading the island text. Interpretive ability is attributed to the instantaneous action of grace, which indicates that Simplicius is a chosen, elect individual, and excludes a progressive revelation. The narrative appears as an attribute of Simplicius individually, a further instance of election and privilege in comparison with the deluded mass of sinful men. This artistic privilege is also later reflected in the figure of Philarchus Grossus von Tromenheim, who as a progressively-enlightened writer is able to produce the moralising and enlightened frame narrative in *Springinsfeld*. Simplicius' narrative by itself, as I have said, remains problematically rooted in a satirical description of experience, whatever its final claims. It derives its existence, even more than our other texts, from its function as continually measuring experience by spiritual and moral norms and attempting to reconcile the two through individual, imaginative, authorial activity, which activity must necessarily continue because it is depicted as the only possible means of achieving and maintaining such a reconciliation. This necessity of continuation in itself makes the interpretive activity problematic, not least because of the lack of a positive, socially and didactically-constructive aspiration towards unproblematic narrative reception. The texts of Schnabel and Bunyan share the first problem, but it is to some extent mitigated by their vision of social integration through narrative.

The difficulty of *Simplicissimus* is, in part, the Tristram Shandy paradox inherent in the autobiographical form: in order to write autobiographically, one must be alive, not dead, and as long as one is alive, the autobiography may be indefinitely continued. The teleological narrative which ends in the salvation of the individual soul may and must be added to as long as the individual remains alive. Moreover, in the problematic context of early modern individuality, the ability of the narrative of a single individual to act as a mediator, to tell his or her narrative in terms of, and as a replacement for, the comprehensive Biblical narrative will always carry with it the awareness that, however encyclopaedic in dimensions, however universal its parameters, this is only the narrative of a single individual. In order to complete the vision it presents, in order to be *really* universal, it must include the narrative of

every individual. Like Bunyan and Schnabel's texts, again paradoxically, the process of reconciling the specific, finite individual experience with its cosmic parameters and universal meaning is effective only as long as the text itself continues, simply because the final illumination presented in the text has *not* been achieved by the reader, indeed by definition (because the reader reads to learn the path to such illumination and is reading rather than generating narrative) *cannot* have been achieved by the reader prior to reading the text.

The reader's inability to participate in this resolution of the text is reflected in the switch to third-person descriptions of Simplicius at the end of *Simplicissimus* and in the "Simplicianischen Schriften." The only way to overcome these paradoxes and to continue the narrative, so that it can maintain and expand its completeness, is to continue the narrative process with further examples of subjective, often first-person narration, which revisit the territory of the novel, often in a literal, geographical sense, and, by revisiting, gloss and reinterpret the text. The effect of this revisiting and reinterpretation, however, is to rob the original narrative of its universal elements. It appears as only one among a series of specifically individual narratives, no longer a single, definitive mediator which encapsulates the universal aspects of man's nature. There is no escape from this final paradox, a paradox which is inherent in the novel genre, but which appears so explicitly in *Simplicissimus* because of the novel's central thematic concern with the reconciliation of individual experience and universal, divine norms. In *Simplicissimus* particularly, of all our texts the work which betrays the most delight in worldly experience, ambiguity, language play, manifold meanings, mistaken appearances, and comic deception, the tension between the novelistic fascination with the fallen world and the urge to achieve a final state of integration<sup>is</sup> most abundantly in evidence, and most resistant to resolution.

#### D. Defoe

The primary difficulties of the text, as with *Simplicissimus* and the *Wunderliche Fata*, occur because it is presented as an exemplary narrative encapsulating the action of Providence in the empirical world, but is, in fact, a fiction. Defoe is thus condemned for impersonating Providence. According to Homer Brown, "... it is possible to say that while Defoe is impersonating Robinson Crusoe, he is also impersonating on another level Providence itself. Just as the



double vision made possible by the Christian conversion is replaced by the double vision of narration, the structure of narration has stood in place of providence.”<sup>54</sup> Leopold Damrosch writes, “By making up Crusoe and his adventures Defoe unavoidably becomes the shaping deity of the narrative.”<sup>55</sup> Crusoe literally performs such an impersonation towards the end of his narrative, a confirmation that his mastery of his environment and his knowledge have extended to a near divine level, until he becomes a second God, the re-creator and author of his own story. The sanction given within the narrative for this role seems, by transference, to possibly justify its real author as acting in harmony with Providence in his depiction of providential truths, an “allegorical” justification of the text. According to Elizabeth Napier, Crusoe’s “conclusions suggest - and the form of Defoe’s fiction attests - that the ultimate aspiration of man is to join his purposes to those of God, to reproduce, through the literal and metaphorical ordering of his own life, the master, Providential pattern.”<sup>56</sup> Artistic endeavour, which reproduces divine actions and the divine order, may be legitimated by the very order which it seeks to imitate, a positive rather than negative evaluation of mimetic activity which seems to be implicit in Defoe’s text. This may or may not be accepted by the reader. *Robinson Crusoe* is not an empirically true narrative, but, according to the *Serious Reflections*, it possesses a so-called “allegorical” truth. This is, perhaps, true in its depiction of the path from ignorance to successful interpretation, spiritual knowledge, and authorial and authoritative competence if read for its didactic merit as a spiritual guidebook, as an instruction in allegoresis, in interpretive activity. In any case, the text remains fictional, and the claims made for the text remain ambiguous.

The particularly problematic aspects of our other texts are largely resolved by a shift of focus in *Crusoe*, a shift which later establishes itself in the genre as a whole. Because of the combination of his isolated situation and first person narrative, it is mainly on Crusoe alone, his actions, his surroundings, his relation to God, his mistakes, his mental reflections, his interpretations, and not on the interplay between Crusoe and outward circumstance (which is so very problematic in Bunyan, Grimmelshausen and Schnabel), whether worldly or divine, that the island portion of the text focuses. As such, the island episode as it focuses on Crusoe’s self-

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<sup>54</sup> Brown, 93.

<sup>55</sup> Damrosch, “Myth and Fiction in *Robinson Crusoe*,” 162.

<sup>56</sup> Napier, 94.

realisation (through growing knowledge, work, ability to discern a providential plan) and his ability to have this self-realisation recognised in his surroundings, physical and social, is sufficient unto itself. Crusoe, having come to self-knowledge and interpretive competence, does not need to remain in the earthly paradise, but has developed an authority based in this psychological knowledge which guarantees his success in the outer world. His earthly paradise ends in himself, not in escape from his surroundings. As such, despite his focus on the providential theme, he lacks that passivity which is common to our other heroes and is actively able to forge a place for himself and achieve social integration based on the exertion of rational thought. This makes his subsequent adoption by Rousseau and his companion pedagogues rather to be expected, just as the psychological element of the text continues to guarantee its modern reading. It is also the cause of a tendency to ignore the non-island episodes of the text, and to bemoan the low quality and merely episodic structure of the first, action-packed sequel.

Closure remains a problem in *Robinson Crusoe* as in our other early modern fictions. Crusoe, outside the island, is doomed by personal inclination and by the plot's demand for continued interesting events to the same bad infinity of linear journeying as Simplicius or any of Schnabel's characters in the course of their worldly experiences. Upon the island itself, the continued progression of Crusoe's reconciling actions (work to reconcile man and nature, domestic ordering to overcome alienation from environment and lack of rootedness, interpretive activity to reinstate man's clear relation to God) provides the essential part of the reader's fascination with the story, no matter in which century it is read. Thus, readers contemporary with Crusoe focus on the spiritual aspect of his narrative, while later Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment readers note the progression of his education from the natural state to the civilised,<sup>57</sup> or focus on his technical<sup>58</sup> or economic<sup>59</sup> achievements. The central aspect of each of these readings is the idea of progression, of development towards an end, in the mind of the individual and in the individual's capability for modifying his surroundings. The satisfaction presented by vicarious participation in such activity, however, as in Bunyan's narrative, lasts only as long as the participation itself lasts; the final result, a final perfection, whether in

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<sup>57</sup> Rousseau.

<sup>58</sup> Campe

<sup>59</sup> Marx

terms of Crusoe's fully enlightened spirituality or his final, successful settlement or rescue is less relevant than the struggle to achieve it, the section of the narrative with which the imperfect reader most associates. It is because of this, I would suggest, that the basic story of Robinson Crusoe has been repeated and repeated since 1720. These imitators share the same tendency as Bunyan's own sequel to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, that is, of portraying characters with different characteristics following, rereading Crusoe's basic situation. We have infants, couples, families, and, indeed, entire shiploads of castaways sharing one or all of the aspects of his progressive achievement. There is also a marked tendency to expand Crusoe's activity, as in the example of Joachim Heinrich Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779-1780), which provides its hero with only limited resources at the beginning, through additional hardship, causing him to expand his ingenuity and therefore the satisfaction and didactic merit of the narrative. Crusoe himself is not immune to this fascination; at the end of *Robinson Crusoe* he writes, "especially I could not resist the strong Inclination I had to see my Island, and to know if the poor *Spaniards* were in Being there, and how the Rogues I left there had used them,"<sup>60</sup> and he returns to the island in the sequel to admire Will Atkins' ingenious wickerwork and organise the society more systematically. Crusoe, having achieved spiritual knowledge, psychological equilibrium, and social integration on the island, is permitted to rejoin civilisation. His salvation is a psychological salvation, fitting him for work in the world rather than, as a spiritual salvation, causing him to withdraw from it. It is, however, the *process* of the experience which enchants the reader and Crusoe himself. The narrative which leads to the earthly paradise, whatever its final nature, must be continued as long as we, its readers, have not yet reached the end.

### 3. *Conclusions*

The paradoxical focus on the progression of the narrative, on how it achieves its end rather than on its final resolution, is the fundamental pleasure of novel reading. It is always particularly obvious in texts concerned with the interplay between specific elements of realistic experience, on the one hand, and some more

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<sup>60</sup> RC, 304.

universal, patterned form, on the other.<sup>61</sup> It is no accident that the means of reaching the final goal become the central focus of our texts, to the extent that their final resolution is frequently disrupted in order to continue the story of the journey towards the end. In these early novels and proto-novels, the difficulty of reconciling the empirical world with some allegorical pattern is not merely incidental to the writing process, but is the fundamental concern of the narrative itself. The texts of Bunyan, Grimmelshausen, and Defoe, all of undeniable seminal significance in the rise of modern prose fiction, are written in a period when such reconciliation is of explicit concern throughout society, seen particularly in the religious and linguistic crises of the time. What remains explicit in these novels and proto-novels, with their strong allegorical elements, maintains itself, I would suggest, in the novel in an implicit fashion into the twentieth century, when it again becomes thematically explicit and self-consciously problematic.

In many contemporary textual analyses, the mark of sophisticated fiction is seen to be the self-reflexivity of a text, its self-conscious fictionality. Oddly enough, however, early modern texts continue to be approved on the basis of their tendencies towards empirical realism.<sup>62</sup> As I have implied throughout this dissertation, the interpretive fecundity of these texts lies not in their realistic tendencies alone, but rather in the self-consciousness of each work regarding the narrative process. Realistic or fantastical, the worlds presented in these works are the product of an unending cycle of reading and writing, interpreting and narrating. The foundation of this endless process is a vision of the cosmos itself as book, as the narrative of a divine Author. These works do not present the limited self-referentiality of many later artistic efforts, merely “art for art’s sake.” Instead, as is obvious in the depiction of the sacramental quality of the narrative, the very substance of all of the cosmos, within and without the text, is perceived as the work of a divine Creator. Narrative activity, whatever its tensions and paradoxes, is participation in the essential aspect of the creation, participation, albeit on a lower level, in the workings of the divine mind. As such, it possesses an inherent value and an inherent, frequently transfiguring power.

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<sup>61</sup> Popular mystery and romance novels are typical examples of novels in which the reader knows the basic pattern of the narrative, possibly even its general conclusion from the beginning, but reads in order to discover which plot twists or variations in salacious detail embed themselves in the story.

<sup>62</sup> Ian Watt, Davis, and even some of the critics who investigate the connections between the novel and the spiritual autobiography.

It is in this respect that the thematic concerns of Bunyan, Schnabel, Grimmelshausen and Defoe return to haunt the self-conscious and piously truth-seeking critic. Crusoe and Friday, Simplicius and his father, Albertus and Concordia, and Christian and Christiana are all readers - of Scripture, of the world, of other human chronicles - and narrators of their readings. Their fictional worlds, their textual analyses, are manipulated by the understanding of signification, the view of the world and of humanity, and the religious concerns of the authors of the texts. I, likewise, have interpreted these works, by endeavouring to understand and establish the connections between the specific phenomena within each text and a series of general and theoretical principles or ideas. Within my analysis, I have used language in the belief that it is able to articulate a signified truth, as a sanctified force in my own attempt to discover the unity behind the text. In adding a further level of narration to these infinitely-expanding texts, do I participate in the infinite chain of narrative activity which at once questions, by interpretation, and affirms, by narration, the work of all signification, but especially of storytelling, in the endless activity of creation and representation which sustains our understanding of the cosmos? Have I understood something of the manifold signs and the multiplicity of stories which surround us, participating through the sacramental function of language in the spelling out of the divine logos within creation - the appreciation of a unified and transcendent vision within, and through, the text? Or, by reading and writing about reading and writing about reading and writing, have I become trapped in an inescapably self-referential, endless regression, a "bad infinity"? Where is *the whole story*, and who (or "Who") is telling it?

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