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Allegory, Maps, and Modernity: Cognitive Change from Bunyan to Forster

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[Headnote]

Contemporary metaphor theory provides an important framework for relating human cognitive universals to cultural and historical variation. This essay analyzes important differences in the journey metaphors of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* and E.M. Forster's "The Other Side of the Hedge," relating these to the emergence of modernity.

One of the most famous examples of a conceptual metaphor of the kind first analyzed in George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* is *Life Is a Journey*. One of the most famous expressions of this conceptual metaphor is, in turn, John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Bunyan's work is an allegory, that is to say, a massively extended metaphor and so an extended linguistic expression of *Life Is a Journey*. Thomas Macaulay in 1830 declared of Bunyan's work that "every reader knows the straight and narrow path" (561). Any journey necessarily follows a path, and Macaulay's assertion expresses the widespread belief that the life journey of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is along an absolutely straight path.

The Pilgrim's Progress was first published in 1678. E.M. Forster's short story "The Other Side of the Hedge" was first published in 1911, in *The Celestial Omnibus*. It, too, is an allegory, its narrator travelling along a road that is apparently absolutely straight. There are others on this road too, and it becomes clear that allegorically it is the road of historical progress. If *The Pilgrim's Progress* expresses *Life Is a Journey*, then "The Other Side of the Hedge" expresses *History Is a Journey*. The parallels between the two works seen from this angle seem striking, for not only do both allegorical journeys seem to be straight-line journeys but also the issue of whether you should depart from this apparently straight line is central in both works. In terms of metaphorical structure, they seem to be closely related. Yet, if one accepts the traditional view of conceptual metaphor of *Metaphors We Live By*, it is difficult to see how this can be so, for the two works express quite separate conceptual metaphors: *Life Is a Journey* and *History Is a Journey*, the first having the individual life as its target domain while the second has collective history as its target domain.

Recent metaphor theory has moved away from regarding individual conceptual metaphors such as *Life Is a Journey* as cognitively fundamental. This can already be seen in George Lakoff and Mark Turner's *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, with its notion of generic metaphors, such as *Events Are Actions*, that receive a range of different specifications. More recently, Joseph Grady, in "A Typology of Motivation for Conceptual Metaphor:

Correlation vs. Resemblance," has termed "primary metaphors" as those very general metaphors underlying our system of conventional metaphor that are based on regular correlations within our everyday experience. Examples of such metaphors are Difficult Is Heavy and Valued Aspects of Experience are Precious Possessions (82-84). More specific metaphors, such as Death Is a Thief, result from specifications and/or combinations of these primary metaphors. The basis for the notion of primary metaphor is already present in George Lakoff's "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor," with its concept of the Event-Structure metaphor, which consists, in effect, of a set of related primary metaphors such as: States Are Locations; Changes Are Movements; Purposes Are Destinations; Means Are Paths (220-25). A conceptual metaphor, such as Life Is a Journey, is a specification of this general Event-Structure metaphor, which can itself be further specified by Love Is a Journey or A Career Is a Journey.

The Life Is a Journey of The Pilgrim's Progress and the History Is a Journey of "The Other Side of the Hedge" are thus different but closely related specifications of the same Event-Structure metaphor. Their main difference is that, while in one, individual lives are conceived as journeys along an apparently perfectly straight road, in the other it is the process of collective history. What is striking is the common source domain image of the perfectly straight road. Lakoff thinks that structures such as the Event-Structure metaphor are probably cognitive universals, with cultural variation involving different specifications of these general structures (224-25). Confirmation for this hypothesis is provided by Ning Yu, who shows in The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from Chinese that in Chinese the primary metaphors of Time Is Space and of Event-Structure are virtually identical to those of English (131-39, 233-35). Yu also shows that, though Chinese and English share major metaphors of anger, there is at least one striking, culturally motivated, difference in their specifications of these (52-60, 70-73). Cultural variation via varying metaphorical specifications seems very probable. Forster's readers had in 1911 no difficulty understanding that, in walking along an absolutely straight road, his narrator was in fact participating, metaphorically, in historical progress. There are questions, however, as to just how easily Bunyan and his readers grasped the metaphor of life as a journey along an absolutely straight road. One has to ask for how long and why this specification of the Event-Structure metaphor has seemed natural to Westerners.

The first sentence in "The Other Side of the Hedge" makes it clear that its narrator is walking along the road of time, for it is time that his pedometer measures: "My pedometer told me that I was twenty five; and, though it is a shocking thing to stop walking, I was so tired that I sat down on a milestone to rest." The road has "brown crackling hedges" (34) through which the narrator pushes to the other side. Here he finds an idyllically pastoral place where (in contrast to the road, along which everyone has to travel in the same direction, preferably without rest or pause) no one has to go anywhere. His guide to this magical place replies to the question "Where does this place lead to?" with "Nowhere, thank the Lord!" (35).

Forster's short allegory is interpretable for a modern Western reader. Purposes are destinations in the Event-Structure metaphor, so the fact that everyone travels the same road in the same direction shows that they all pursue the same, obligatory, purpose. The nature of this purpose, for those with the requisite cultural knowledge, quickly becomes clear. In the first paragraph of "The Other Side of the Hedge," the narrator notes among the people who "outstripped [him,] jeering as they did so, [. . .] Miss Eliza Dimbleby, the great educationist" (34). Education was a crucial component of the concept of progress in the early twentieth century, as it still is. Later, in response to the other side's purposelessness, the narrator declares to his guide: "This is perfectly terrible. One cannot advance: one cannot progress. Now we of the road, [. . .] we advance continually. [. . .] We are always learning, expanding, developing. Why even in my short life I have seen a great deal of advance—the Transvaal War, the Fiscal Question, Christian Science, Radium" (36). The purpose pursued by those on the road is that of "progress." The road is the road of progress.

The predominant image of Forster's road is one of absolute straightness. The narrator's guide takes him to an opening in the hedge: "The gate opened outwards, and I exclaimed in amazement, for from it ran a road—just such a road as I had left-dusty under foot, with brown crackling hedges on either side as far as the eye could reach. 'That's my road!' I cried" (Collected 37). The crucial detail here is that the road stretches as far as the eye can see: it must therefore be straight as far as the eye can see. Forster trusts his reader to recognize his absolutely straight road as the road of progress. History Is a Journey along a Straight Road was already established as a specification of the Event-Structure metaphor.

When Macaulay declared of The Pilgrim's Progress that "every reader knows the straight and narrow path," he must have had in mind statements such as that of Good Will to Christian: "Look before thee; dost thou see this narrow way? That is the way thou must go. It was cast up by the Patriarchs, Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, and it is as straight as a Rule can make it: This is the way thou must go" (23). We seem here to have the same image of the absolutely straight way, a way as straight as a rule, as in "The Other Side of the Hedge," although Bunyan's positive attitude to this image contrasts with Forster's. That is, we seem to have a common modification of two closely related specifications of the Event-Structure metaphor.

That Bunyan employs the same source domain image as Forster would suggest that the metaphor of human life, whether individual or collective, as the following of an absolutely straight way, goes back a long way in Western culture. Bunyan, however radical a Protestant he was, inherited not only the mediaeval tradition of the allegorical dream vision but also the basic, Augustinian, traditions of Latin Christianity. This would suggest that this conceptual metaphor is rooted in these traditions, and behind these in the Bible itself. Anyone accepting this suggestion must necessarily emphasize the linearism of Western culture, where linearism refers metaphorically to the idea that history, and each individual life, involves a single unrepeatable sequence of events. Linearism is opposed to cyclism, which refers metaphorically to the endless repetition of patterns of events as in doctrines of individual reincarnation or of repeated historical phases, such as those of the ancient Indian mahakalpas or the ancient Chinese Five Agents (wu xing). Someone emphasizing the linearism of Western cultures is also likely to emphasize the supposed cyclism of non-Western cultures.

Western linearism can be seen as originating in the Hebrew Bible, where the prophets revealed a God of history with a unique purpose for his chosen people. That ancient Jewish religion had a quite remarkable sense of history and of its one-way unfolding is unquestionable. However, any absolute opposition of Western linearism and non-Western cyclism should be avoided, as I point out in "Western and Chinese Eschatologies: Challenging Postmodernist Theory." Both Judaism and Christianity have always combined important cyclical, restorative elements with their linearism. The restoration of the Davidic kingdom was important for the prophets, and, in the last book of the Christian Bible, Revelation, New Jerusalem contains the restored tree and river of life of Eden. Moreover, many non-Western cultures have also had a sense of historical progress. Scholars such as Joseph Needham and Roger Ames show, for example, that Chinese Confucianism had a definite sense of economic and social progress. We should be wary of any view that sees Western culture as essentially linear, contrasting it with the world's other supposedly non-progressive cultures. We should therefore ask carefully if we really can trace the metaphor of human life as the following of a straight way back through *The Pilgrim's Progress* to the Biblical origins of Christianity.

In fact, things in *The Pilgrim's Progress* are not quite as they seem. Although Christian's way is stated to be straight at least twice in the work (23, 34), a number of scholars have questioned whether it really is linear and progressive. Stanley Fish, in "Progress in *The Pilgrim's Progress*," applies his formula of the self-consuming artefact to Bunyan's allegory, seeing it as continually undermining its proclaimed belief in spiritual progress by its revelation of the unchanging fact of divine election. (Bunyan was a strict Calvinist.) More importantly, Christopher Hill has shown in *A Turbulent, Seditious and Factious People: John Bunyan and his Church* that the lack of linear progress sensed by Fish is rooted in the historical context of Bunyan's work (221-23). The lexeme progress in the seventeenth century had a primarily circular rather than linear signification. It was monarchs who went on progresses, which were circular tours of their kingdoms starting from and ending at their places of permanent residence. Hill argues that the title, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, may have had a social significance evoking this circular sense of progress, that it may assert the dignity of its lower-class hero in a way similar to the Puritan George Wither, who in 1628 declared that "common beggars have their progresses as well as kings" (222). For a modern reader, the title of Bunyan's allegory unequivocally evokes the modern linear sense of progress. Things may not have been so straightforward for Bunyan's original readers, even though there is a linear, non-reversible, element of meaning in its sub-title: *From This World to That Which Is to Come*.

I argue, in fact, that *The Pilgrim's Progress* does indeed have no developed sense of linear progress, that the striking parallels existing between it and "The Other Side of the Hedge" serve only to emphasize a major discontinuity in their ways of understanding change. This, if true, would not be surprising. The concept of progress in Forster's allegory is that of secular, scientific, and technological progress, a concept quite foreign to Bunyan, for the modern concept of progress, with its belief that history is essentially innovative and progress irreversible, dates only from the second half of the eighteenth century, with thinkers such as Turgot, Condorcet, and Godwin. (It was Turgot's lectures at the Sorbonne in 1750, Frank Manuel and Fritzie Manuel point out in *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, that "launched the idea of human perfectibility" [461].)

After the guide of "The Other Side of the Hedge" shows the narrator his road, he closes the gate upon it, declaring that this is where humanity went out "countless ages ago when it was first seized with the desire to walk" (38). The narrator denies this, saying where he left the road was no more than two miles off. The guide replies: "It is the same road. This is the beginning, and though it seems to run straight away from us, it doubles so often that it is never far from our boundary and sometimes touches it." He stooped down by the moat, and traced on its moist margin an absurd figure like a maze. As we walked back through the meadows, I tried to convince him of his mistake" (38). What the guide traces in the dust is a map, in response to which the narrator asserts that while the road "sometimes doubles [. . .] its general tendency is onwards [. . .] that it goes forward" (38). Towards the allegory's end the narrator is taken to another gate: "I saw again just such a road as I had left-monotonous, dusty, with brown crackling hedges on either side, as far as the eye could reach. [. . .] As in a dream, I saw the old man shut the gate, and heard him say: 'This is where your road ends, and

through this gate humanity-all that is left of it-will come to us" (39-40). Here again is the absolutely straight road stretching "as far as the eye could reach" (40), a road shown by the guide to be an illusion. The allegory closes with the narrator's implicit acceptance of the guide's understanding, as he is swooningly reunited with the brother who had already left the road before him.

In the Event-Structure metaphor, purposes are destinations. Since a straight road is the shortest distance between two locations, metaphorically the end of such a road will map onto a single purpose and journeying along the road onto a continuously ever greater approximation to the attaining of that purpose. A road wandering about like a maze, by contrast, will symbolize a more or less arbitrary succession of different states with no continuous approximation to some given purpose. The allegorical significance of "The Other Side of the Hedge" is clear: progress is an illusion, true life exists in emotional and spiritual escape from it. The mapping of its metaphorical road conceptualizes this rejection of progress. It is not just a matter of the physical map drawn by the guide in the dust. This map leads the reader to construct not only a mental model of it but also, by contrast, one based on the apparently perfect straightness of the road. When the narrator says that, although the road "sometimes doubles," its general tendency is onward, he stimulates the construction of a further map in the reader's mind, one allowing for a limited degree of curvature in the road. Each of these different internalized maps acts as a different metaphorical model of progress, or its lack. Yet, although the relation among these different maps is highly subtle, it is easily grasped by the modern reader.

In turning from "The Other Side of the Hedge" to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, we turn from the target domain of humanity's collective history to that of the single human life. As we have seen, this contrast of target domains involves different but still closely related specifications of the Event-Structure metaphor. (M.H. Abrams shows in *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* how in Christianity the concepts of history and biography have always been interwoven [46-56, 83-87].) Early in *The Pilgrim's Progress* Good Will declares to Christian that the way he must follow is both narrow and absolutely straight. Good Will goes on to assert that it is the only way that is "straight and narrow." At this point, Bunyan refers in the margin to Matthew 7:14: "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life" (23). At first glance, it may seem that the "straight and narrow" of Bunyan's text is a transposition of Matthew 7:14. In fact, however, it introduces a radical innovation into the Biblical image. Matthew 7:14 states that the way is narrow but says nothing of its being straight. It is the gate that is "strait," "strait" here meaning narrow, not crooked. The Oxford English Dictionary shows that middle and early modern English had two homonyms; both could be spelled either strait or straight, one derived from Old French *estreit* 'narrow,' and the other from the past participle of Middle English *strecchen*, 'to stretch.'

Bunyan did not simply misunderstand Matthew 7:14, though, as Brainerd Stranahan points out, he probably did not distinguish the spellings strait and straight (290). Semantic constraints rule out the strait of "strait is the gate" meaning anything but narrow, and this meaning in this text was in fact very prominent for Bunyan. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, he had already quoted it when Evangelist explains to Christian how difficult it is to enter in at the wicket gate of the true way (19), and he also wrote a pamphlet entitled "The Strait Gate," with Matthew 7:13-14 quoted at its head, to prove that only a very small number even of "great professors" would be saved. For Bunyan, Matthew 7:14 did usually involve mapping from the difficulty of getting through a narrow gate, and then staying on a narrow way, onto the difficulty of gaining salvation. Yet, in the statements of Good Will to Christian, there is a dramatic innovation: the way becomes not only narrow but also "straight as a Rule can make it," that is, uncurving, even though there is nothing in the original Gospel text about its being straight in the modern sense.

The opposition of straight and crooked ways is very important in the Bible. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Christian states, "The Word of God saith, that mans ways are crooked ways, not good, but perverse" (119), with references in the margin to Psalms 125:5, Proverbs 2:15, and Romans 3. The crooked/straight opposition in these contexts is not, however, used to conceptualize a whole life, never mind the whole course of history, but rather conceptualizes specific courses of action as good or evil. (The behaviour of adjectives such as crooked, twisted, straight and straightforward, as in crooked person, twisted thinking, he's gone straight, and honest and straightforward, show that this metaphorical system is still highly active in modern English [see "Metaphors and Cultural Models as Profiles and Bases" by Alan Cienki for a discussion of related metaphors in modern Russian].) Strikingly, there is no positive reference to straightness by Christian in the above quotation nor in any of the cited Biblical texts. References to crooked ways are far more frequent in the Bible than to straight ones, moral condemnation of human behaviour being what is usually at issue. In picturing the whole of Christian's life after his conversion as the following of a perfectly straight way, Bunyan extended the Biblical image of the straight, as opposed to crooked, way in a genuinely new way. The Event-Structure metaphor of its nature probably makes the image of a particular future course of action as a straight path available to all times and cultures. When Bunyan, however, pictured the whole course of Christian's life after his conversion, as the following of a straight way he seems to have been creating, or helping to create, a new specification of the Event-Structure metaphor.

Bunyan gave further expression to the metaphor of a life as the following of a straight way in "A Map Shewing The Order and Causes of Salvation and Damnation." Bunyan's map, in modern terms a diagram, pictures the two covenants of grace and works by means of something like tree diagrams. Between these two tree diagrams there is an absolutely straight path, entitled "The Passage into and out of the World," that ends in heaven and hell. The image of a whole life as an absolutely straight way was clearly important for Bunyan. Yet, as already mentioned, many have questioned whether Christian's journey in *The Pilgrim's Progress* really is straight. Fish points out that Bunyan's pilgrims are continually struggling with the same problems rather than progressing spiritually. Perhaps the most striking metaphorical expression of this lack of progress is the role of Vanity Fair. It is here that Christian and Faithful are imprisoned and Faithful is martyred. After having escaped, Christian is joined by Hopeful, an inhabitant of Vanity impressed by his and Faithful's witness, who replaces Faithful as his companion. This is allegorically incoherent. Hopeful's spiritual journey is the same as Christian's and so its beginning point must be the same: it is repeatedly emphasized in *The Pilgrim's Progress* that only those are saved who enter the way by the same wicket gate as Christian. Christian's wicket gate was near the City of Destruction, while Vanity is Hopeful's starting point. It seems, therefore, that Vanity and the City of Destruction must be the same place; Christian and Faithful have followed a circular path away from and back to it. If this is so, however, the statement that Christian's way is "as straight as a Rule can make it" has been contradicted.

Bunyan shows no awareness of this contradiction. In fact, he refers explicitly to the straightness of Christian's way on at most only three occasions (23, 34, 108). Although important for him, this concept does not seem to have been deeply internalized. When he thought explicitly about the way's orientation, he imaged it as absolutely straight, but when he was not thinking about it explicitly he seems not to have accessed *A Life Is an Absolutely Straight Line Journey*. It does not seem to have been salient for him. He repeatedly refers to Christian's path in ways indicating that he does not conceptualize it as straight. When the way and the River of Life part, we are told that "the way from the River was rough" (91). If the way was perfectly straight, the river would have to turn away from it, the preposition from here, however, indicates that the way turns from the river. Later, Christian and Hopeful are faced with two different ways: "They went then till they came at a place where they saw a way put itself into their way, and seemed withal, to lie as straight as the way which they should go; and here they knew not which of the two to take, for both seemed straight before them" (108). If Bunyan was accessing the concept of a straight way here, there would be no problem: someone is walking along a straight way and knows he must never turn from it; another straight way intersects his way; he will perceive it as cutting across his way, at whatever angle, and simply go across it, keeping to his straight way. There should be no problem, but there is for Christian and Hopeful. Did Bunyan conceive of them as faced with a Y junction? Or did he image an X with his pilgrims on one of its arms? It is impossible to know, but he clearly had nothing very definite in his mind, and certainly not a clear image of a continuously straight way.

In one way, *The Pilgrim's Progress* is strikingly like "The Other Side of the Hedge." Christian, like Forster's narrator, apparently advances along a perfectly straight way while really just wandering about. In another way, the contrast with Forster is radical. Forster possesses a highly sophisticated map consciousness, while a fully internalized map is precisely what Bunyan lacks. The contrast between the appearance and the reality of the journey is the whole point of Forster's story and is explicitly communicated to the reader. The same contrast is there in Bunyan, but he is-and probably his earliest readers are-unaware of it. Significantly, there are no references to maps in the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The shepherds of the Delectable Mountains give Christian and Hopeful "a note of the way" (100), which Hopeful says later they have "forgotten to read" (109). They have given Christian and Hopeful a set of written directions, which is what, if anything, travellers were given before maps were widely available. There is interestingly evidence of an increase of map consciousness in the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, published seven years later than the first in 1685. Mr. Greatheart has "in his Pocket a Map of all the ways leading to, or from, the Celestial City" (249); there is also a greater degree of geographic specification, with the use of geometrical terms such as "degrees" (205, 223-24). The way is never stated to be straight in the second part. Perhaps, with an increase of map consciousness, Bunyan had realized that it could not be absolutely straight. However that may be, *The Pilgrim's Progress* comes in the early stages of a process whereby the growth of map consciousness profoundly modified journey metaphors. "The Other Side of the Hedge" comes far later in this process.

Between Bunyan and Forster, the journey specification of the Event-Structure metaphor was profoundly modified. The journey specification itself goes far back in Western culture. The origin of its marked importance seems to lie in Christianity and Neo-Platonism. Gerhart Ladner shows in "Homo Viator: Medieval Ideas on Alienation and Order" that *Life Is a Journey* originally expressed not being at home in this world; the early Epistle to Diognetus, quoted by Ladner, declares: "Every fatherland is to them [the Christians] a foreign country. [. . .] They dwell on earth, but they are citizens in heaven" (236). The Church fathers allegorized the Odyssey in this sense, with Odysseus as the soul, his journeys as life in this world, and Ithaca as heaven; in doing so they modified similar neo-Platonic allegorizations. The journeyings

of Odysseus are undirected and unmappable, a deflection from the desired goal of Ithaca. A journey metaphor that maps home onto heaven does not, given that suicide is ruled out, provide the basis for a straight-line metaphor; life in this world is a putting off of heaven, a wandering about rather than a going straight to it. Bunyan's conscious, though not deeply internalized, metaphor of a whole life, after conversion, as the following of an absolutely straight way was, we have seen, an innovation. Stranahan shows in "Bunyan and the Epistle to the Hebrews: His Source for the Idea of Pilgrimage in *The Pilgrim's Progress*" that the Epistle to the Hebrews was crucial to the development of Bunyan's allegory. This epistle, with declarations such as "For here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come" (Hebrews 13:14), is the Bible's most powerful expression of not being at home in the world. Bunyan's allegory is thus most deeply rooted in the older forms of the Christian journey metaphor in which life was not a straight-line journey. He did not, we have seen, deeply internalize the metaphor of life as a straight-line journey. Between his lifetime and Forster's, the source domain journeys of *Life Is a Journey* became predominantly this-worldly. This was a process intimately linked to changes in actual literal journeys and the ways in which these were understood by modern map consciousness.

The middle ages had no term translatable by our modern word map, the first Oxford English Dictionary citation of which is 1527. John Harley and David Woodward point out that it is unlikely that the mediaeval artefacts, few in number, now classed as maps—the world maps, or *mappaemundi*, sailors' charts, town maps, for example—formed a unified cognitive category for mediaeval people (464). Such a category emerged in the sixteenth century with an explosion of map making; Victor Morgan shows in "The Literary Image of Globes and Maps in Early Modern England" that by the end of the sixteenth century the image of the map had become important for writers such as Shakespeare, Marlow, and Donne. Mediaeval maps seem never to have been drawn to scale. Sixteenth-century maps, by contrast, Gerald Crone states, were built upon Ptolemy's grid of longitude and latitude, rediscovered in the fifteenth century, adding to this a range of scientific surveying techniques, such as trigonometric triangulation, and the results of European world exploration (34-83). Perhaps the most striking product of this new cartography was Mercator's world projection; from the point of view of general cognitive development, however, at least as important was the availability for the educated of local and national as well as world maps. In England, the crucial event was the publication in 1579 of Saxton's atlas of English county maps, together with his map of England of 1583.

Bunyan wrote the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the 1660s or 1670s (Christopher Hill [197] favours the earlier date), when the cognitive category of the map was well established. Bunyan, however, was not a member of the "educated" classes, and this must have limited his map consciousness. The greater degree of map consciousness in the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* probably reflects his later preaching career, when he often travelled from Bedford to as far afield as London and may well have used John Ogilby's *Britannia*, an atlas of route maps published in 1675. Yet it would be a mistake to think of Bunyan's limited degree of map consciousness, from the modern point of view, as simply a result of his class location. Saxton's maps, and the successors based upon them in England for two hundred years, are, Victor Morgan asserts in "The Cartographic Image of 'The County' in Early Modern England," by modern standards "distressingly crude" (132). Saxton's maps contain no roads at all, nor parallels and meridians, and, despite Elizabethan theoretical knowledge of triangulation, Crone says they were probably surveyed by taking bearings from elevated stations and measuring distances (95).

It was in the century following Bunyan, Lloyd Brown shows (208), that modern scientific mapping emerged in the France of Louis XIV. In 1669-70, a meridian of thirty-two leagues was fixed through Paris. The English method of province-by-province survey was rejected for a country-wide triangulation, and by 1739 France was enclosed by an uninterrupted series of triangles surveyed from eighteen bases. In 1789, the work of four generations of the Cassini family, under the auspices of the French absolutist state, culminated in the *Carte de Cassini*, a scientifically surveyed map of France in 180 sheets at a scale of 1:86,400. British cartography had developed fitfully during the eighteenth century. General Roy, however, put forward the idea of a country-wide triangulation in 1766, and, between 1784 and 1787, he supervised the connection by triangulation of the Greenwich Observatory with the Paris meridian. After his death in 1790, Roy's project continued as the Trigonometrical Survey of Great Britain. Later known as the Ordnance Survey, it has developed continuously ever since. Forster's highly sophisticated map consciousness was the result of developments in the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment, which made the ability to think cartographically an intrinsic part of the modern mind.

Cartography, like the Enlightenment, did not just develop out of the blue. It was part of that emergence of centralized state power, market capitalism, scientific technology, and secular values that we term, somewhat vaguely, modernity. Since mapping is ultimately an aid to finding one's way about in the world, for military, commercial and other purposes, its modern development was closely linked to that of modern transport and communication, whose temporal rhythm it parallels. The first highways act in England was a 1555 statute of Philip and Mary that fixed responsibility for road maintenance at the parish level. It expressed a situation that did not change fundamentally for 200 years. On the one

hand, there was the appalling state of the roads, on the other, an ineffective desire on the part of political and economic elites to do something about it. The parishes, still living in a mainly local economic world, had little incentive to keep the roads in repair. This situation is dramatically expressed in *The Pilgrim's Progress* by the Slough of Despond, which the "Labourers of the King" have "by the direction of His Majesties Surveyors" (13) been trying to maintain for sixteen hundred years, but though it has "swallowed up, at least, Twenty thousand Cart Loads" it is still none the better (14). Here we can see Bunyan's everyday experience of the wretchedness of contemporary transport and communications informing the construction of his metaphorical source domain.

There is evidence, Virginia LaMar states, for some increase in travel in England during the seventeenth century (43). Yet the basic situation of wretchedness remained. *The Pilgrim's Progress's* way, "as straight as a rule" (23), was imaginable, and desirable, in the late seventeenth century, but only just. The second half of the eighteenth century saw a transport revolution. The immediate economic factor was the development of turnpike trusts, but the development of roads, and of canals, was part of a larger leap in economic development. Telford and MacAdam produced dramatic improvements in road engineering, so that in 1818 Sir Walter Scott could write in *The Heart of Midlothian*: "Mail-coach races against mail-coach, and high flyer against high flyer through the most remote districts of Britain" (15). In Britain, by the 1820s, something like a national road network had emerged; between the 1750s and the 1830s, journey times between the principle cities were reduced, Philip Bagwell states, by four-fifths, and fifteen times as many people were travelling by stagecoach in the mid-1830s than the mid-1790s (42-43). The nineteenth century's most spectacular development was that of the railway network. This meant that huge numbers of people experienced for the first time travelling along absolutely straight paths for significant stretches of time. Yet, however much the development of the railways and the subsequent, twentieth-century, revolutions in road transport have modified people's everyday experience, the basic transformation was already well under way by the end of the eighteenth century. Economic development had made the idea of a straight road no longer fantastic. In the early 1790s, William Blake produced the following Proverb of Hell: "Improvement makes straight roads; but the crooked roads without Improvement are the roads of Genius" (152). Improvement was the eighteenth century term for economic development. Blake here is already developing the metaphorical meanings of "The Other Side of the Hedge." Bunyan, and almost certainly any of his contemporaries, with their everyday experience of wretched, twisting, badly surfaced ways, would have found Blake's hostility to straight roads incomprehensible.

Individual conceptual metaphors as traditionally conceived are not, we have seen, cognitively fundamental. They are, rather, specialized realizations of what is cognitively fundamental, primary metaphor. The Event-Structure metaphor, a complex of linked primary metaphors, is almost certainly culturally and historically universal, cultural and historical variation entering at the level of metaphoric specialization. The cultural importance of the journey specializations of the Event-Structure metaphor in the West originated, we saw, in Christianity. In the process of Western modernization, however, these specializations have been radically changed. One major factor has been the shift from other-worldliness to this-worldliness. Other-worldliness made it impossible to conceive of life metaphorically as a straight-line journey. It was a wandering about until one could go home. Yet the shift away from other-worldliness was only one factor in making possible the emergence of straight-line journey metaphors. The ability to conceive of an entire life or the whole of history as a journey along a continuously straight road presupposes the experience of modern roads, and other forms of modern communication that frequently run straight, together with the ability to think cartographically. That is to say, this metaphorical ability is rooted in everyday experiences of modernity.

Grady notes that primary metaphors are based upon correlations between their source and target domains in everyday experience. The metaphor Purposes Are Destinations is based upon the regular correlation between going to a destination and fulfilling a purpose. Not all metaphors, however, are correlation metaphors. Resemblance metaphors, Grady points out, also constitute a significant class of metaphors, one that has tended to be the major focus of literary critics. The fundamental cognitive system of conventional metaphor, however, is rooted in correlation, that is, in primary metaphor. Resemblance metaphors, however, are not the only metaphors not based on correlation. Combinations and specializations of primary metaphors may also lack any direct basis in correlation. In the case of *Death Is a Thief*, for example, there is no regular correlation between being robbed and being killed. The experiential motivation of this metaphor resides in the correlations of the primary metaphors out of which it is composed. Yet non-primary, specialized and/or composed metaphors need not lack correlations of their own. This is certainly true of *Progress Is a Journey along a Straight Road*. Here modern "progress" is conceived of in terms of something that is an important part of it, the development of modern communications and cartographic abilities being vital parts of "progress." There is a regular correlation between participating in economic progress and travelling along frequently straight roads, often with the aid of a map.

It is a major question in the contemporary theory of metaphor, Zoltan Kövecses points out, whether metaphor constitutes or merely reflects cultural models. This is not a question that can be properly answered in one brief historical study such as this. Yet the fact that metaphors of *Progress*, *Individual Life and History Is a Journey* are directly rooted in everyday

modern experience means that one should at least take seriously the idea that metaphor plays a fundamental cultural role here. If this is so, then the way we conceive of our individual lives and collective history is conditioned by experiences that we cannot as inhabitants of the modern world avoid. Our thinking about modernity may be pervasively biased by conceptual metaphors rooted in the everyday experience of modernity. To become aware of this would add a new dimension to critical thought.

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