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forms it into a moment of Vision and redeems Bunyan's work from the same moral reductivism that Milton's work became subject to. As with the Bible and as with Milton, Blake approaches Bunyan reading black where most read white and liberating the visionary aspects of art. Thus Christian's journey becomes a Sublime Allegory addressed to the Intellectual powers about the conflict between physical and spiritual, rational and imaginative, aspects of the life of man. Such a Sublime Allegory equates the life of man with the world of art. The text of *The Gates of Paradise* ends on this union of art and life leaving the reader with the Keys to the Gates which open the world of Vision.

"Under the Hill": Tyndale or Bunyan?

Christopher Heppner

In a recent note,¹ Nelson Hilton has suggested William Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch as a context for the last line of the epilogue of Blake's *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise*. That poem, addressed "To The Accuser who is The God of This World," calls him, in its last line, "The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill."² Tyndale's translation uses the phrase "vnder the hyll" in Exodus 19:17, and the term "the hyll" elsewhere, in referring to Sinai, and Hilton argues that Blake knew and made use of that phrase. The argument is put rather challengingly—"does anyone imagine Blake limiting himself to 'the Authorized Version?'" I wish to gently answer that challenge, and then continue by suggesting what I consider a more likely context for Blake's phrase,

¹ Nelson Hilton, "Under the Hill," *Blake* 22 (1988): 16-17.

² Geoffrey Keynes, ed. *The Gates of Paradise: For Children, For the Sexes*, 3 vols. (London: Trianon P, 1968) 22. Keynes points out that "The heading is separated from the poem by a coiling serpent, emblem of priesthood and organized religion. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the coils are numbered from 1 to 10, these being evidently a reference to the Decalogue. The numbers were faintly engraved and can be best seen through a magnifying glass."

³ All references to Blake's works are taken from David V. Erdman, ed. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, newly rev. ed. (Berkeley: U of California P, 1982), hereafter referred to as E followed by a page number.

⁴ G. E. Bentley, Jr., ed., *Vala or The Four Zoas: A Facsimile of the Manuscript, A Transcript of the Poem and a Study of Its Growth and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1963) 174. Bentley discusses the derivation of Beulah from *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

and the design that illuminates the poem.

There is no evidence that Blake ever used other translations of the Bible,³ and he does once, though a little playfully, make great claims for the Authorized Version: "astonishing indeed is the English Translation [of the Greek New Testament] it is almost word for word & if the Hebrew Bible is as well translated which I do not doubt it is we need not doubt of its having been translated as well as written by the Holy Ghost" (E 727). The Authorized Version is here simply "the English Translation," as if there were no other. Like many of Blake's statements, it might be a mistake to understand this one too literally. But it is also true that Tyndale's *Five Books of Moses Called The Pentateuch*, first published in 1530 and reprinted in a second edition in 1534, was not reprinted thereafter until the edition of 1884 which Hilton cites. The *Short Title Catalogue* makes it clear that both early editions are now rare, and they cannot have been much more common in Blake's time. Much of Tyndale's version was absorbed

⁵ See Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981) 1093-1125.

⁶ All references to John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* are taken from the edition by N. H. Keeble (New York: Oxford UP, 1984) and are cited in the text as *PP* followed by a page number.

⁷ *The Illuminated Blake*, annotated by David V. Erdman (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1974) 279.

⁸ The illumination to *Jerusalem* 33[37] bears comparison with the illustration for "To The Accuser." It depicts a recumbent Albion lying underneath a less anthropomorphic bat-winged spectre.

⁹ The illustration to *Jerusalem* 6 depicts this dialogue between self and spectre in a fashion similar to that used in "To The Accuser." In *Jerusalem* the illustration shows Los sitting at his forge, looking up at the bat-winged, hovering Spectre of Urthona as he attempts to compel his spectre to help the sleeping Albion.

into the so-called Matthew's Bible, editions of which appeared in 1537, 1549, and 1551,⁴ but these too were not common books. It is at least possible that Blake had seen a copy of Tyndale's translation, but extremely improbable that he had one at hand to consult.

An altogether likelier conjecture is that Blake was thinking of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, a book that he described as "full" of "Vision" (E 554). In one letter he identifies himself with "Poor Pilgrim" (E 758), and of course he made a series of illustrations to the work, and the separate plate of *The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour*. In a broader context, E. P. Thompson has written well of the centrality of Bunyan's allegory to dissenting culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵ It was clearly a work that had deep roots in Blake's consciousness.

The Gates of Paradise is a kind of pilgrimage, whose title, with the emblem of "Death's Door," remind us that Christian's whole progress is towards a Gate. The recurring motif of the pilgrim's staff, present in the illumination

of the epilogue to the *Gates*, strengthens the pilgrim association of the work as a whole.

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Mt. Sinai is repeatedly called a hill, and Christian, when misled by Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, loses his way and finds himself, in effect, under that hill:

when he was got now hard by the *Hill*, it seemed so high, and also that side of it that was next the way side, did hang so much over, that Christian was afraid to venture further, lest the Hill should fall on his head. . . .⁶

Here, I suggest, is a likelier context for Blake's "The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill" than Tyndale's rare translation.

In addition, *The Pilgrim's Progress* gives us a context for Blake's illumination of the epilogue. Later in his journey, Christian is met by Apollyon: "now the Monster was hidious to behold, he was clothed with scales like a Fish . . . he had Wings like a Dragon, feet like a Bear, and out of his belly came Fire and Smoak, and his mouth was as the mouth of a Lion" (PP 56). At the end of a fierce battle, Christian emerges victor, and "Apollyon spread forth his Dragons wings, and sped him away, that *Christian* saw him no more" (PP 60). Stripped of some of the grotesque animal imagery, this is fairly close to the situation represented in the illumination of the epilogue, which shows a dragon-winged Satan flying away from the dreaming traveler. The appellation "The God of This World" is a repeated biblical phrase, but it also finds its echo in the conversation that opens Apollyon's challenge to Christian:

Apol. *Whence come you, and whither are you bound?*

Chr. I come from the City of *Destruction*, which is the place of all evil, and am going to the City of *Zion*.

Apol. *By this I perceive thou art one of my Subjects, for all that Countrey is mine; and I am the Prince and God of it.* (PP 56)

Bunyan's work thus functions as a directly relevant context for both the structure of the *Gates* as a whole and the epilogue—both poem and illumination—in particular.

Hilton refers to Tyndale's translation of Exodus as "a probable source" for Blake's reference to "The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill." I would prefer to think that Blake has deliberately shaped his phrases, and his illumination, to conjure up the reader/viewer's memories both of the Bible—"The God of This World"—and of Bunyan. In Blake's imagination the two would seem to have been almost as intertextually entwined as the Bible and *Paradise Lost*, and doubtless *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise* was designed to take its place in that constellation. Maybe Tyndale is also in there somewhere, but I am not convinced that we can separate out that weak possible echo from the stronger surrounding voices.

¹ Nelson Hilton, "Under the Hill," *Blake* 22 (1988): 16-17.

² David V. Erdman, ed., *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, rev. ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1982) 269; hereafter referred to as E followed by a page number. I have also used the reproductions in *The Illuminated Blake*, annotated by David V. Erdman (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1974).

³ If he did, my bet would be on Robert Lowth's *Isatah. A New Translation* (1778, with many subsequent editions to 1835) rather than on Tyndale. Blake did play the game himself, on a small scale, in the *Job* inscriptions.

⁴ T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, revised A. S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of the English Bible 1525-1961* (New York: American Bible Society, 1968) Nos. 34, 74, 92.

⁵ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968) 28-58.

⁶ John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. J. B. Wharey, revised R. Sharrock (Oxford, Clarendon P, 1960) 20; hereafter referred to as PP followed by a page number.

Hilton Under the Hill: Other Dreamers

Michael J. Tolley

Nelson Hilton identifies the "Hill" in the last line of Blake's "To The Accuser who is The God of This World" as Sinai.¹ I see at present no reason to quarrel with this identification, though I would consider it a secondary implication, preferring the idea of a folktale allusion mentioned by Stevenson in his edition.² My quarrel is rather with the misplaced ingenuity of Hilton's methodology. It is not merely that he appears to be a kind of Jacob Bryant *redivivus* in his etymological speculations, whereby Hillel (the Hebrew for Lucifer) becomes "the Hill" (via the Hebrew *har'el* or "mountain of God")—there is, after all nothing anachronistic about such fantasizing—but that he finds it necessary to draw upon Tyndale as the principal justification for his speculative flight, which seems exceptionable.

Hilton uses what I can only call bullying rhetoric ("does anyone imagine Blake limiting himself to 'the Authorized Version?'" to thrust Tyndale before our noses. It is therefore necessary to insist that, whereas no one to my knowledge ever believed that Blake limited himself to the Authorized Version of the Bible, Hilton has given us no convincing reason for supposing that he ever read Tyndale (especially with such attention as is implied in Hilton's argument). For one thing, Hilton himself concedes that the AV refers to Moses building "an altar under the hill" in Exodus 24:4, so that the other usages in Tyndale are redundant; in addition, Blake had a more familiar source at hand; Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. (It is always better to check the familiar sources before researching the esoteric possibilities.)

It will be remembered that when Christian is directed by Mr. Worldly-Wiseman to Mr. Legality for help with his