Introduction

When Jesus went down to Gethsemane the night before the crucifixion, he asked his disciples to sit while he went into the grove and prayed. Three times he would return to find his disciples sleeping.[1] Bishop Joseph Hall (1574–1656) wrote of the incident:

> To see that Master praying, one would have thought should have fetcht them on their knees; especially to see those Heavenly affections look out at his Eyes; to see his Soul lifted up in his Hands in that transported fashion to Heaven. But now the hill hath wearied their lims, their body clogs their Soul, and they fall asleep. Whiles Christ saw Divine visions, they dreamed dreams; whiles he was in another world, ravished with the sight of his Fathers Glory, yea of his own, they were in another world, a world of fancies, surprized with the cozen of death, sleep.[2]

For Hall, this dreaming sleep was emblematic of humanity's weakness confronted with God's divine glory. It was not a holy sleep, like the ecstatic slumber of Abraham, Elihu, or Jacob—but a sinful kind of sleep, the likes of which holy men like David and Solomon shunned to be diligent at nocturnal prayers. It contrasted Christ's sublime state of 'vision', which saw through to the light of another world and into the heart of reality, to the 'dreams' of man's distracted mind, occluded, polluted and lethargic. In Hall's time such an observation was not just rhetorical or symbolic: it was thought to tell a natural and philosophical truth as well as a spiritual one. Men's bodies were

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[1] *King James Bible* (1611), Matthew 26:36—44, Mark: 32—41.
[2] Joseph Hall, *The Contemplations Upon The History of the New Testament*, (London, 1661), p. 140.

understood to be formed from the union of vitalizing spirit with malleable but inert matter, and their mind deadened or quickened according to the strength of the divine light that shone in them. Sleep and wake, like light and dark, and night and day, existed as categorical opposites whose essential qualities gave meaningful structure to the universe. In the same way, the dichotomy between visions and dreams was an expression of—as well as a way to talk about—the distance between divine truths and human illusions.

Dreams have come under the historian's scrutiny as part of the ever-expanding colonization of the intellectual and cultural spaces of past societies, seeking to illuminate the many distinct facets of their experience and discover how they were integrated into their larger tapestries. We are asked to consider both what dreaming represented to historical subjects, and how dreams might reveal those subjects to us.[3] Insofar as we can access past dreams through the 'secondary elaboration' of written accounts, and the intentional structuring of philosophical and theological texts, we seek to expose the significance of dreams to the individuals who recorded them, and the interpretive practices through which they were encountered and explicated.[4] In the context of early modern history, dreams are a worthy category of analysis because they represent a fertile cross-road between different philosophical positions, categories and arguments that occupied the intellectual and cultural landscape. My interest lies specifically with their relevance in seventeenth-century England during the years of the Civil War and the Interregnum, as well as sources from the surrounding decades which help to contextualize the evolution of those ideas. The mid-seventeenth century is a natural place to focus such an investigation, lying as it does at the fulcrum of an ideological revolution which profoundly disrupted established intellectual traditions and institutions. As a setting it represents a crucible for the major crisis of political, religious, and social truth precipitated by Europe's long reformation, in which profound transformations of religious identity and sensibility went hand in hand with fundamental changes in the way that philosophical and scientific knowledge was valued and pursued. As a subject, dreaming is productive for demonstrating the major differences in the moral and philosophical positions adopted by English thinkers on crucial issues, questions that pertained to the shape of contemporary metaphysics, the certainty of religious authority, the

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[3] See Lyndal Roper and Daniel Pick, 'Introduction' in Lyndal Roper and Daniel Pick (eds), *Dreams and History: The Interpretation of Dreams from Ancient Greece to Modern Psychoanalysis*, (London, 2004), pp. 1—22; Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle, 'Introduction: The Literatures of Dreaming' in Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle (eds), *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions: The Early Modern Atlantic World*, (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 1—30.

[4] Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 23—42; A. C. Spearing, 'Introduction' in Peter Brown (ed), *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 1—21.

security of religious conscience, and the methods by which knowledge is legitimately produced by human arts.

Dreams are often encountered in such a way as to imply they are a site of crisis for meaning. Many cultures, including our own, have invested a great deal of energy in trying to define the significance of dreams, their images, and their origins. The idea that dreams must possess a hidden referent, that they require an *interpretation*, is rarely distant in any discussion of their salient features and experiences.[5] This fact is usually explained through the idea that humans are meaning-seeking creatures, predisposed to discover patterns, associations and causal links even where no such links actually exist. The way in which dreams at once call upon but radically de-contextualize the content of human experience—not only our sensory perceptions, but elements of memory, recognition, fragments of thought and dialogue, and powerful emotional impulses—may invite all kinds of reactions from dismissal, puzzlement or dumbfounding at the apparent absence of meaning, to intimations of the uncanny or flashes of insight which occur when dreams do achieve synergy with our conscious experience. In our modern, overwhelmingly positivist society, engagement with dreams is largely divided between scientific hypothesis about their evolutionary origins and capacities and techniques for creating meaning from them which belong first to the realm of therapy and second to the 'poetics' of psychoanalytical and literary analysis.[6] Early modern thinkers were arguably much more successful at explaining the phenomenology of dreams in a way that was consistent with their understanding of nature and with the desire, or need, to adjudicate on their meanings.

To make such a claim is not to say that many seventeenth-century observers were sanguine about the significance and meaning of dreams: their potential importance dictated their contested status and disruptive potential. Dreams possessed a crucial authority in the context of religious knowledge, dictated by their prominent role as vehicles of divine inspiration in the narratives of the

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[5] Barbara Tedlock, *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 1—30; William V. Harris, *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity* (London, 2009), pp. 1—21; Robert M. Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany of Samuel: Its Structure in Relation to Ancient Near Eastern Dreams and its Theological Significance* (Lanham, MD, 1984), pp. 20—38.

[6] Anthony Shafton, *Dream Reader: Contemporary Approaches to the Understanding of Dreams*, (New York, 1995), pp. 1—10,11—50, 213—234; Susan A. Greenfield, 'Exploring the Brain: Sleep and Dreams', a lecture at Gresham College 6 March 1997, PDF Transcript, http://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/exploring-the-brain-sleep-and-dreams [accessed 11/11/12]; Katja Valli and Antti Revonsuo, 'The threat stimulation theory in light of recent empirical evidence: A review' in *The American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 122, No. 1 (Spring 2009), pp. 17—38; L. Perogamvros, T. T. Dang-Vu, M. Desseilles and S. Schwartz, 'Sleep and dreaming are for important matters' in *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol. 4, Art. 474 (25 July 2013), pp. 1—15; Susan Malcolm-Smith, Sjeri Koopowitz, Eleni Pantelis, Mark Solms, 'Approach/avoidance in dreams' in *Consciousness and Cognition* 21 (2012), pp. 408—412.

Holy Scripture.[7] This ensured that they remained a persistent subject of reflection, analysis and charged rhetoric throughout Christian history. The seventeenth century is understood to be the moment when the foundations of their wider cultural authority was threatened, and ultimately critically undermined.[8] In undertaking to interpret the role of dreams in this period, I intend to reconstruct the contexts and methods which shaped interpretations of dreams in this period, both as a general subject of natural philosophy, and in the context of practical responses to the circumstances of individual dreams. I am interested in the rational architecture of dream theory as it was presented in the writings of theologians, philosophers, physicians and other literate thinkers. Consequently, I approach questions about the relevance of dreams in the context of the history of ideas, their place in seventeenth-century models of psychology, moral subjectivity and hermeneutic practice, the forces that shaped those ideas across the period, and the contexts in which they were disseminated and understood. In doing so, I reveal how dreams express continuities and ruptures in the evolving ideals that governed early modern views of rational religion, self-government and moral action.

The Social and Intellectual Context of Dreams

In the seventeenth century, the struggle to define Christian identity was focused around challenges to concepts of religious authority. Definitions of how spiritual knowledge was obtained, regulated and disseminated—and whether these means were reliable, safe and authoritative—were played out in battles over the definitions of God's spiritual mediators. Throughout history, eligibility to receive momentous dreams was a feature of influential social identities, of prophets, martyrs, kings and political elites, and of exalted members of any profession who claimed to have possessed privileged knowledge and insights. In the history of the ancient world, the dreams of political elites and philosophers were the most profound; in patristic, medieval and reformation cultures, the dreams of religious elites and dissidents.[9] Scholarship of the early

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[7] Jean-Marie Husser, *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World*, (Sheffield, 1999); Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany of Samuel*.

[8] Peter Holland, '"The Interpretation of Dreams" in the Renaissance' in Peter Brown (ed), *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 125—146; Mary Baine Campbell, 'Dreaming, Motion, Meaning: Oneiric Transport in Seventeenth-century Europe' in Katharine Hodgkin, Michelle O'Callaghan, and S. J. Wiseman (eds), *Reading the Early Modern Dream: The Terrors of the Night*, (London, 2008), pp. 15—30.

[9] Manfred Weidhorn, *Dreams in Seventeenth Century English Literature* (The Hague, 1970), pp. 45—67; Harris, *Dreams and Experience*, pp. 123—228; Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany of Samuel,* pp. 20—38; Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, (trans.) Arthur Goldhammer (London, 1988), pp. 193—242. On lay engagement with dreams and medieval church discipline see Isabel Moreira, 'Dreams and Divination in Early Medieval Canonical and Narrative Sources: The Question of Clerical Control' in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 4 (Oct, 2003), pp. 621—642; Jesse Keskiaho,

modern world has focused on visions, dreams and prophecies as subversive social acts, demonstrated by the disruptive influence of popular prophetic movements in both Catholic and Protestant societies.[10] In Protestant England, what it meant to be a religious minister or a prophet was a topic of intense scrutiny, definition, and disagreement in contemporary conversation. Alexandra Walsham, Phyllis Mack, Diane Watt, David Como and Nigel Smith have all written on the social power enjoyed by popular visionaries, the cultural ideas that shaped their social identity, and the actions which the state took to repress them where they were seen to challenge conventional religious authority.[11] In the seventeenth century this situation was exacerbated by the formation of multiple new religious identities and the new fluidity this allowed for in the confessional commitments of individuals. In this context, intellectual and literary expression was a powerful inspiration for individual actions, and formative of powerful, and frequently subversive social identities.[12] Religious and confessional conflict formed the background to new intellectual movements in contemporary politics and philosophy which sought to clearly define the true basis of knowledge and authority, and the spheres in which such authority could be said to be operative.

Of current historical scholarship on the subject of dreams, that which informs my work deals explicitly with intellectual views of dreams that developed out of this context. One of the strongest examples of the conceptual importance of

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'The handling and interpretation of dreams and visions in late sixth- to eight-century Gallic and Anglo-Latin hagiography and histories' in *Early Medieval Europe*, Vol. 13, No. 3, (July 2005), p. 227—248.

[10] Paul Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire*, (London, 1994); Jan N. Bremmer, 'Prophets, Seers, and Politics in Greece, Israel and Early Modern Europe' in *Numen*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (May, 1993), pp. 150—183; Andrew Keitt, 'Religious Enthusiasm, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Disenchantment of the World' in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (April, 2004), pp. 231—250; Richard L. Kagan, *Lucretia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth Century Spain* (London, 1990); Roger Osborne, *The Dreamer of the Calle de San Salvador: Visions of Sedition and Sacrilege in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (London, 2002); Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism*, (London, 2007); Robin Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, 1988).

[11] Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, (Oxford 2001), pp. 167—224; '"Frantick Hacket": Prophecy, Sorcery, Insanity, and the Elizabethan Puritan Movement' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 1, (Jan 1998) pp. 27—66; Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion, 1640-1660*, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 73—103; Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley, 1994) highlights the powerful factor of gender in the image of popular prophets; Diane Watt, *God's Secretaries: Studies of Four Women Visionaries and Prophets as writers in the Late Middle and Early Modern Ages* (Oxford, 1993), also pursues this theme, and explores the controversy surrounding two Elizabethan and one later Caroline-era prophetess: Elizabeth Barton, Anne Askew and Eleanor Davies; David R. Como, 'Women, Prophecy and Authority in Early Stuart Puritanism' in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (1998), pp. 203—222.

[12] Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed,* pp. 73—103. See particularly Smith's contention that radicals 'were recording genuine dreams and visions which closely resemble biblical dreams and visions, because they 'relive the archetypes', p. 84—85.

dreams is their role in the sceptical Pyrrhonist discourses which grew to prominence in Europe over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Descartes' *Meditations* employed radical doubts about the reliability of the senses to collapse the distinction between reality and dreams—and then, famously, reconstructs that confidence on the apparently self-evident existence of the soul's own thoughts, and an elementary faith in God's benevolence. Richard Popkin shows that this dream paradox was derived from common tropes of the Pyrrhonist scepticism which made great inroads into the philosophical imagination in the sixteenth century.[13] Stuart Clark's work on the optical cultures of the period dedicates a chapter to the epistemology of dreams, in which he tracks a shift in the philosophical discourse from questions about their moral origins and values toward the epistemological concerns represented by Descartes. These concerns, he shows, developed particularly in the context of demonological writings which attributed to spirits absolute power to manipulate the human senses, and arguments over the real or illusory nature of witches' nocturnal flights to the Sabbath feast.[14]

Jessica Carter offered one of the first dedicated studies of dreams as a category of historical analysis, addressing what she saw as the tendency of historians to consider dreams within 'narrow disciplinary divisions' which had the effect of separating categories that early modern thinkers saw as intimately linked.[15] Her study centered on the connections between different discourses, so that the concerns of physicians, theologians and philosophers were seen to overlap in a cultural discourse which centered on the issue of authenticity.[16] The classification and regard of dreams were affected in the first place by the confluence between medical diagnosis and the theological activity of discernment, which enhanced the authority of both physicians and theologians to produce expert opinions on the natural or supernatural origins of dreams.[17] Where dreams served as the basis for claims to prophetic authority, and intruded on the religious and political sphere, they were integral to many of the dialogues that spanned the long European Reformation, including the Civil War and Restoration, which focused on the liberty of religious conscience, the fallibility of human senses, and precedence of credibility, validity and sincerity in establishing truth.[18] These discourses did not only develop around religious claims to authority, but also in the context of legal proceedings against witchcraft. Her arguments centered on the idea that dreams were excluded

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[13] Richard Popkin, *The History of Scepticism: From Savonarola to Bayle* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 1—79.

[14] Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 300—328.

[15] Jessica Carter, 'Sleep and Dreams in Early Modern England', Ph.D. thesis (Imperial College London, 2008). See p. 2.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., pp. 65—125.

[18] Ibid., pp. 126—210.

from the public sphere in discourses which critiqued individual experience as potentially tainted by imposture, and the new respect for experimental methods promoted as a new standard of publically credible evidence.[19] She tracked a 'naturalisation' of the dream in the eighteenth century, arguing that epistemological problems centered on dreams, which rooted themselves in the epistemological canon, were a direct product of the disruption across these theological, political and legal contexts.[20] Her analysis carefully integrated the insights offered by other historians such as Lorraine Daston, Katherine Park, Barbara Shapiro, Michael Heyd and Steven Shapin on the fundamental changes which occurred in the way that knowledge was pursued and validated in scientific, intellectual and political contexts during this period.[21]

The conclusions of both Clark and Carter are developed by Mary Baine Campbell, who observes not just how dreams themselves were interrogated, but how they contextualized different forms of vision in relation to the human body. Dreams became private phenomena as new mechanical views of nature stripped the body of its place as an authoritative site for mirroring higher metaphysical realities. This was in sharp contrast to previous discourses on dreams, which defined public and philosophical value for their images that depended on the social status of the dreamer. Though the production of dreams remained a topic of interest, what was seen in these dreams was no longer seriously discussed in the context of what comes to be defined as Enlightenment natural philosophy. The power of dreams to shape meaning and confer power, she suggests are defined or delimited by their spatial significance in society, and the transformation of dreams from a form of vision to an irrational mode of thinking effectively ended their value for European societies increasingly modeled on the ideal of citizens who acted as rational and autonomous agents.[22]

'Spatial significance' has been an important concept for defining the role played by dreams within society and as a force for historical change. The act of dreaming, of telling dreams, and of interpreting them had power because their value and meaning was enshrined within core religious and philosophical texts. The discourses that created and elevated those texts gave such acts a platform

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[19] Ibid., pp. 211—289.

[20] Ibid., pp. 290—350.

[21] Ibid., pp. 44—50, 351—361; See Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150—1750* (New York, 1998); Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, 1994); Barbara Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationship between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law, and Literature* (Princeton, 1983); Michael Heyd, *Be Sober and Reasonable: The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1995).

[22] Mary Baine Campbell, 'The Inner Eye: Early Modern Dreaming and Disembodied Sight' in*, Dreamers, and Visions: The Early Modern Atlantic World*, pp. 33—48. See also 'Dreaming, Motion, Meaning' in *Reading the Early Modern Dream*, pp. 15—30.

in the public spaces of the court, the cloister or the city square.[23] In medieval and later Counter-Reformation Europe they were a means of enhancing, appropriating, modifying or challenging the institutional power of the Church, and like any social force, subjected to intense forms of surveillance, regulation and legal activity.[24] Popular and political culture was influenced by dreams, where visions predicted the fates of royalty and nobility, or pronounced judgment on their moral failures.[25] In Reformation Europe the failure of ecclesiastical and wider social controls created new spaces for inspired and visionary agency, first as Protestant confessional identities emerged, and later as they were forced to address their own breeds of faction and popular dissent. The elevation of the inner spiritual resources of the conscience and the 'inner light' continually demonstrated its potential to fracture the religious landscape under the right circumstances, leading to a proliferation of factions, sects and non-conformists. [26] The argument that following the inspiration of dreams was the inversion of sound religious authority was crucial to theological attacks on early German Anabaptist movements.[27] David Como and Peter Lake argue for the existence of a radical Puritan 'underground' fringe throughout the early seventeenth century, in which Familists and antinomians both appealed to the power of dreams and visions, and were characterized as dangerous dreamers by orthodox opponents.[28] In the Civil War, with heterodox ideas in the open and freely available through the printing presses, Nigel Smith writes that sectarians crafted prophetic identities which flowed both from, and back into, the experiences of their dreams.[29] Public challenge to the institutional and cultural bulwarks of clerical authority created new significance for dreams in

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[23] See Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle, 'Introduction: The Literatures of Dreaming', pp. 1—30, esp. 5—9.

[24] María V. Jordan, 'Competition and Confirmation in the Iberian Prophetic Community: The 1589 Invasion of Portugal in the Dreams of Lucrecia de León' in *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions*, pp. 72—87; Luís R. Corteguera, 'The Peasant Who Went to Hell: Dreams and Visions in Early Modern Spain' in *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions*, pp. 88—103.

[25] Carole Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance: Politics and Desire in Court and Culture* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 93—158; Helen Hackett, 'Dream-visions of Elizabeth I' in *Reading the Early Modern Dream*, pp. 45—65; Stephen Clucas, 'Dreams, Prophecies and Politics: John Dee and the Elizabethan Court 1575—1585' in *Reading the Early Modern Dream*, pp. 67—80; Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams*, pp. 35—58, 86—113.

[26] James Simpson, *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and its Reformation Opponents* (London, 2007); David R. Como, 'Radical Puritanism, c. 1558-1660' in John Coffey and Paul Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 241—258.

[27] Michael Heyd, *Be Sober and Reasonable*.

[28] David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil War England* (Stanford, 2004); Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'Heterodoxy', and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London*, (Manchester, 2001).

[29] Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, pp. 21—104, 105—226.

the lives of dissenting religious believers, a legacy which lasted beyond the Reformation.[30]

If the Restoration settlement failed to restore religious uniformity, however, it can be said to have succeeded in anathematizing the disruptive influence of prophets, enthusiasts and 'dreamers'. Developments in political, religious and even intellectual authority conspired, as Carter suggests, to discredit the role of prophets in a godly society.[31] Such an outcome cannot be described as the result of indifference to dreams, but increased attention to their dangers. If the collective power of dreams was denied *per se*, work by Janine Rivière, Reid Barbour and Sasha Handley demonstrate that in England this was an effect of intensive efforts to delineate, discipline and internalize those boundaries on the part of the established Church.[32] This discipline was not imposed simply through rhetoric, but in the way that ministers and theologians attempted to prescribe individual habits and use of social space. Barbour argues that in Caroline ecclesiastical culture, theologians attempted to carve out a space for the sanctified religious imagination—including biblical forms of ecstatic visions or dreams triggered by the presence of God—by insisting that its energies were grounded in the ceremonial and ritual spaces of the Church of England, and contrasting such experiences sharply against the 'irregular' fantasies of popular prophets and puritan critics which attacked the sanctity of Church communality and governance.[33] Sasha Handley concerns herself not with dreams but the sacralization of sleeping spaces and the sleeping act, which she argues was driven by pastoral reform initiatives that followed the Restoration and crossed confessional boundaries. Anxieties about sleep centred around the influence of malignant spiritual forces and its nature as an emblem of fleshly weakness, the physical and mental indecencies of which had to be voluntarily curbed.[34] Handley does not deal directly with dreams, but as my own work will show,

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[30] Carla Gerona, *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture*, (London, 2004); Katharine Hodgkin, 'Dreaming Meanings: Some Early Modern Thoughts' in *Reading the Early Modern Dream*, pp. 109—124; S.J. Wiseman, '"I Saw No Angel": Civil War Dreams and the History of Dreaming' in *Reading the Early Modern Dream*, pp. 125—142; Phyllis Mack, 'The Unbounded Self: Dreaming and Identity in the British Enlightenment' in *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions*, pp. 207—225.

[31] Carter, 'Sleep and Dreams', pp. 290—361; Michael Heyd, 'The Reaction to Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth Century: Towards an Integrative Approach' in *Journal of Modern History* 53, (June, 1981), pp. 258—280. On the declining respectability of occult experiment and a public role for supernatural knowledge, see also Paul Monod, *Solomon's Secret Arts: The Occult in the Age of Enlightenment* (London, 2013), pp. 119—226.

[32] Janine Rivière, '"Visions of the Night": The Reform of Popular Dream Beliefs in Early Modern England' in *Parergon*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Jan, 2003), pp. 109—138; Reid Barbour, *Literature and Religious Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 91—117; Sasha Handley, 'From the Sacral to the Moral: Sleeping Practices, Household Worship and Confessional Cultures in Late-Seventeenth Century England' in *Cultural and Social History*, Volume 9, Issue 1, (March 2012), pp. 27—46.

[33] Barbour, *Literature and Religious Culture*, pp. 91—117.

[34] Handley, 'From the Sacral to the Moral', pp.27—46.

they were regularly an object of concern in these nocturnal devotions, and intimately encompassed within the same spectrum of physical, cognitive and spiritual meanings as the processes of sleep.

Path-breaking work on the social history of the night suggests that these concerns with sleep rituals and the experiences of dreams can be contextualized as part of broader changes in the spatial and symbolic significance afforded to nocturnal activity across European society. Roger Ekirch and Craig Koslofsky have both demonstrated the rich complexity of this topic. People's relationship with night, argues Ekirch, altered dramatically from 1500-1750. Not only was it the site of 'a distinct culture of customs and rituals', but this period saw dramatic changes in official and popular use of the night space, as a site of social control, contest and discipline, in the transformation of urban and public space, and altering modes of popular nocturnal associations and communities. Not least among these was the site of the bedchamber itself, which he claims was defined by a pre-industrial cycle of 'segmented sleep', until the increasing illumination of public and private spaces interminably shortened the hours of sleep and eliminated these two stages of 'first' and 'second' sleep. Before its erosion this space between sleep was intensely important as a site of social intimacy, of personal reflection, and often, religious devotion—both the latter could include reflection on dreams.[35] Koslofksy argues that social colonization of the night-time was accompanied by a process of symbolic 'nocturnalization' in many cultural discourses, where European fascination with the night transmuted its spiritual and social significances in profound ways. Not least among these were the different valences that darkness took on in religious discourse, where seeking God in the darkness became a positive concept associated with the struggle for religious identity and the mystical and apophatic theologies that emphasized God's hidden and unknowable nature.[36]

Expanding the Intellectual History of Dreams

Dreams, as we can see, have been firmly established as a subject of historical attention and subjected to detailed analysis concerning their role in the dramatic intellectual and cultural changes which define the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Nor is the seam yet exhausted. This thesis, my own contribution to the emerging field of early-modern dream studies, was still in the process of being written when some of this research was published. There are therefore powerful resonances with some of their conclusions, and some observations common to them. These studies may traverse some of the same terrain, and yet all have particular insights to bring, and unique concerns that orient their perspective. It is in the context of intellectual history that I have

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[35] A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (London, 2005), see pp. 261—340, and esp. pp. 338—339.

[36] Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 1—16, 19—45, 46—90.

found the most productive approach to the significance of dreams. Popkin, Clark, and Carter have explored the significance of dreaming as a subject for different kinds of thinkers, including the principal categories of physicians, preachers, theologians, religious dissenters, popular prophets and a diversity of citizens from different levels of society, and they have argued eloquently for the particular role they played in critical social and intellectual dialogues of the moment. My research seeks to shine more light on their role in certain texts which have not received close scrutiny—such as the guidance literature produced by English ministers, and the dialogue of philosophical treatises with the traditional concepts of superstition, discernment and providence—and to articulate a fresh approach to materials already familiar in the study of early modern dreams.

This thesis considers dreams particularly as a subject in the history of mentalities, of collective imagination, and the philosophy of mind and cognition. It treats of dreams as objects and phenomena in their own right, but also of dreaming as an activity of the early modern subject, both philosophical and religious. In the systems of belief that we examine, this often involves drawing a contrast between the innate and interior capacities of the mind, and extrinsic powers of different degrees and orders which interact with it. It explores how theories about cognition were turned into rationales for practical moral guidance, ethical teaching, and spiritual development through the cultivation of self-government and freedom from sinful desires, as manifested in the phenomenology of dreaming. In this respect, my research explores how dreaming was presented by certain thinkers as an activity of, or an activity that defined, early modern images of the subject and of subjectivity. Focusing overwhelmingly on the functional and semantic status of the dreaming mind in the Christian theological system, it situates this subject in the conceptual spaces of nature, of divinity, of religious confession, and of the experimental knowledge of dreams themselves. This has dictated not only an interest in the theory of dreams as cognitive experiences, but also the ways in which they were thought to influence human actions. This was an area that was as intensely theorized in the early modern period as today, and set out to define the relationship between sensations, feelings and thoughts. Finally, it shows how cognitive profiles and epistemological styles, associated with different kinds of dreamer, were used to describe and define tropes of cultural identity, as theologians and philosophers made claims for their effects on the religious and social fabric of England.

Dreams remained relevant to seventeenth-century thinkers up until, and even beyond, 1660. It is necessary to challenge an impression, given in some reviews of the dream theories of the period, that seventeenth-century beliefs about dreams are 'mere' survivals of the medieval and Renaissance past, as if the

imminence of the Enlightenment drained any possible significance from their articulation and use in this period, or indeed, any possible historical interest they might hold for us.[37] It was my fascination with the complexity and richness of several seventeenth-century works on dreams which encouraged me to propose the subject: the conviction that manuals like *The Mystery of Dreames* (1658) by Philip Goodwin (d. 1667) and *A Treatise of Dreams & Visions* (1689) by Thomas Tryon (1634–1703), warranted more analytical attention than the brief lines of summary received in most of the existing literature.[38] This would be joined later by the challenge of understanding and contextualizing texts on dreams like those written by John Beale (bap. 1608, d. 1683), a clergyman and Baconian polymath who contributed his voracious philosophical interests and ardent millennial faith to the circle of reformers whose correspondence was facilitated and recorded by the philosophical 'intelligencer' Samuel Hartlib (c.1600-1662) during the revolutionary years.[39] It examines the cultural significance of these sources in the context of the sceptical crisis surrounding 'enthusiastic' religious experience, but seeks to counter-balance this with a narrative about the positive uses for dreams in theological circles which rejected popular spiritual and prophetic authority in favour of doctrine laid down by the consensus of learned theologians. I argue that defending belief in a rational basis to inspired dreams was necessary to many different intellectuals, and not just a feature of groups who opposed past models of church discipline.

The legacy of Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the seventeenth century was an overwhelming concern with the moral utility of knowledge, which defined how it was pursued and presented, disseminated and consumed. The response to the perceived failings of the Roman curia and its theological academy was eventual schism and a vigorous re-examination of key ethical doctrines and practices. However, a failing of these reformed ethical and religious philosophies was their inability to secure the certainty of the individual's access to truth, and hence the justification of his religious confession. The need for systematic rationale encouraged the search for new systematic models of knowledge, which in this period came hand in hand with

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[37] Holland, '"The Interpretation of Dreams" in the Renaissance', pp. 125—146; Campbell, 'Dreaming, Motion, Meaning', pp. 15—30.

[38] Philip Goodwin, *The Mystery of Dreames Historically Discoursed*, (London, 1658). Philip Goodwin was a relatively unknown clergyman of puritan sympathies. See H. R. French, 'Goodwin, Philip (d. 1667)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10995, accessed 11 Nov 2013]; Thomas Tryon, *A Treatise of Dreams & Visions*, (London, 1689). Tryon was a religious radical and made a career writing popular advice books. See Virginia Smith, 'Tryon, Thomas (1634–1703)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27783, accessed 11 Nov 2013].

[39] John Beale, 'Treatise on the Art of Interpreting Dreams', Undated, 25/19/1—28, in Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, and Michael Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers: A Complete Text and Image Database of the Papers of Samuel Hartlib (C. 1600-1660)* Held in Sheffield University Library, 2nd ed. (Sheffield, 2002).

the elucidation of epistemological method. In this search the nature of one's instruments defined the basis of this knowledge: whether those instruments were physical, quantitative and extrinsic, or mental, qualitative and private.[40] Descartes and the Baconians advanced the view that logic in the first case or experience in the second should be more authoritative in natural philosophy, while 'third way' philosophers, enthusiastic religionists and believers in the visionary maintained a more traditional view of their complementary character.

I fit my view of methodologies and approaches into this evolving landscape, arguing that we see a struggle to fit dreams into a productive method of knowledge, and emphasizing attempts to preserve the power and potential that were dictated for them in scripture and enduring philosophical mythologies. They offer a contrast to thinkers who rejected dreams as sources of productive knowledge, instead making powerful use of them as a category of 'anti-knowledge', and giving them a negative role in human history.[41] Dreaming can be seen as important because it was an activity that reproduced essential dichotomies at the heart of Christian philosophy. Debates about their origins, and the influence of devils and angels over their content, rehearsed larger questions about the boundaries of sacred, profane and secular power over nature, within the mind, and as aspects of the world.[42] How dreams encompass these issues was indicated by their functions and their meanings in different cosmological systems, whose intrinsic elements and qualities were related to each other by differing principles, often described in analogies and homologues. This is to say that the system that produced and framed dreams was almost as important as the particularities of dreams themselves. As part of the organic workings of the multi-vocal cosmos, dreams and dreaming were, like all mental events, intrinsically imbued with qualities of form and sympathy that gave them a powerful metaphysical identity, whether positive or negative. The new

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[40] Stephen Menn, 'The Intellectual Setting' in Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers (eds), *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 33—86; Richard Popkin, 'The religious background of seventeenth century philosophy' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, Vol. 1, pp. 396—400; *The Third Force in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Gary Hatfield, 'The Cognitive Faculties' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 953—1002 and 'Theories of Knowledge and Belief', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 1003—1061.

[41] Michael Heyd, *Be Sober and Reasonable*; Michael Ayers, 'Theories of Knowledge and Belief', pp. 1003—1061; Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism and the Rise of Natural Science* (Cambridge, 1998); *The Fall of Man and the Foundations of Science* (Electronic Edition, Cambridge, 2007); John J. Dahm, 'Science and Apologetics in the Early Boyle Lectures' in *Church History*, Vol. 39, No. 2, (June, 1970), pp. 172—186.

[42] Euan Cameron, 'Angels, Demons, and Everything in Between: Spiritual Beings in Early Modern Europe' in Clare Copeland and Jan Machielsen (eds), *Angels of Light? Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, (Leiden, 2013), pp. 17—52; Laura Sangha, '"Incorporeal Substances": Discerning Angels in Later Seventeenth-Century England' in *Angels of Light?*, pp. 225—278; Joad Raymond, *Milton's Angels: The Early-Modern Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 193, 194, 328—9, 351—3.

mechanical cosmos could seem austere by comparison, stripped of the conceptual logic of forms and sympathies, and functioning purely through gross attributes of matter. Though some explanations of dreams within the mechanical physics even resembled basic Aristotelian theories that described them as relics and echoes of sense perception, the larger implication was that dreams should only be described as consequences of mechanism, denying the rich tapestry of moral philosophy that attached even to negative interpretations of dreams, and denying the pre-eminent role given to the devil, even by some naturalistic critics of 'enthusiasm'.

Dream Theory and Intellectual Change in the Long Reformation

My research seeks to relate the intellectual changes in dream beliefs much more closely to developments in religious culture in the context of the long reformation. If other studies have been somewhat focused on the question of how the cultural authority of dreams is reduced and diminished after 1660, I have been more interested in understanding the power and significance of dreams to those who were speaking about them in the 1640s and 1650s. I have looked particularly to the classical and medieval past to understand in more detail the ideas and, if appropriate, practices which early modern inherited for understanding, contextualizing and responding to dreams, and how the particular circumstances of the seventeenth century may have influenced and modified those ideas. It focuses on dreams as a focal point of conflicting interpretations born from the clash between Church authorities, radical religion, and experimental philosophers.

Carter's 2009 thesis concentrated on changes in the categorical concepts of knowledge and their instrumental value in the fields of orthodox theology, legal governance and philosophical investigation, engaging with modern historiographical debates about the epistemological concerns that governed the thought of preachers, teachers, artists, theologians and naturalists. My own work is similarly concerned with the changing intellectual landscape of the seventeenth century, but seeks to understand philosophical positions on dreams by locating them in the long-term emergence of different perspectives on philosophy of mind and its relationship to the material world. The conditions for innovations in these fields came about as a result of the breakdown of the scholastic monopoly on Christian intellectual life, which was contingent on many factors, including demands for moral and ethical reform of philosophy since the fourteenth century, the challenges of nominalist philosophical thought in the thirteenth century, the expansion of universities as educational centers outside of the monastic orders, and retrievals of classical philosophical thought leading to revivals in Platonic, Stoic, Epicurean and

sceptical thought.[43] Over the course of the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, the authority of the scholastic science, founded on a Christianized synthesis of Aristotelian physics and Augustinian Platonism, had its authority eroded by these broad intellectual trends.

A consequence of this intellectual ferment was that distinctive and competing claims about the exact nature of the mind, its powers and its relationship with intentional objects of knowledge emerged.[44] One of the aims of my study is to relate early modern dream theory to the theoretical foundations of three primary philosophical traditions: that of scholastic Aristotelianism and its continuing influences on Protestant theology; the great variety of occult, magical and mystical positions which took their inspiration from the Renaissance revival of Neoplatonism; and the emerging materialist, sceptical and experimental philosophies, with their commitment to explaining nature by mechanical laws of matter and motion.[45] The articulation and adaptation of new philosophies and physical theories of nature led to re-formulations of the mind and the cognitive faculties, and generated an evolving debate on the nature of human agency. Philosophers advanced different views about how the human will and the bodily passions functioned.[46] By studying the arguments

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[43] Stephen Menn, 'The Intellectual Setting', pp. 33—86; Marcia L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400* (London, 1998); J.M. Cocking, *Imagination: A Study in the History of Ideas*, ed. Penelope Murray (London, 1991), pp. 69—194; Dag Nikolaus Hasse,'Influence of Arabic and Islamic Philosophy on the Latin West', Ver. 19/09/08, on *Stanford Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, [http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/arabic-islamic-influence/#Psy, accessed 17 Feb 2013]; Hughes, Alan, 'Imagining the Divine: Ghazali on Imagination, Dreams, and Dreaming' in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol 70, No 1, (March 2002), pp. 33—53; Dominic O'Mera, *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought* (Albany, 1982), Anna Baldwin and Sarah Hutton (eds), *Platonism and the English Imagination* (Cambridge, 1994); Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*, (Leiden, 2007).

[44] Michael Ayers, 'The Cognitive Faculties' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosphy*, Vol. II, pp. 953—1002; Katherine Park 'The Organic Soul' in Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (eds), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 464—484; Richard Cross, 'Philosophy of Mind' in Thomas Williams (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Duns Scotus*, (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 263—284.

[45] Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic*; Brian Cophenhaver, 'Astrology and Magic' in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, pp. 264—300; 'The Occult Tradition and its Critics' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 456—459; Paolo Rossi, *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science*, (Chicago, 1968); Brian Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, (Cambridge, 1984); Paul H. Kocher, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (New York, 1969); Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, pp. 105—226; Peter Harrison, *The Fall of Man*; Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Netwon: Magic and the Making of Modern Science*, (Oxford, 1989); *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* (Oxford, 2002); Michael Ayers, 'Theories of Knowledge and Belief', pp. 1003—1061; Monod, *Solomon's Secret Arts*; Michael Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy: Intellectual Change in Late Seventeenth-Century Britain*, (Woodbridge, 1995).

[46] Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, (Oxford, 1997); 'Explaining the Passions: Passions, desires and the explanation of action' in Stephen Gaukroger (ed), *The Soft Underbelly of Reason: The Passions in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 17—33; 'The Passions in Metaphysics and Theories of Action' and 'Reason, the passions, and the good life' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 913—948, 1358—1396; Gail

advanced about the cognitive faculties and their role in defining human behavior and ethical agency, we are able to evaluate whether they had anything to say about how the experiences of dreams related to question about conscious and non-conscious activity in the mind, and hence whether dreams and the way in which one reacted to them had moral significance. Dreams are a species of cognitive activity, whether defined most broadly, to encompass perceptual as well as intellectual and imaginative notions, or more narrowly to those latter two faculties, as we are likely to do today.

I begin with an analysis of the relationship of dreams to the operation of different mental faculties, identifying the origins of different accounts and suggesting that changes are visible in their relative popularity over the period. Mary Baine Campbell's article on 'The Inner Eye', published in March 2013, makes a similar observation, that a shift occurs over the course of the period from conceiving of dreams primarily as perceptual phenomena—night 'visions' if you will—to a particular mode or capacity of thinking. Campbell's analysis focuses on the shift to a mechanical conception of vision and mind as the driver of this change.[47] My own argument tracks in more detail the emergence of interest in the speculative power of the imagination as the locus of 'dreaming', and a surge in the popularity of ideas which suggested the role of Reason in dreams, suggesting that this can be explained in part by the popularity of Augustine's writings on the subject, and formed an important component in the attempt of orthodox theologians to preserve the role of 'vitalist' spiritual and ontological principles in creation. The relevance of dreams was related in part to man's capacity for a sinful form of cognition—the 'speculative wickedness' which was a hidden sign of his depraved moral state. This association between dreams and the corrupt imagination was influential enough that Milton worked it into his account of the Fall in *Paradise Lost*, where Eve is tempted twice, the first time in a dream which Satan whispers into her ear.[48]

The philosophical positions sketched out above are umbrella categories, and it should be recognized that the relationship between individual thinkers and an intellectual 'tradition' is not fixed, and often part of an ongoing process of dialogue and adaption. We will see how the declining authority of the scholastic tradition led to more flexible approaches amongst Protestant theologians who made use of Platonic and even Neoplatonic ideas to answer the radical

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Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia, 2004).

[47] Campbell, 'The Inner Eye', pp. 33—48.

[48] John Milton, *Paradise Lost,* (London, 1667) Bk IV.l. 798—810; 'him there they found/Squat like a Toad, close at the eare of *Eve;*/Assaying by his Devilish art to reach/The Organs of her Fancie, and with them forge /Illusions as he list, Phantasms and Dreams'. The dream is related in Bk. V.l.28—128. There is a discussion of this account of the Fall in Weidhorn, *Dreams in Seventeenth-Century Literature*, pp. 144—149.

perspectives of the 'new' mechanical philosophy. The context for the transformation of intellectual culture was European, but these intellectual trends had their own unique social and cultural manifestations in the English context. Michael Hunter writes that older narratives of intellectual change in England focused on notions of substantive confrontations between blocs of thinkers who represented an 'ancient' against a 'modern' school of thought, or a 'traditionalist' against a 'naturalist', or an elite against a popularist school. This has generally given way to the idea that early modern thinkers tended to define themselves individually against certain ideas, for which they invented archetypal opponents who rarely correlated with the beliefs of real opponents.[49] This view is corroborated by Lotte Mulligan's analysis of the ideal of 'right reason' in the era, which was probably substantially shared between religious and philosophical rivals who accused each other of lacking it.[50] From this perspective, early modern philosophical culture was characterized by those who juxtaposed experimental and inductivist approaches against the rhetorical and deductive methods associated with scholasticism, and anyone who attempted to build 'rational' but un-tested visions of nature; by the opposition between mechanistic conceptions of nature and vitalistic ones, often characterized by proponents of the latter as resistance to 'atheistic' philosophy; and the opposition between religious radicalism and institutions of civility, order and reason, which arose in response to the political and social upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s.[51]

Peter Harrison argues that a Protestant mythological consciousness deeply rooted in Augustinian views of humanity consistently drove philosophical thinkers of all stripes toward the goal of overcoming the damage wrought on its intellectual and moral capacities by man's fall from grace in the Garden of Eden.[52] In philosophy, as in theology, thinkers were compelled to determine the extents and limits to which both reason and revelation were the best tools for establishing certain truths, and when knowledge could be revealed by dreams. Visions to advance the reach and reform the character of human knowledge were intensely pious in their character and scope. Descartes' move to establish a method of objective idealism was motivated by the paralysis that scepticism wrought on both religious and scientific enquiry, and in the words of Popkin, 'objectif[ied] subjective certitude by attaching it to God'.[53] English philosophical culture, in the work of the Christian Platonists and experimental philosophers, sought to establish a standard of 'reasonableness' or sufficient knowledge to

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[49] Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy*, pp. 12—17.

[50] Lotte Mulligan, '"Reason," "Right Reason," and "Revelation" in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England' in Brian Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 375—401.

[51] Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy*, pp. 12—17.

[52] Harrison, *The Fall of Man*, pp. 52—88.

[53] Popkin, *The History of Scepticism*, p. 156.

adjudicate on religious and theological truth.[54] In the same way that narratives about ethical and moral corruption justified repudiation of religious authorities, so too did they produce critiques of the knowledge that they created and authorized. The confluence between scientific reform and millennial expectations, as well as a desire to establish a common ground for human knowledge, led some to believe that increased knowledge would demystify the procedures for effective dream interpretation. In occult and mystical philosophies, visions and dreams were emphasized as means by which both temporal and supernatural wisdom might be imparted, while 'occult' takes on this tradition emphasized how to cultivate the mind and body to achieve such spiritual transports.

The dramatic effects of religious and political radicalism, which contributed to the formation of the intellectual poles described by Hunter, were themselves deeply rooted in dichotomies bequeathed as the legacy of the Reformation, where ideals about liberty of conscience, spiritual egalitarianism and anti-formalist religious experience were thrown into sharp confrontation with orthodox doctrine, state-sponsored confession and traditional political order. Jonathan Scott's work shows how the unleashing of apocalyptical and egalitarian spiritual ideologies exercised profound and disruptive power on the English social world, where new visions of man's political activity came into being based in part on new ideas about his condition as a subject of nature.[55] A special characteristic of Protestant religion in seventeenth-century England was that questions about dreams and their relationship to divine knowledge were not restricted to representations of cultural and social elites and outcasts, but were increasingly present to the individual and the lay believer. The use of categories of superstition and heresy by Continental Protestant theologians and their English counterparts was arguably particular in its intensity because the conditions of an active and engaged vernacular religious sphere presented serious challenges when it came to maintaining the integrity of intellectual and doctrinal commitments. Historians of English Protestantism have produced an extensive body of work defining the character of extra-institutional Protestant piety, its cultures of lay associations, household devotions and popular social activity, and analysed the different uses of the term 'puritanism' in these contexts.[56] Exploration of participation in the reproduction, interrogation and

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[54] Sarah Hutton, 'The Cambridge Platonists' in Stephen Nadler (ed), *A Companion to Early Modern Philosophy* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 308—319; Mark Goldie, 'Cambridge Platonists (*act.* 1630s–1680s)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/94274, accessed 11 Nov 2013]; C.A. Patrides (ed), *The Cambridge Platonists*, (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 1—41.

[55] Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 247—341.

[56] John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (London, 1991); Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000); John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The*

propounding of religious truth reveals the existence of alternative and radical styles of religious identity in what has been termed the 'puritan underground', prior to the general freedom of the 1640s and 1650s. This literature has tended to focus on London as the most active centre of religious radicalism.[57]

These radical religious offshoots from mainstream English Protestantism have been defined primarily in terms of 'antinomianism', or reaction to and backlash against the rigours of Calvinist theology and the intensive practices of puritan introspection. They were often inspired and guided by more radical readings of Luther's position of *sola fide*, as well as contemplative and mystical spiritualties which wrought similarly subversive social influences in Catholic Europe.[58] The awareness of the religious subject was also intensely shaped by the continuing influence of apocalyptical and millennial traditions on the Protestant imagination. These had particular purchase in the history and development of the Protestant religious culture. For many, the Protestant world-view incorporated not only a view of the Roman Church as an historical aberration from truth, but also the incomplete and progressive nature of the Reformation as a kind of spiritual revelation in itself. A belief in progressive revelation was thus integral to widespread millenarian beliefs amongst English Protestants, and shared between radicals, moderates and conservatives alike. For many believers, it was only natural that the ultimate promises of the Biblical prophecies of Isaiah, Daniel and Revelations should be heralded by future prophetic generations, and indeed several passages of the Bible appeared to establish this.[59]

The space for belief in progressive divine revelation in Protestant culture was, however, contested and unstable. Prophetic inspiration could be an animating force in the life and opinions of conformists who remained grounded in the sacramental institution of the English Church, or radicals who believed that new revelation both superseded and directly attacked the authority of some or all of

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Cambridge Companion to Puritanism, (Cambridge, 2008); John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714* (Harlow, 2006); Geoffrey Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Oxford, 1946); Theodore D. Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain: Disciplinary Religion & Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638* (University of North Carolina, 2004); William A. Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge, 2004).

[57] Como, *Blown by the Spirit,* pp. 73--103; Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge,* pp. 170—189.

[58] Como, *Blown by the Spirit*; Bozeman, *The Precisianist Strain*, pp. 183—230; Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, pp. 107—143; Michel de Certeua, *The Mystics Fable*, *Vol. 1: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Chicago 1992); Gillian Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity*, (London, 1996), pp. 6—31; Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism*, (London, 2007), pp. 169—232.

[59] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp.116—325; Jeffrey K. Jue, 'Puritan Millenialism in Old and New England' in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, pp. 259—276; Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell (eds), *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine and Death in Reformation Europe*, (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 19—91; Webster, *The Great Instauration*, pp. 1—30; Peter Harrison, *The Fall of Man,* pp. 186—190.

its institutions. Such positions always remained a potent possibility in Protestantism, being historically, doctrinally and polemically attuned to the notion that religious truths were easily corrupted in the hands of individuals and institutions. As with the rest of the 'contested truths' under scrutiny here, the most powerful generators of controversy centered upon disagreement about who the legitimate gatekeepers of this prophetic era were, and the consequences for the rest of Christian belief and doctrine. It was a view that could be reconciled with belief in the governing authority of church officials, but always presented the opportunity for disruptive challenges to the vested order. Dreams became entangled in the culture of conscience, the individualization and particularization of religious knowledge-seeking and knowledge-making. Arguments surrounding the primacy of conscience or church discipline had the potential to disrupt the scope and meaning of existing religious practices, like the puritan penchant for seeking 'experimental' assurance of truth.[60] As religious authority was challenged by the emergence of the sects, individuals who found themselves caught in the influence of the schism required increasingly personal means of discerning and navigating amongst them. Thrown back upon the resources of their own immediate judgment, the religious were forced to make their own assessments about the relative importance of different forms of religious knowledge. This gave renewed importance to the possible significance of visions and dreams in the lives of ordinary believers. By navigating the divide between different sects and the theological truths which they enshrined, dreams were adjudicating in matters that reached beyond the private realms of sanctification proscribed by ministers before the revolution. Implicitly, they touched upon much more powerful narratives bound up with revelation and the unfolding of God's providential will in the present.

Evidence of this can be found across the continuum of dissenting and heterodox religious groups. Visionary dreams are present in the papers of members of the antinomian underground and communicated revelations of the divine nature. The *Spiritual Experiences Of Sundry Beleevers*, edited by the Welsh nonconformist minister Vavasor Powell (1617-1670), to take one example of dozens between 1646-1660, presented testimonies of believers drawn from the national church into independent and Congregationalist assemblies, included examples of individuals guided by the inspiration of dreams.[61] Those who were critical of the fluid religious sympathies of 'seekers' and sectarians often referred to their tendency to rely upon the leadings of dreams. The Independent minister William Bridge (c.1600-1670) reminded his readers that

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[60] Morrill, John, 'The Puritan Revolution', in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, pp. 67—88; Como, 'Radical Puritanism, c. 1558-1660' in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism,* pp. 241—258.

[61] Vavasor Powell, *Spiritual Experiences Of Sundry Beleevers*, (London, 1653). See also John Rogers, *Ohel or Beth-shemesh, A tabernacle for the sun, or, Irenicum evangelicum*, (London, 1653).

dreams were a deceptive alternative to good scripturalism, and associated them with Satan's ability to pervert the most sacred truths as he did when he warped Eve's apprehension of the Tree of Good and Evil.[62] Even George Fox spoke of encountering a wayward sect that placed too much stock in dreams, and abandoned their ways to become some of the earliest Quaker converts.[63] John Cook, the parliamentarian and regicide, related a dream of spiritual comfort in a printed pamphlet, which he clearly believed would edify God's faithful in the midst of the 'storm' of controversy and confusion following the Revolution.[64] The telling of dreams as a social practice is integral to the historical accounts of both Nigel Smith and Carla Gerona. In both cases, private dreams are shown to have formed part of the spiritual journey of separatists and sectarians. Smith notes their presence in a third of the 'Spiritual experience' literatures, published in the mid-century to justify the conscientious conversion of separatist and independent congregants.[65] In the Quaker culture after the Restoration, dreams would remain a powerful component of Quaker spirituality, in the pages of spiritual autobiography, and in the public prophetic life of Quaker congregations, and formed part of the rich tapestry of inspiration that drove Quaker evangelism across the Atlantic.[66]

Sources and Contexts

These studies of the intellectual and social forces at work in England form the basis for my analytical approach to ideas about dreams and the conversations that were constructed around them around the mid to late seventeenth century. I focus on the intellectual motivations and ideological commitments of three broad groups of thinkers. The first group encompasses a broad number of Protestant religious thinkers. They are chosen primarily for their concern with dreams in their printed works, and their connection with spirituality and moral government of the soul, particularly the imagination. They primarily reflect a range of opinion from members of the educated Protestant clerical community, whose writing combined theology with the practical work of ministers in the form of evangelical preaching and pastoral care. A variety of theologians attempted to define the relationship of dreams to doctrines of prophecy, providence and conscience. Their position was dictated largely by recognizable

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[62] William Bridge, *Scripture-Light the Most Sure Light* (London, 1656), pp. 4—15.

[63] 'Removing to another place, I came among a people that relied much on dreams… But these people came out of these things, and at last became Friends.' George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, Online Edition: [http://www.strecorsoc.org/ gfox/ch01.html , accessed 11/11/2013].

[64] John Cook, *A True Relation of Mr John Cook's Passage by Sea… Also the Vision that he saw in his sleep* (London, 1650).

[65] Ibid., *Perfection Proclaimed,* pp. 73-103.

[66] Gerona, *Night Journeys*. For Quaker dreams in England see pp. 19—69, for dreams across the Atlantic, pp. 70—247.

doctrinal commitments at the core of Protestant religious identity, often (but not always) heavily influenced by Calvinist thought. I show how theologians were influenced by changing ideas about the natural origins of dreams, and adapted their views to support the fundamentals of their own doctrinal beliefs against elements of new philosophical thought which they deemed unacceptable on the basis of those commitments.[67] The sources for their models of prophetic inspiration and agency are found in Protestant theological texts. In the earlier part of the century, these are focused primarily on matters of practical divinity and pastoral guidance. Only later in the century do more systematic theological works on the subject begin to appear, when treatises are authored by John Smith (1618-1652), John Owen (1616-1683), and a translation of a work by the French theologian Moïse Amyraut (1596-1664) was made in 1676. The sceptical works of Meric Casaubon (1599-1671) and Henry More (1614-1687) are also vital to this discourse, writing as they do against the phenomenon of false prophecy.[68]

The next, very broad group I identify includes millennial projectors and experimental philosophers who believed that ancient tools of divination, as well as certain models of contemplative or inspired spirituality, were compatible with scriptural knowledge. This ranged right across the popular prophetic movements of Germany, the Lutherans and Lutheran theologians, to Johannes Alsted (1588—1638) and Joseph Mede (1586-1639), who developed systems of criticism specifically for relating the prophetic content of the Bible to contemporary signs and historical events.[69] This also included the international philosophical movement centred around Samuel Hartlib and Johannes Amos Comenius (1592-1670). I focus on manuscript sources and correspondence from the hand of their correspondent John Beale, and texts authored by Comenius around the mid-century, to gain insight into their 'experimental' religious approach to dreams.[70] These approaches had a unique flavor because

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[67] John Smith, *Select Discourses by John Smith*, (ed.) John Worthington, (London, 1660); John Owen, *Pneumatologia, or, A discourse concerning the Holy Spirit*, (London, 1676); Moise Amyraut, *A Discourse Concerning the Divine Dreams Mention'd in Scripture*, (trans.) J.A. Lowde, (London, 1676).

[68] Meric Casaubon, *A treatise concerning enthusiasme, as it is an effect of nature, but is mistaken by many for either divine inspiration, or diabolical possession*, (London, 1655); Henry More, *Enthusiasmus triumphatus, or, A discourse of the nature, causes, kinds, and cure, of enthusiasm*, (London, 1656).

[69] Jue, 'Puritan Millenialism in Old and New England', pp. 259—276.

[70] All references are made in regard to letters, copies and papers held as part of the Hartlib Papers at the University of Sheffield, one of the three principal manuscript sources for Beale's writings (others are found with the Evelyn papers (Christ Church, Oxford) and the British Library)—Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, and Michael Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers: A Complete Text and Image Database of the Papers of Samuel Hartlib (C. 1600-1660) Held in Sheffield University Library, 2d ed.* (Sheffield, 2002) [also available online at: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/hartlib]. Hereafter abbreviated to *HP*. The primary source under discussion here is Beale's 'Treatise on the Art of Interpreting Dreams' (Undated), 25/19/1—28; Johannes Comenius, *Panegersia, or, Universal Awakening*, (trans.) A.M.O. Dobbie, (Shipston-on-Stour, 1990); *Naturall Philosophie Reformed by*

they were not guided primarily by doctrinal commitments, but by the principles of Baconian science, which attempted to combine historical, scriptural and anecdotal sources to prove or disprove claims about the nature of dreams and their role in religious providence, public prophecy and intellectual enlightenment.

The third group are the committed occultists, mystics and theosophists, those who accepted the magical grounding of occult ideas and believed in the existence of the *anima mundi* or 'world soul', the instrumental power of natural magic, and of inner gnostic processes by which the individual could 'ascend' in knowledge toward God. Central texts for this class of thinker include works of Hermetic corpus like the *Pymander*, the magical encyclopedia of Cornelius Agrippa(1486-1535), *On Occult Philosophy* (1653), and the translated works of the German mystic Jacob Boehme (1575-1624).[71] The members of this group were heterogenous, and important distinctions can be made between them – especially between a renaissance magician like Agrippa and a theosophist mystic like Boehme. The former was much more interested in 'instrumental' forms of power, discovered in divination and magical ritual, while the latter focused on the perception of inner spiritual realities through reading the Bible and observing nature. Nevertheless, they affirmed, used or modified and transformed central ideas like the world soul, emanation, and the ascent to divine union.

These broad constellations of intellectuals and authors form the principal categories for evaluating uses of and responses to dream theory as it was derived from Aristotelian, Neoplatonic, classical and mechanical philosophy, both as natural and supernatural phenomena. Though they do not form the central focus of the study, I will also be discussing some of the ideas of philosophers inspired by Cartesian, materialist and Baconian principles, who introduced the idea of mechanism as the dominant paradigm for defining and studying human nature. Key texts here include the *Leviathan* (1651) of Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and the *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690) of John Locke (1632-1704).[72]

It is not just the relationship between different philosophical thinkers that concerns me here, however. Protestant works of conscience literature were also influenced by metaphysical discourses about the soul, as I show when I

Divine Light, (London, 1651); *A generall table of Europe, representing the present and future state thereof* (London, 1670).

[71] 'Hermes Trismegistus', *The Divine Pymander*, (trans.) John Everard (London, 1657); Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London, 1650); Jacob Boehme, *Mysterium Magnum, or An exposition of the first book of Moses called Genesis* (London, 1656).

[72] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or, The matter, forme, and power of a common wealth, ecclesiasticall and civil* (London, 1651); John Locke, *An essay concerning humane understanding in four books* (London, 1690).

compare a number of treatises on the nature of temptation by Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680) and Richard Sibbes (1577?–1635), to Philip Goodwin's *Mystery of Dreames* (1658). Examination of the place of dreams in the theory of moral action directs us toward writings in the context of confessional and pastoral culture, and the pedagogical relationship between religious authorities and the wider Church community. Like Handley in her research into sleeping practices, I take an interest in Protestant confessional culture, without focusing on the divisions between religious identities and labels like 'Anglican', 'puritan' or 'nonconformist'.[73] My attention to these manuals is much more grounded in how the workings of the imagination were related to conscience theory, and how sermons and devotional aids were used to shape moral responses to dreams in particular. The spiritual significance of sleep and waking—of vitalism in the spiritual faculties—makes a significant appearance in my analysis, as it does in hers, but is discussed primarily in terms of how it defines different cognitive states and modes of perception. As I point out, sleeping and waking are metaphorical glosses on the states of 'abstraction' and 'alienation', either absorption with God or with the flesh. Dreams represented the foot-steps of the devil in the mind of the Christian, and thus they were subjected to intensive attempts at control and regulation long before the pastoral activity identified by Handley post-1660. Devotional prayers asking for God's protection from the devil were, as Nathan Johnstone demonstrates, common components of prayer manuals, and several writers stressed sleep as a time of particularly acute vulnerability to Satan's power.[74]

Barbour's work on Caroline uses of the imagination also alerts us to the fact that theologians operating in the same religious and intellectual universe as their real and imagined ideological opponents often shared many of their ideas and assumptions, even if they did not agree on interpretations.[75] The supporters of Laud's religious reforms therefore developed their own positive conceptions of the role of imagination, and even of dreams. Just as Caroline divines sought to describe a 'sacralized' purpose for the imagination, my argument will focus to a large degree on Goodwin's *Mystery of Dreames* which confronts the cultural fear of demonic influence in order to reach a place of reversal: to open up a mental, ritual and social space to share positive dream experiences amongst the godly. Goodwin's apparent flirtation with heterodoxy—always assumed by historians, since we have discovered no contemporary reactions—would thus seem to touch upon the ambiguity of the holy in Protestant theological belief and cultural practice. The powers of the devil, magnified ten-fold, seem to outweigh the presence of God and his angels in the mind of the believer; and yet, to afford

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[73] Handley, 'From the Sacral to the Moral', pp.27—46.

[74] Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 90, 94, 114, 120.

[75] Barbour, *Literature and Religious Culture*, pp. 91—117.

God as much space in one's dreams as the devil may have invited accusations of enthusiasm, a fact to which Goodwin's text is occasionally sensitive.

At times it will be necessary to signal the position of these thinkers on various issues of church government, which were dependent on the context of the times. In this context I refer to these works primarily as Protestant in their theological commitments. I sometimes reference the Reformed tradition, which should be taken to mean that they worked with reference to core theological ideas of Calvin and Zwingli, in contrast to those churches and theologians referred to as Lutheran in most historiography. In the majority of cases I have chosen to remain agnostic about whether the works of English clergyman can be attributed to a particular religious identity or phenomenon like puritanism. Where that phrase is used, it is generally to invoke a particular cultural construct or concept integral to the argument of a historian – such as Peter Lake's concept of the 'puritan underground' or Charles Webster's description of the puritan social basis of new philosophical movements in the early seventeenth century. Most of these concepts introduce puritan as a phrase which indicates a heightened concern with the status of individual believers as part of the 'elect', as defined by Calvinist soteriology, and as participants in self-directed activity toward sanctification. These concerns are often seen as informing the formation of religious identities opposed to some of the mainstream doctrinal creeds in English Protestantism, so that puritanism is held to have links to the phenomenon of radicalism. In general I have used the labels of 'radical' and 'sectarian' to indicate groups which were marginal to or ostracised from the mainstream religious identities which held political power in England, whether those accepted within the ranks of the Church of England before the revolution and after the Restoration, or those majority groups which dominated debates about how religion should be officially administered in London from 1640—1660. Similarly, 'Conforming', 'non-conforming' and 'dissenting' are terms used to signal the relationship of individuals to the established Church, and are generally avoided in the context of religion during the interregnum. Often philosophical commitments like this were part and parcel of religious terms and identities as well, so that in most cases thinkers described as radical will be associated with marginal religious identities. It is important to acknowledge, however, that key figures like the Cambridge Platonists, and members of the experimental philosophical community, often held intellectual positions that can be considered marginal or radical while maintaining a nominal commitment to the prevailing institutes of Church government.

Dream Interpretation and the Emblematic World View

Explicating dreams within the models and mechanisms of philosophical theory was one of the primary ways in which the elite and educated made sense of their meaning as phenomena, and related them to their developed conceptions of 'man' as a theological and therefore moral entity. Another of my concerns, however, is to better understand how persons from these various intellectual

positions approached the task of interpreting the content of dreams, of 'reading' meaningful information from their visual components and mental presentations. Texts that directly addressed the art of interpreting were usually classed as divinatory by critics and practitioners, and typically provided fixed dictionaries of symbolic matter and their interpretations, or provided inventories of their likely qualities and meanings according to prevailing astrological conditions and the bodily state of the dreamer. These divinatory guides were not the only interpretive resources available for understanding the images of dreams. In order to understand the breadth of cultural resources available to interpreters, it is necessary to understand the wider practices through which the things of the world were perceived and valued. The construct of shared apparatus through which early moderns read meaning into nature has been termed the 'emblematic world view' by William B. Ashworth.[76]

Within the logical structures of the 'emblematic world view', everything in nature was understood as an objective expression of multi-vocal meanings, a single point which refracted a dense web of interrelated essences, qualities and ideas, in which many objects partook of the same substance and property. Stuart Clark explains the dialectical basis of the relationship between natural things, which constructed identity in contingent terms. This rationale was derived from Greek philosophy, principally the *Categoriae* of Aristotle. It constructed the value of all things according to four binary relationships: as correlates or complements to one another; as contraries, of opposed property or character; as opposed states of potentiality (privation) to actuality (being or generation); and as affirmatives to negatives.[77] Peter Harrison describes how the meaning of natural objects was further developed in relation to the exegetical tools which were used to read the bible. Objects in the natural world, mirroring their place in biblical narratives, were first interpreted as correlates to higher metaphysical truths or essences: natural objects were created to express characteristics of God. Increasingly, scholars would seek to deepen their knowledge of the world itself by defining the relationship between natural creatures and things according to these binaries.[78] The web of dualistic associations and affinities were expressed not just through their material being, but through the medium of language, narrative and imagery. This dictated that the symbolic functions of objects were both revealed and elaborated through literary and artistic forms as well as mere 'scientific' description. This justified the widely held belief that the vast repository of ancient culture, as well as its philosophical texts, was a repository of moral wisdom gleaned from

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[76] William B. Ashworth, 'Natural History and the Emblematic World View' in David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (eds), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 303—332.
[77] Stuart Clark, *Thinking With Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 43—68.
[78] Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism and the Rise of Natural Science*, pp. 11—63.

observation of the natural world, which complemented the revealed knowledge of the Bible.[79] The 'emblematic' designation used by Ashworth refers precisely to a particular form of visual codification—the emblem—which increasingly reified this culture, to the point by that it can be taken as a symbol of this style of thinking in its own right.

By showing that the languages used to describe and interpret the experiences of dreams are drawn directly from this culture of multi-vocal interpretation, including the distinctive form of the emblem, it is my intention first to contextualize many of the apparently arbitrary practices of dream interpretation as discovered in early modern manuals of divination, and secondly to demonstrate other ways in which categorical methods of interpretation were projected onto the imagery and aesthetic content of dreams. In doing so, we learn how attitudes to dream imagery can be productively compared with an aesthetics that draws directly upon the categorical view of nature as composed of a hierarchy of imperfect and perfect forms, and the role of the human mind in penetrating material forms to perceive the immanent spiritual ones within them. The perception of natural, corrupt or spiritualized forms in dreams wrought potent affects upon the cognitive faculties of the soul, so that the act of perceiving and interpreting dreams was understood to give rise to powerful psycho-affective forces in human psychology—the force of the passions. The credibility of a prophet was theoretically founded upon his ability to perceive the supernatural vitality of the things revealed to him in dreams and visions. The test of knowledge given in dreams and visions was its ability to move the spiritual rather than the carnal passions, and it was the theological community's authority to recognise whether the message and the actions that flowed from the prophet agreed with the spiritual and moral values of Christian religion.[80] In the late seventeenth century, most orthodox theologians invoked a doctrinal belief that the time of prophecy was passed in order to deny any such imprimatur to contemporary prophets, and so confined this practice of prophetic discernment to a theoretical past.[81]

Dreams and Concepts of Early Modern Interiority

Modern thought tends to associate dreams with the potential for self-reflection and self-knowledge, as a possible site for exposing unconscious or repressed psychological motivations and emotional states. This is due to their place in twentieth-century studies of the nature of consciousness, what has sometimes been called 'depth psychology', and the development of psychoanalytical and

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[79] Ashworth, 'Natural History and the Emblematic World View', pp. 303—332.
[80] Smith, *Select Discourses*, pp. 266—267.
[81] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 226—231.

phenomenological approaches to their analysis. This theoretical tradition forms a powerful cultural background for the historical study of dreams, regardless of the degree to which historians draw directly on its academic resources.[82] The assumption that dreams can give us insight into the psyche tends to raise two questions for historians. The first is whether, and in what ways, historical subjects shared a view of dreams as psychologically significant, and how this compares to our own analytical assumptions. The second is whether we can consider the dream records produced by historical subjects to expose the psychological life of their authors in a unique manner.

The historical literature on dreams has engaged with these ideas about changing notions of interiority to varying degrees. Some, like Carole Levin's *Dreaming the Renaissance*, simply assert that the cultural status of dreams in this period is linked to the development of a uniquely early modern form of interiority—which, without providing any analytical support for the claim, is uncritical and problematic given the rich historiography on reflective dream theories and practices in ancient and medieval culture.[83] Other critics have engaged more carefully with the question of how the early modern experience may be unique and significant. Peter Burke, in his *Varieties of Cultural History*, broached the possibility of a cultural history of dreams, consisting of a collective analysis of the kinds and content of early modern dream reports. This would have the goal of quantifying and analyzing their manifest content in order to reveal what early moderns – or at least, those disposed to record their dreams – typically dreamt about, and by implication, what they were most frequently concerned with, and most likely to be anxious about.[84]

Burke's own tentative exploration of a limited number of early modern dreams – some 120 in all – led him to conclude that early modern dreams often followed a 'culture-pattern' which might explain the similarity between reported visions and literary models, through the iterative processes of experience, recall and elaboration.[85] Patricia Crawford claimed that Freud's theory that dreaming may involve 'a longing for the early state of union with the mother that the infant experiences' gives us insight into the maternal themes in the dreams of Anne Bathurst, a member of the Philadelphian Society of mystics in 1690s London.[86] Reid Barbour, in his analysis of Archbishop Laud's dream diaries, claimed that dreams were intrinsically disturbing to Laud because they suggested 'an uncontrollability at the most intimate level of spiritual experience' which stood in direct contrast to 'his commitment to controlling the

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[82] Anthony Shafton, *Dream Reader*, pp. 51—234.

[83] Levin, *Dreaming the Renaissance*, p. 159—160.

[84] Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, pp. 23—42.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Patricia Crawford, 'Women's Dreams in Early Modern England' in *Dreams and History*, pp. 91—103.

liturgical stability and to reforming the immaculate beauty of the face, body, and gesture of the Caroline church'.[87] Like Burke, Nigel Smith viewed the dreams of English religious radicals as 'genuine dreams and visions' which were imbued and structured by their deep psychical awareness of the stylistic and gestural content of biblical writing and codes of expression. Dreams thus mirrored social contexts and made the constant presence of God tangible in a manner which genuinely disrupted their own 'sense of conceptualization', and could be defined as 'subconsciously generated sectarian propaganda'.[88] Campbell's argument that the re-contextualization of discourse about dreams from a species of vision to a 'limit case' of human cognition, in which dreams no longer had power to shape public realities, explicitly relates this change to the rise of a Cartesian self and world-concept.[89] Phyllis Mack has argued that the localization of dreams in the body did not prevent religious persons from attributing great spiritual significance to them in the eighteenth century, but that this significance was increasingly understood in terms of its physiological and psychological effects on the dreamer. Their chief importance was the way in which they contributed to the individual's own sense of self and agency: effects which Mack argues are noticeably different depending upon the religious beliefs of the dreamer.[90]

The task of identifying and interpreting changes in early modern selfhood requires that we make our own theoretical and interpretive judgments on the significance of changes in ideas during the period, but also in the ways that historical subjects express themselves, as Mack does when she interprets eighteenth-century discourse as more intrinsically anthropocentric than earlier elaborations of dream experiences. This bring us back to the second question, which is whether the study of dreams provides any kind of unique insight into historical selves. This is implicitly a question about whether we can legitimately apply modern theoretical tools to past lives, or even whether we can safely apply historical concepts of self and interiority to reported texts from the period. It is not unusual to find historians using dreams as materials for speculating on the emotional states and psychological motivations of their subjects. In making these claims, historians often infer from what we 'know' about dreams in our own culture, and this leads inescapably to a reflection on the influence of Freud and the 'depth psychology' of the twentieth century. Freudian tropes exercise such a powerful influence on psychological discourses, popular and academic, that they penetrate into places and circumstances where its formal theory is unacknowledged or held to be suspect. Concepts of wish-fulfillment, self-censorship, displacement, perverse attachment and neuroticism,

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[87] Barbour, *Literature and Religious Culture,* p. 95, 97.
[88] Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, pp. 102—103.
[89] Campbell, 'The Inner Eye', pp. 33—48.
[90] Phyllis Mack, 'The Unbounded Self', pp. 207—225.

centered on an 'unconscious' locus of behavior have retained their currency in contexts quite removed from psychoanalysis.[91] It seems natural to question the legitimacy of construing psychological motivations according to a Freudian model, though perhaps only because Freudianism as a discipline has lost so much of its credibility in our time.[92]

There is still a persistent criticism that our commitment to linguistic theories of psychology and culture leaves the brain of Western academic criticism swollen out of all proportion to its body. The very metaphor evokes the classic division between the two, the association of abstract thinking with the mind, and appetitive feelings with body, but the problem lies precisely with this dichotomy. It is a problem increasingly recognized even in formal cognitive science, where it is increasingly suggested that cognitive and emotional judgments are not distinct, that neither in fact precedes the other, and that 'rational' judgment and decision making is in fact impaired in the absence of emotional preferences.[93] Lyndal Roper argues that historians, by focusing on the conceptual, the categorical and the linguistic in our theories of social and individual mentality, lose sight of the very embodied nature of experience, and that our images of historical personhood are to some degree shallow and impoverished by this. She advocates explicitly for the unconscious to be placed at the centre of historical enquiry: 'Unless we have a way of analyzing why particular fantasies have power and attraction, we can't explain their historical effectiveness'.[94] Historians like Roper have employed psychoanalysis as a language that reintroduces awareness of bodily subjects into historical discourse, mapping them in terms of psychical 'objects' that constitute a subject's perceptions, and which are variously attacked or traumatized with the threat of separation, alienation or disfigurement (to name a few conceptual tools), or compelled by instincts toward connection, unity and 'oceanic' participation.[95] The attractions of psychoanalysis lie precisely in the desire to formulate a more complete theory of the historical agent, one which unites the linguistic archaeology of texts to an 'embodied' subject which can be used to

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[91] Lyndal Roper and Daniel Pick, 'Introduction' in *Dreams and History*, pp. 10—15; Harvie Ferguson, *The Lure of Dreams: Sigmund Freud and the Construction of Modernity* (London, 1996), pp. vi—60, 194—227.

[92] For discussion of the very public detractors of Freud and Freudianism, see Lydia Marinelli and Andreas Mayer, 'Forgetting Freud? For a New Historiography of Psychoanalysis' in *Science in Context*, Vol. 19, Iss. 01 (March 2006), pp 1—13.

[93] Jonathan Haidt, *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion*, (London, 2012); Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (London, 2012).

[94] Lyndal Roper, 'Beyond Discourse Theory' in *Women's History Review*, No. 19, Vol. 2, p. 314.

[95] See Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, (London, 1994); See also Diane Purkiss, 'Dismembering and Remembering: The English Civil War and Male Identity' in Claude Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (eds), *The English Civil Wars in the Literary Imagination* (London, 1999), pp. 220—241.

make explicit our assumptions concerning his psychological dimensions, and to explore them in clearer and systematic manner.

The problem remains of whether it is desirable or possible to introduce non-linguistic awareness of the body into historical discourse, whether psychoanalysis is the only viable language for bringing awareness of the body into historical discourse, or if another way of parsing the problem can be demonstrated and deemed productive. Like any analysis of implicit or latent content in historical sources, the historical analyst tends to justify his observations by identifying parallel concerns or interests within the system of discourses that is under his scrutiny. The key terms and objects of the discourse must demonstrate a degree of contemporary relevance rather than being simply imposed from without.[96] It is by identifying the dynamics between explicit objects and subjects that the analyst is able to claim an implicit meaning or dynamic at play.[97] When Nigel Smith applied the concepts of wish-fulfillment and censorship to analyze the content of religious dreams, he cited analogous beliefs amongst contemporaries. Indeed, as historians of ancient, medieval and early modern disciplines have shown, both physicians and theologians believed that dreams were often composed of the 'residue of the day', and revealed the character and desires of the dreamer.[98] Though useful for pointing out that modern scholars are often not adverse to injecting common psychological tropes into their interpretive work, these uses hardly constitute a coherent or sustained basis for historical interpretation.

Where the historian identifies a latent Freudian or Neo-Freudian dynamic, we are justified in claiming that history is not so innocent of psychoanalytical concepts as it detractors assume. But neither is Freudianism a completely 'original' discourse. Research by Suzanne Kirschner reveals that continuity between the aesthetic of psychodynamics and elements of early modern thought can now be argued with some degree of confidence, and without drawing accusations of gross anachronism. Kirschner argues that the schematic

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[96] Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History' in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (Jun, 1991), pp. 174-208

[97] Bal and Bryson analyse the application of psychoanalytical concepts primarily in the semiotics of art history, and yet they make relevant distinctions for all acts of historical interpretation. They make a distinction between analogical applications of psychoanalytical interpretation, in which a historical scene is interpreted as modelling, exemplifying or reproducing a particular concept or relationship, and *specification* or *hermeneutic interpretation*, in which specific features of a historical scene or relationship can be interpreted in the light of a psychoanalytical concept without reducing it to an expression of that relationship, but expanding the possible realm of its meaning, increasing rather than reducing its semiotic depth. See Bal and Bryson, 'Semiotics and art History', pp. 195—197.

[98] Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton, 1994); Mark Holowchak*, Ancient Science and Dreams: Oneirology in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Lanham, MD, 2002); Harris, *Dreams and Experience;* Harvey, *Dreams and Experiences,* pp. 123—228; Weidhorn, *Dreams in Seventeenth Century English Literature*.

content of psychoanalysis closely follows patterns which are in fact laid down in the metaphysical structures of Neoplatonist philosophy, which were mediated from the seventeenth century to Freud's time through the rich intellectual and artistic streams of secular Romanticism. The psychical structures of Freudianism may therefore not be as distant from the central tropes and metaphors of the early modern imagination as we imagine. While it would be an error to view early modern theories of dreams as direct precursors of Freud, we can nevertheless acknowledge their probable influence on his thought through an intellectual legacy in the *longue durée*.[99]

Hence, while we might share Jessica Carter's sceptical stance toward Patricia Crawford's application of Freudian categories of motherhood to the dreams of Anne Bathurst, Kirschner's work suggests that the interpretive legacy can be turned full circle: Bathurst's conception of her femininity as a site of divine plenitude is inspired by the very mystical culture that informs Freud's metaphor of longing for the presence of the mother as the 'oceanic' experience of infantile consciousness, since Freudian dynamics play the role of a secular and psychological echo of the Christian religious myth, the alienation of the soul from the Godhead.[100] Whereas in psychodynamics, human behaviours might be identified as alienated expressions or 'figures' of subconscious needs for psychic wholeness or 'oceanic feeling', the early modern cosmos was often explicitly multi-vocal and embodying of spiritual relationships in this manner, at least until the new epistemologies severed the connection between cause and being in creation. The 'emblematic' view consistently reduced or erased the boundaries between the distinct ontological categories of thought, feeling and the physical, so that sick bodies were immoral bodies, and subjects spiritually remote from God. The latter identification is still psychological in a powerful sense, and being native to the religious culture of which Bathurst is a part, resists anachronistically turning her into a twentieth-century subject. Early modern symbolic languages, especially those of nature, explicitly announced man's desire for unity with God. Not only this, but in later Neoplatonic, 'occultic' and 'theosophical' thought, spiritual metaphor, moral actions and natural forces tended to be elided with one another, making personal moral consciousness and spiritual growth contiguous with the physical genesis of the cosmos[101]—a close ontological relationship which must surely represent one way in which some early moderns believed that truth was felt in and through the changing state of the body and soul, rather than abstract isolation of the intellect. These

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[99] Suzanne R. Kirschner, *The Religious and Romantic Origins of Psychoanalysis: Individuation and Integration in Post-Freudian Theory* (Cambridge, 1996).

[100] See Carter's criticism in 'Sleep and Dreams in Seventeenth Century England', pp. 19-20; Crawford, 'Women's Dreams in Early Modern England', pp. 91—104.

[101] Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed,* pp. 229—267; Antoine le Faivre, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition: Studies in Western Esotericism*, (Albany, 2000), pp. 99—136; Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth Century Philosopher and Mystic* (Albany, 1991).

observations point to some of the ways in which we might argue that a history of dreams focusing on the conceptual beliefs and categories of early moderns need not be completely divorced from an awareness of the body in subjectivity: rather, that it will tend to focus on these aspects of experience primarily as a component of that discourse.

Dream Theory and Early Modern Concepts of Agency

Considering dream theory as both a subject and a method of discourse, it is clear that either approach is intimately linked to the exploration of self-concepts and 'interiority' in historiographical research. Often the line between these two questions is blurred, as the task of recovering early modern self-concepts itself requires interpretive work and insightful inference about the ideas and the emotional states a historical subject is expressing. This is not necessarily the same thing as imposing modern frameworks on the past, and the historian must strike a critical balance in their approach. Kirschner's work shows that there may be good reason why historical expressions of selfhood might resonate with modern perspectives, even so particular as that of psychoanalysis. Insofar as this study engages with early modern concepts of interiority, it restricts itself to examining elite constructions of subjectivity, as constructed within the multi-vocal view of reality described by the 'emblematic' world view. Philosophical descriptions of the cognitive power create a distinctive theoretical framework for conceptualizing the relationship between the soul and its environment, and, like Campbell, our analysis will reveal the ways in which earlier Aristotelian and Galenic models tended to emphasize the role of natural forces in conditioning the mental experiences of dreams, while later Platonic and Cartesian positions emphasized their control by the higher cognitive powers of the soul. Analysing how interpretive responses to dreams took place within an 'emblematic' view of dreams and their mental content, likewise, seeks to explain these meanings in terms of the 'depth psychology' of early modern philosophy, in which dreams intimately related the subject's knowledge of the world to their inner psychical and bodily realities, and in turn, saw these as integrated into a natural world that was directed and ordered according to higher providential purposes. This imbued dreams with a sense of cosmic significance, tying them to the 'deep structures' of eschatological thought, and implied that individual mental events could have profound social personal and social significance.

As a consequence of this immanent potential, intellectual control of dream theory and interpretive practices was a significant concern for religious and political thinkers in this period, who subjected claims about the prophetic potential of dreams to high-profile scrutiny and ideological regulation through

the use of theoretical discourse. Dreams were explained through reference to categories that described the anomalous, preternatural and liminal, conceptual spaces that could either connect or fall outside of both natural and supernatural worlds. Learning how individuals interpreted and responded to dreams allows us to see how they understood the complexities of that world and how they tried to orientate their actions within it. When dreamers interpreted dreams, they were faced with reconciling a highly conceptual semantic discourse concerning their origins with an experience that was first and foremost visual, emotional and sensory in its particulars. Intellectual dream theories provided a scaffolding, a set of interpretive principles by which this could be accomplished. Cognitive judgments had to be accommodated to visual and sensory schemata in an interface between semantic and visual culture, between cognitive judgments and particular, qualitative experiences. It was an interface often judged to be fraught with danger, as Protestant anxieties about dreams, idolatry and popular visual culture demonstrate.[102] But despite this obsession with moral danger, early modern theologians never abandoned their belief that a formula existed for reliable and responsible spiritual judgment, and sought to define the criteria by which this judgment operated. It is my intention to show how arguments about the nature and discernment of dream experiences was part of an epistemological discourse which focused not just on accurate and reliable perception of knowledge, but creating conditions of certitude that were psychologically compelling, and produced not just right beliefs but right actions.

This focus on the question of how to act dictates my interest in manuals and guides to conduct in the affairs of the spirit and the conscience. It examines the reforming and transcendent goals of Christian philosophy, and the kinds of texts which disseminated these values through the literary spheres of society. It is within these kinds of texts that the conflicting impulses of Christian philosophy and culture are most visible. They are concerned particularly with the consequences of actions, and therefore the ethical value of the different kinds of knowledge that motivates them. It is for this reason that Christian pedagogy is always aware not simply of the truth of its content, but also of the condition and capacity of the subject who will receive and make use of that knowledge. By suggesting that the dream was a concept with powerful connections to some of the foundational relationships in the early modern cognitive mentality, we are able to see how it was relevant in a diversity of intellectual and popular contexts. To have a dream, to be dreaming, or to be a dreamer, had literal, metaphorical and symbolic implications in philosophical and theological discourse, and the ontological doctrine of 'correspondence' ensured that there was an objective connection between the literal and the poetic or rhetorical use.

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[102] Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*, pp. 161—203; Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, pp. 16—89.

The concept of dreams and dreaming was used in many of the texts that I study to define particular kinds of identities. The tropes of dreams gave rise to categories and types of dreamers, which described implicitly their relationship to knowledge in general. A significant amount of attention is devoted to the idea that models of cognition implicitly supported and defined a set of theological tropes used to define Christian and non-Christian identity. These tropes were literary, drawn overwhelmingly from biblical literature. In the case of our subject, the terms of 'dreamer' and 'false dreamer' and 'filthy dreamer' were located in a network that including 'false prophet', 'antichrists', and 'defilers of the flesh'. While these were the primary biblical tropes, they were also joined by venerable and sometimes more prominent terms that had penetrated from medical and philosophical literature into general theology, such as 'enthusiast', 'fanatic', etc. From here it was only a short step to even larger networks of terms denoting species of deviant religious and social identity.

Dreaming as a cognitive concept is a gateway into a much broader map of meanings that broadly aligned it with the oscillating potential of liminal religious knowledge, of false perception, consciousness, belief, and from there to the corruption of social, political and moral character. This thesis describes how intellectual and theoretical models were used to legitimate a stock of ethical and moral tropes, and how these tropes were configured and employed differently by authors. Authors of sermons, guidance literature, and more elite theological works promulgated a code of values and behavior that rehearsed and reinforced the vested interests of their intellectual and institutional communities, anticipating the 'misunderstanding' and 'errors of judgment' that might be inimical to their interests and the authority they enjoyed in the religious community. On the flip side of the coin, thinkers writing from the margins of orthodox religious culture were more likely to be concerned with the power that such authority wielded to suppress the demands of their conscience and the spiritual and intellectual visions that it dictated to them. This thesis will therefore explore how particular authors mobilized common tropes – usually scriptural – in order to characterize the corrupt knowledge practices of their enemies and the powers that they gave them, whether this power was perceived to be assailing orthodox institutional power (in the case of men like Goodwin or Taylor), or concreted within it (in the case of Boehme and Tryon).

Research Outline

In the following chapters I will bring these contexts to bear on seventeenth-century sources about dreams, to discover what they show about how responses to dreams defined one's identity. My thesis examines the cultural

concept of dreams according to the categories by which they were classified, the functions they were seen to perform, and the schematic network of associations into which they were grafted. Dependent upon these, I argue, are the different tropes of dreamer which these texts model and promulgate, and consequently seek to legitimize or condemn. Attached to these identities or integral to them are structures of performative action, of articulate practices and responses to the experience of dreaming, some of them real, some of them taking place primarily in the virtual imagination of a society. The study examines not just how these structures of concepts, identities and practices are constituted, but demonstrates via the dialogue between them, that they were in contestation; that this content was related to wider intellectual struggles of the day; and most of all, that there existed a variety of heretofore unappreciated attempts to integrate regard for and study of dreams into Christian philosophical thinking in the seventeenth century. Chapters one to three present functional models of dreamers, which show how ideas about dreams were integrated with other interpretive schemas based in doctrinal, moral, exegetical literatures, as well as works which crossed these genre lines. Chapter four attempts to grapple more explicitly with early modern advice literature and works helping individuals with the task of interpreting dreams and their contents, and how different hermeneutic approaches to images, forms and symbols could inform this activity.

Chapter one begins the analysis of contemporary approaches toward dreams by exploring technical definitions of their causes and origins. Drawing upon works with their roots in medical, theological and magical or occult traditions, it seeks to understand how well particular beliefs were disseminated and how widely they were shared. These presented different accounts of the soul, the mind and its powers, and how it commonly interacted with the universe. Dreams are explained with reference to what we would term human physiology and psychology, at a time when these areas blended physical and metaphysical substances and energies. The analysis is grounded in the observations of historians that the role of the imagination in thought, perception and belief came under increasing scrutiny in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and had become a dominant concern by the seventeenth century, affecting multiple intellectual fields. The chapter builds on arguments articulated by Popkin and Clark that dreams were used as a pre-eminent example of the weaknesses and dangers of the imagination. It seeks to establish in greater depth the relationship of dreams to processes of perception and cognition, and emphasizes how these were conditioned by accidental and qualitative effects of natural forces on the physical mediums of the mind. It examines the popularity and utility of different models of dreaming, focusing particularly on traditional Aristotelian models, their integration with Galenic humoural theory, on alternative Platonic models of the mind which attracted adherents for the

importance they placed on proving the innate divinity of the soul and the immediate presence of the divine in nature, and new mechanical models of body and mind which challenged the fundamental assumptions of these earlier concepts. It demonstrates how these ideas about dreams were part of an on-going dialogue with important things to say about the scope of the soul's mental and spiritual powers, its identity and its place in the spiritual and physical world, and the extent to which man was bounded by or could exercise control over these conditions. It argues that this results in a new emphasis on the functional nature of dreams in the mid to late seventeenth century, and that this can be related to the growing importance of instrumentalism in the acquisition of religious and philosophical knowledge.

Chapter two continues to examine the relationship of dreams to theories about perception and cognition, but the context here is the reception of supernatural knowledge. If chapter one tracked theories of dreams in relation to changing ideas about the interaction of material and spiritual power in the common course of nature, this chapter deals with theories about the mediation of special knowledge from God via the operations of nature, the heavens, spiritual beings or the soul itself. This places dreams into the crucial context of seventeenth century debates about the legitimate origins of religious knowledge and authority, at a time when these issues were implicated in major upheavals of the social and political order of life in Europe and England. It approaches these questions through the attempts of contemporary intellectuals to define special states of divine inspiration, and shows that concepts of dreaming was a key point of reference. Identifying the 1640s and 1650s as the time of the height of concern for these issues, it places the work of this period into a long-term context that extends from the medieval writings of the Parisian academic Jean Gerson to those of Protestant theologians in the 1670s. The importance of dreams to the discourse of religious enthusiasm, the rise of naturalist scepticism, and mechanical epistemological philosophies has been well documented in work of Clark, Heyd and Rupprecht amongst others, but my own analysis seeks to balance these accounts in two significant ways. The first is by drawing attention to arguments for the legitimacy of dreams as a component of religious experience, which were not limited to figures of the sectarian religious community, but included clerical figures who respected the status afforded to dreams by the Bible, and participants in the English 'pansophist' movement who embraced prophecy as part of their millennial beliefs. The second is by high-lighting how Protestant churchmen were compelled to defend traditional formulas for the 'rational' basis of divine visions and dreams against the perceived threats of enthusiasm, fideism and 'atheistic' materialism. It argues that dreaming, both as a physiological state, and as a unique mode of sensory experience was widely utilised by authors to construct dialectical arguments for the discernment of genuine religious rapture, but those authors often

arrived at very different conclusions. It also observes how the confessional politics of sectarianism increasingly narrowed the gap between questions about prophetic authority and the authority of conscience for the individual believer.

Building upon that observation, chapter three focuses its analysis on how the functional models of dreaming impacted the preaching and pastoral writing of clergy in England. It takes a view of the evangelical context as one in which the categorisation and interpretation of dreams can be understood to no small extent through the scripts and patterns it laid down for responding to dreams as a matter of conscience. It establishes how functional models of the imagination were applied to the ethical and moral threat presented by sin, and the framing of the believer's religious duties through rigorous programmes of mental discipline. The potential moral danger of dreams is related to Protestant attitudes toward the imagination and how they were affected by the historical fear of superstition and experience of iconoclasm, as explored by William Dyrness in his study of Protestant visual culture.[103] It shows that numerous clergymen used dreams to demonstrate the corrupt condition of the imagination, and made individuals morally responsible for their dreams. It argues that by integrating these models of mental corruption with types and figures drawn from Scripture, ministers made them part of their exegetical strategy, and connected common human nature with the emergence of demonic 'anti-prophets'. Philosophical, medical and exegetical models were integrated and mutually reinforcing. Descriptions of the corrupting influences of the imagination on human nature had to be countered, however, by advice for sanctifying the mind and its instruments. I show that these functional models and exegetical types were also woven into the pedagogical strategies which sought to sanctify the mind, and how these strategies were extended from waking thoughts to dreams either by implication or direct instruction. Special attention is given to an exceptional work on dreams and conscience by the Watford minister Philip Goodwin to demonstrate how faction and sectarianism in 1650s London particularised questions about religious inspiration to all believers. On the one hand, Goodwin's work demonstrates the thin line perceived between apostasy and heresy at this time, when these states were portrayed as part of a single spectrum of demonic influence. On the other, by attempting to preserve the positive status of dreams which he saw in the Bible and Church history, Goodwin also demonstrated the ambivalence of orthodox attempts to draw solid boundaries between divine inspiration and the providential acts of God in the life of the elect.

Chapter Four takes a more experimental approach than the preceding chapters, which have dealt with dreams generally according to functional models of the

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[103] Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*.

mind and cognition in general. It goes beyond the models used to describe the conditions under which certain kinds of dream are produced to examine whether or not a coherent theoretical framework for reading particular instances of dreams existed within the range of writings explored throughout chapters one to three. Returning to one of the themes of chapter two, I show in more detail how my sources explain that certain kinds of dream are expected to be psychologically compelling. Their ability to motivate human behaviour, therefore, is one of the strongest indicators of their true identity and origins. This means that various authors of the period possessed a theory about the nature of dream-belief which was integrated with wider psychological theories about the relative powers of imagination and reason, and establishes the theoretical basis on which these authors believed that the discernment of dreams could be defended as a rational and legitimate enterprise, whether or not it took place in the present or in a distant Biblical past. When the authors we study identified these different principles of interpretation, they drew naturally on examples and comparisons from different perspectives in the culture – on biblical texts, artistic craft, the art of memory and religious meditation. Though dreams played a decisive role in Pyrrhonist sceptical attacks which directly challenged this model of visual and rational certainty, I argue late Platonist philosophy, and even its contributions to Cartesianism, continued to support these assumptions about 'clear and distinct' religious perceptions in the discernment of dreams. Knowledge arising from experience was valued in relationship to the quality of the passionate movements which it stimulated in the soul, whether these were the lower passions of its corrupt appetites, or the higher passions of the spiritual understanding and will.