John Donne Journal
Vol. 3, No. 2 (1984)

Donne's "Hymne to God my God, in my sicknesse" and Iconographic Tradition

Joseph E. Duncan

In his "Hymne to God my God, in my sicknesse," probably written in 1623,[2] John Donne describes himself as joyously journeying eastward toward the resurrection by passing westward through the straits of death. In the fifth stanza he declares:

> We thinke that *Paradise* and *Calvarie*,
> *Christs* Crosse, and *Adams* Tree, stood in one place.
> Looke Lord, and finde both *Adams* met in me;
> As the first *Adams* sweat surrounds my face,
> May the last *Adams* blood my soule embrace.

The context indicates that "*Adams* Tree" is the Tree of Knowledge. The geographical conjunction between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross becomes an analogy for a similar conjunction in Donne himself as "little world" and an argument for his redemption and resurrection. The closer the relation between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross, the closer—the more indissoluble—is the redemptive meeting between the two Adams in Donne. The sense of the poem demands that we think of the fatal Tree and the Cross as standing at the same point.

This stanza is built around a remarkable compression of the fundamental concepts and symbols of Christianity: the Fall and the Redemption, the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross, as well as the sweat of Adam and the blood of Christ. In his five-volume work on Christian iconography, Louis Reau wrote: "If we condensed Christianity to two antithetical images, we would oppose Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge to Christ nailed to the Tree of the Cross."[3] Donne carries this condensation even further in thinking of the Fall of man and the Crucifixion of Christ as

occurring at the same geographic "place," apparently the same point. As he phrased it in *Metempsychosis*, the Cross "stoode in the selfe same roome in Calvarie, / Where first grew the forbidden learned tree" (77-78). Don Cameron Allen suggested that Donne was combining the legend that a tree, seeded from the Tree of Knowledge, grew from Adam's mouth with the legend that Adam was buried on Calvary.[4] Alternatively, Helen Gardner concluded that the reference was to the entire region that included Mesopotamia and Palestine.[5] But no one has found a more specific source for Donne's idea that the Tree of Knowledge itself and the Cross stood at the same spot, although several studies have pointed out the appearance of this conjunction in medieval and Renaissance works.[6]

However, the visual arts provide a tradition of a particularly close relationship between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross. This iconographic tradition provides a possible influence on Donne and some other poets, a context, and a parallel to Donne's "Hymne." Donne and others could have seen some of the art works to be mentioned and a number of others that are similar. Donne had a strong interest in the visual arts, traveled widely on the Continent, knew friends who owned manuscripts, and bequeathed paintings and "a great French bible with prints." This iconographic tradition has the same symbols, the same condensation of Christianity, and the same sense of simultaneity that in Donne's "Hymne" supports his confidence that, despite his sins, his redemption is assured because both Adams meet within him.

The linkage between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross, in theology, literature, and the visual arts, belongs within a framework of analogical and typological relationships that had existed for centuries. Paul wrote that Adam "is the figure of him that was to come" (Rom. v.14).[7] This linkage was seen as an analogy with an accompanying antithesis. The Cross is a second tree determining the fate of man, but as man received death from the first tree, he received life from the second. Anselm was explicit about both the analogy and the antithesis: "For it was fitting that as death had entered into the human race by the disobedience of man, so life would be restored by the obedience of man . . . and the devil who had conquered man by persuading him to taste of the tree, would himself be conquered by man through the suffering-on-the-tree which he himself inflicted."[8]

A few early Christian writers made geographical links between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross. Irenaeus, for example, wrote

that God "sent his creative Word, who in coming to deliver us came to the very place and spot in which we had lost life, and broke the bonds of our fetters"[9]; and, less explicitly, in *The Book of the Prophet Moses*, Adam after his fall tells God that he sees "a tree standing above my head" and "this tree above my head is like a cross" with a figure nailed to it.[10] Neither of these passages was apparently known in the seventeenth century. However, in a sermon known then, Augustine commented on the tradition that Adam was buried on Calvary and developed a geographical analogy similar in spirit to Donne's. "It is not unfitting," he said, "that the physician is raised where the sick lay languishing," and it was "appropriate that where human pride fell, divine compassion inclined itself."[11] Nothing more explicit has been found.[12]

Nor did Renaissance typological commentary present a consistent view of the Tree of Knowledge. Michael Servetus and Jacobus Brocardus saw the Trees of Knowledge and of Life together as prefiguring Christ.[13] John Salkeld said the Tree of Knowledge foreshadowed the Cross.[14] However, such contemporaries of Donne as William Guild and Thomas Tailor in their typological works interpreted the Tree of Life as a type of Christ, but did not interpret the Tree of Knowledge as prefiguring any person or event in the New Testament.[15]

This framework of relationships is also reflected in some works that blend poetry and theology. Various legends of the Cross tell of Seth's return to Paradise, his vision of the Christ child in a tree (often the Tree of Knowledge), and of his receiving seeds or a sprig of the Tree of Knowledge or of the Tree of Life. The seeds or sprig grow into a tree on Adam's grave and later become the wood of the Cross.[16] In the sixth-century hymn by Fortunatus the two trees seem to merge:

> *ipse lignum tunc notavit*
> *damna ligni ut solveret.*
> (Mark'd e'en then a Tree the mischief
> Of the first tree to dispel.)[17]

In Dante's *Purgatorio* (XXXII, 37-60) the pole of the Cross is restored to the Tree of Knowledge which blooms again, while in Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pelerinage de l'Ame*, the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross are united.

There was, nevertheless, a rich Christian iconography that provides a context for Donne's "Hymne." Proceeding from the

general to the particular, I wish to examine (1) representations combining Paradise and Calvary; (2) compositions presenting the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross together, sometimes fused into one; (3) the union of the two Adams in compositions showing Adam together with Christ's redemptive blood, the Resurrection, and the Church; and (4) other iconographic parallels to the motifs in the "Hymne." While most of the art works appeared before 1623, the earliest date assigned to Donne's "Hymne," some appeared later and may be regarded as evidence of a continuing tradition and as possible influences on later poets.

In some art works, particularly in the decorations of some well-known churches, Paradise and Calvary are fused in various ways. In a mosaic in St. John in the Lateran in Rome the Cross stands atop a paradisal mount with the four rivers bathing it on every side and then descending.[18] In St. Mark's in Venice the Cross emerges from the Tree of Knowledge in a blazing light as Adam and Eve fall and then, in a succeeding panel, flee from Paradise.[19] A medieval French lintel depicts the Lamb holding a staff-Cross and standing on a hillock on which the rocks of Golgotha have been transformed into the grassy turf of Paradise.[20] Title pages of early editions of the Authorized Version carry this same motif. In Pacina di Buonaguida's fourteenth-century painting, a towering crucifixion as a Tree of Life rises from the soil of Paradise, with a miniature fall enacted below.[21] Another motif found in many churches is that of the Cross standing between, but rising above, the trees of Paradise. A Romanesque illustration from an English manuscript shows the crucifixion between two highly decorative, but different, trees, probably the Trees of Knowledge and of Life (Figure 1).[22]

In many art works "*Christs* Crosse and *Adams* Tree" do stand in the same place—that is, in the same composition and sometimes actually joined—just as the two Adams exist inseparably within Donne. However, sometimes the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross are in the same composition, but are clearly separated. They suggest the antithesis that must be resolved if the two Adams are to meet. In Altdorfer's woodcut for Luther's Bible (1533), Adam and Eve, the Tree of Knowledge, and a corpse appear to the left of the title plate, while on the right appear Christ crucified and also Christ leaping from the tomb and slaying Death with a staff-cross (Figure 2).[23] Similarly, the engraved title page of John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631) shows Adam as a

skeleton on the left and a victorious Christ on the right.[24] Many other compositions show closer relationships both spatially and spiritually. In medieval English Bibles the scenes in the borders often show the Fall followed by the Crucifixion (Figure 3),[25] and in at least three manuscripts of the moralized Bibles the Fall and the Crucifixion are in the same medallion (Figure 4).[26] This arrangement is elucidated by the artists' manual written by the thirteenth-century English monk known as the Pictor in Carmine; in this work Eve's raising her arm to take the fruit is the first type of the Crucifixion.[27] Exhibiting the similar collapse of time into a spatial relationship, the title page of a sixteenth-century French Bible shows, to the right, the Fall and, to the left, a prophet directing Adam's gaze to the brazen serpent as a type of the Crucifixion and then to the Crucifixion itself. An angel is ready to exchange Christ's crown of thorns for a celestial crown (Figure 5).[28]

In the most striking compositions the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross meet or become one, paralleling Donne's cry, "Looke Lord, and finde both *Adams* met in me." In an intermediate step in the fusing of the two trees, the Cross is a tree stripped of its branches, as in the Winchester Psalter. A medieval painting in St. Alban's Cathedral seems to represent a Cross made from the Tree of Knowledge.[29] In a French book of hours of the Sarum use, probably exported to England, a miniature crucifixion appears in the branches of the Tree of Knowledge, with the Fall below (Figure 6); a similar association appears on a Renaissance book-box (Figure 7).[30] Also, Giovanni di Modena depicted Christ crucified on the Tree of Knowledge in a fresco in St. Petronius in Bologna.[31]

Several manuscript illustrations of the allegory in Deguilleville's *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame* also show a fusion of the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross. Donne could have seen the Petworth manuscript of Deguilleville in the collection of a friend, Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland.[32] (Donne knew him well enough to have him carry a letter to his wife's father.)[33] This early fifteenth-century manuscript is in English, illustrated by an English artist. The Petworth manuscript relates how Christ as the apple from the "green tree," the Virgin grafted onto St. Anne, is restored to the "dry tree," or Tree of Knowledge, representative of man's disobedience, in accordance with the "treaty" of the persons of the Trinity. And "so was this lusty appil henged vpon this drye tre and tacched with foure sharpe nayles so high and so openly that al the worlde from fer and neer in euery side aboute myghte

se the restitucioun that was made by Iugement of this lady Justice." In one illustration the dry tree and the green tree, sin and redemption, stand together. Another illustration shows Christ, as the restored apple, crucified on the Tree of Knowledge, which thus stands "in one place" with the Cross. The pilgrim looks on as a saint adores Christ (Figure 8). An illustration from another manuscript, in a section dealing with the Resurrection, depicts the pilgrim and angelic guide with Adam and his descendants feasting on the Eucharist at the foot of the Tree of Knowledge.[34] This tree has one branch "growynge in hym ouertwart crossynge." As in Donne's "Hymne," this union of the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross (with Adam standing below) becomes an analogy for the meeting of the two Adams and an assurance of the Resurrection.

Illustrated books of devotion provide examples which were widely known. In Father Jan David's *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae* (1607) the two Adams meet as, to the left, it is Adam who is crucified for his and his descendants' sins on a cross with the forbidden fruit hanging from it; to the right, the faithful soul is also crucified. As types of the Crucifixion, Samson at the mill and the slaying of Isaiah are shown (Figure 9).[35] In Herman Hugo's popular *Pia Desideria* (first edition, 1624), one emblem shows Christ crucified on the apple tree of the Song of Solomon iii.2 (Figure 11).[36] This and similar depictions are elucidated by the commentary of St. John of the Cross, in which the bridegroom says, "And thou wert redeemed where thy mother had been corrupted"—"under the apple-tree," showing that God can "ordain to our greater good that which was the cause of evil."[37]

The redemptive fruits of the union between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross appear both in Christian iconography and in Donne's "Hymne." Both this iconography and Donne relate these two central symbols to Christ's blood, the resurrection, and the Church. In the iconography, as in Donne, the two Adams meet. The redemptive power of Christ's blood, as it embraces Donne's soul, is forcefully depicted as it drips on the head of Adam, representing redeemed man.[38] The iconography reminds us that in Donne's "Hymne" "death doth touch the Resurrection." Christ's death on the Cross, his resurrection, and the resurrection of man are part of one divine action. In a German manuscript illustration, just below the crucifixion, Adam and Eve and the two thieves arise from the tomb on either side of the Tree of Knowledge (Figure 12).[39] It is as a part of the body of the Church and through the Church that Donne as minister has promised redemption to "others

soules" and now "mine owne." A manuscript shows, on the left, the Fall and the Tree of Knowledge and, on the right, the Church holding a Cross which blooms as a Tree of Life to promise a new Paradise. Adam and Eve appear above, and the slaying of Abel, a type of the Crucifixion, appears below (Figure 13).[40]

Other images that appear in Donne's "Hymne," such as those of music, the crowns of thorns and of glory, the straits, and Adam's sweat, also are found in the iconography. We are reminded of the "Quire of Saints" of the first stanza in emblems like that of Stephanus Luzvic where Christ with a hymnbook presides over the heart, surrounded with angels playing instruments. This heart is later crowned.[41] Donne's pun on "straits" was often found also on the Latin "*angustiae*" or "*angusta*" (straits or distress), particularly in emblem books. Daniel Cramer's emblem "*Per Angusta*" presents a partial parallel to Donne in depicting a winged heart passing through narrow straits as an angel exchanges the heart's crown of thorns for a crown of glory ("*Non nisi per spinas ad Diadema poli*") (Figure 14).[42] Donne says, "By these his thornes, give me his other crowne." The labor of Adam and Eve, symbolized by their sweat, was often depicted along with the Fall; in one fifteenth-century painting they hold branches of the Tree of Knowledge and also Adam holds a spade and Eve a spindle.[43] The sweat of Adam's brow corresponded to the blood and sweat of Christ (e.g., Luke xxii.44).

Before considering the principal effects of examining Donne's "Hymne" and other poems within this context of Christian iconography, let us look at some other passages from seventeenth-century poetry which unite Paradise and Calvary, the Tree and the Cross. In George Herbert's "The Sacrifice," Christ says:

> Man stole the fruit, but I must climbe the tree;
> The tree of life to all, but onely me.[44]

"The Hymn" from Richard Crashaw's version of "The Office of the Cross" also unites the two trees:

> That fatal plant, so great of fame
> For fruit of sorrow and of shame,
> Shall swell with both for Him, and mix
> All woes into one Crucifix.[45]

Sensing acutely the loss of Eden and of the Tree of Life in his poem "The Gardin," Joseph Beaumont discovers the Tree of the Cross:

I now dread not the thought
of barracado'd Eden, since as good
A Paradise I planted see
On open Calvarie.[46]

Finally, in "The Dedication," Henry Vaughan suggests that his own heart has been a postlapsarian Paradise, a Calvary, and a Paradise regained:

Some drops of thy all-quickning bloud
Fell on my heart, these made it bud
And put forth thus, though, Lord, before
The ground was curs'd, and void of store.[47]

What, then, are some effects of examining Donne's "Hymne" in relation to this iconography? The iconographic background provides a possible influence, a parallel in another medium showing a similar mode of perception, and an illuminating context in a sister art with which seventeenth-century readers could have been familiar. More specifically, the iconography offers vivid, tactile images, a particularization, symbolic relationships and a mode of perception, all of which may lie behind the crystallized references in the poems and which may be evoked by the poems. The iconographical tradition suggests that if "*Paradise* and *Calvarie*" can blend, if the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross can unite, then Christians can pass from sin and death through the Cross to a new Paradise. The iconography also suggests forcefully the conjunction of contraries through the contrasting postures and expressions of Adam and Eve and Christ and the vivid images of the fruit and the blood, the serpent and the Cross. Moreover, all these art works exhibit the simultaneity and the collapse of time into a spatial relationship that is implied in the poetry.

While Donne's "Hymne," like the passages from the other poets, assumes traditional analogical, antithetical, and typological relations, his idea of the two contrasting "trees" standing "in one place" goes beyond these to function most importantly in the poem as an example of a union of opposites, much like the union of the fatal Tree and the Cross in the visual arts. Through this union and that of "both Adams" sin and death are transmuted into Redemption and Resurrection. Donne linked to "one place" the two most important images in Christianity, represented by innumerable artists as the Fall and the Crucifixion; in so doing, he gave confident support to the other unions of opposites in the "Hymne": east and

west, death and resurrection, God's throwing down and raising up. These various conjunctions of opposites, in image and in concept, are at the heart of Donne's spiritual psychology in the "Hymne."

The conjunction of the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross in iconography embodies and dramatizes various theological conceptions that are relevant for the poetry, especially Donne's "Hymne." The conjunctions of time in the works in the visual arts suggests the eternal, fitting providential plan by which Redemption was to come by the same medium—a tree—as sin, and at the same place at which sin had come: the Cross was to overcome all the consequences of sin and death beginning at the Tree of Knowledge. In the symbolic interpretation in which Christ is the apple restored to the Tree of Knowledge, the Crucifixion is a restitution, an act of obedience whereby divine justice is satisfied for the disobedience at the same place. It is through the Crucifixion that the two Adams meet in Donne. The Tree of Knowledge, sometimes depicted in the form of a skeleton, threatens death, but through the Crucifixion it is transformed into a blossoming Tree of Life, while similarly the old sinful man meets and is overcome by the new redeemed man. The meeting of Adam and Christ at the Tree-Cross and of the two Adams within Donne makes it certain that "death doth touch the Resurrection." Donne experiences joy and confidence as he finds these paradoxes within himself. He thus sees his own redemption and resurrection as inherent in the providential relationship between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross in Christian history.

In the "Hymne" Donne gave a more explicit geographical interpretation of this relationship between the fatal Tree and the Cross than previous writers. Regardless of how he conceived the notion of "*Christs* Crosse, and *Adams* Tree" standing "in one place," the visual arts provide a tradition, a context, and a mode of perception in which this is true.

University of Minnesota, Duluth

Notes

[1] I am grateful for the assistance given me by Dr. Adelaide Bennett, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, by Professors Thomas F. Hedin and Klaus P. Jankofsky, University of Minnesota-Duluth, and by Professor Albert C. Labriola, Duquesne University. A shorter version of this essay was presented at the sixth annual LeMoyne Forum on Religion and Literature, "A Symposium in Honor of Joseph H. Summers," Oct. 21-23, 1983.

[2] Donne's poem is quoted from *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, ed. John T. Shawcross (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1968). Shawcross dates the "Hymne to

God my God, in my sicknesse" *c.* Dec. 1623 (pp. 390, 416); Izaak Walton suggested March 23, 1631. Helen Gardner examines the issue in Appendix E of *The Divine Poems of John Donne* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952) and concludes that the earlier date is most probable (pp. 132-35). See also Gardner's Appendix F, in which she concludes that Donne's vision of the two trees "in medio" is "a new and ingenious connexion of his own" (p. 137).

3 *Iconographie de l'art Chretien* (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 1957), Tome II, pt. 1, p. 77.

4 "John Donne's *'Paradise and Calvary,'*" *MLN* 60 (1945), 398-400. Allen finds no source for Donne's idea that the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross stood "in one place." He notes that Origen was one of the first to write that Adam was buried on Calvary.

5 *The Divine Poems*, pp. 108, 135-37.

6 Clay Hunt has "no solution to the problem" of the source of Donne's idea (*Donne's Poetry: Essays in Analysis* [New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1954], pp. 107, 244-45, n. 17). Also, Murray Roston says Donne's statement "is not borne out from Christian sources" (*The Soul of Wit: A Study of John Donne* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1974], p. 232n). Shawcross writes that the Tree of Knowledge was "supposed to have stood on the place of the Crucifixion on Calvary," but gives no source. Arno Esch has seen a confluence between the belief, referred to in the Syrian *Book of the Cave of Treasures*, that Adam had been created where Christ was to be crucified, and the statement in the *Apocalypsis Mosis*, that by God's command Adam and Abel were to be buried within the borders of Paradise at the spot where God had found the dust for the creation of Adam ("Paradise and Calvary," *Anglia* 78 [1950], 74-77).

While medieval writers usually placed Paradise in the East and Renaissance writers usually placed it in Mesopotamia, there was a growing tendency in the seventeenth century to place it in Palestine. A Palestinian site was proposed by Eugene Roger, Isaac de la Peyrere, Johann Heidegger, Johannes Herbinus, and Nicolas Abram. See Duncan, *Milton's Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1972), pp. 210-12 and 309-10, ns. 39-41. Of the three possible sites of the earthly paradise referred to in the first stanza of the "Hymne," Donne favors Jerusalem in thinking of Paradise and Calvary as "one place." About twenty years after Donne probably wrote his "Hymne," Roger stated that the Cross had been planted in the same place (*a la mesme place*) as the Tree of Knowledge (*La Terre Saincte* [Paris, 1646], pp. 8-14).

The Tree of Knowledge and the Cross have been related to various traditions. Rosemond Tuve discusses the parallels and contrasts between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross in *A Reading of George Herbert* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 84-87. She does not provide iconographic examples of this conjunction, but refers to the discussion of F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), 83-142. This provides illustrations showing the relation of the Cross to the Tree of Life, but not to the Tree of Knowledge. Stanley Stewart discusses the conjunction of the two "trees" and their relation to the apple tree of the Song of Solomon in *The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1964), pp. 74-77. He cites both the emblem from Herman Hugo and the passage from Joseph Beaumont's "The Gardin" to which I refer. J. A. W. Bennett, *Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twelve Centuries of English Verse* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982) has some references to a close relation between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross in poetry and art.

Little attention is given to the relation between the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross in studies of Christian iconography (such as those by J. E. Cirlot, Adolphe Napoleon Didron, Oscar Doering, George Ferguson, Rene Huyghe, Emile Male, Mario Praz, and Reau); more attention is given to the Tree of Life and the Cross. Several examples of the conjunction of the fatal Tree and the Cross in German art are examined by Liselotte Stauch in "Baum," *Reallexikon zur deutsche Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1937), I, cols. 63-72. A number of examples of the conjunction are described briefly *passim* in Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971-72), vol. II. In general, the conjunction of the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross occurs more frequently in medieval art, with its emphasis on simultaneity and symbolic relationships, than in Renaissance art, with its tendency toward realism.

7 References to the Bible are to the Authorized Version.

8 *Cur Deus Homo*, I, ch. 3, in *Anselm of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Jasper Hopkins and Herbert Richardson (Toronto: Edwin Mellen, 1976), III, 52-53.

9 *The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, trans. J. Armitage Robinson (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1930), ch. 38, p. 103. The only known version of this was discovered in the early twentieth century.

10 *The Book of the Prophet Moses*, trans. E. Cureton, in *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society* (London: Charles Whittingham, 1855-56), II, no. 5, pp. 12-14. The only known version of this was discovered in the earlier nineteenth century.

11 Sermon V, Appendix, in *Patrologiae Latinae*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844-80), XXXIX, col. 1751. This was formerly *De Tempore*, No. 71.

12 *The Voyages of Seigneur de Villamont*, which appeared in twenty-six editions between 1595 and 1620, gives numerous legends associated with Jerusalem, but reports no belief in the similar location of the Cross and the fatal tree. Also, no belief about the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross is mentioned in *Itinera Hierosolymitana Saeculi IIII-VIII*, ed. Paulus Geyer, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, XXXIX (Prague, 1866-1913).

13 *Servetus, Christianismi Restitutio* (Nuremberg, 1791), pp. 370-74; Brocardus, *Mystica et Prophetica Libri Geneseos Interpretatio* (Bremen, 1585), pp. 109-11.

14 *A Treatise of Paradise* (London, 1617), p. 51.

15 Guild, *Moses Unveiled or, Those figures which served vnto the patterne and shaddow of Heauenly things* (1620; rpt. London, 1626), pp. 1-3; Tailor, *Christ Revealed: Or, The Old Testament Explained* (London, 1635), pp. 5-8.

16 *Legends of the Holy Rood*, ed. Richard Morris, *Early English Text Society*, vol. 46 (London: A Trubner, 1871), pp. 24-25, 154-55. Also see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, ed. F. M. S. Ellis, Temple Classics (New York: AMS, 1973), III, 169.

17 *Hymns Ancient and Modern for Use in the Services of the Church* (London: W. W. Clowes, 1909), pp. 150-51.

18 Adolphe Napoleon Didron, *Christian Iconography: The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. J. Millington (1895; rpt. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1965), I, 366n.

19 Pietro Toesca and Ferdinando Forlati, *Mosaics of St. Mark's*, trans. Joyce Templeton and Gustina Scaglia (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1958). Dome of Creation, Tav. 50. The authors write (p. 28) that the mosaicists were acquainted with the illustrations in the British Library MS. Otho B. VI, the so-called Cotton Bible.

20 Schiller, II, 119-21, fig. 404. Paris, Musee de Cluny. Another French illustration shows the lamb surrounded by personifications of the rivers of Paradise. The blood of the lamb is often related to the paradisal rivers of Gen. ii and Rev. xxii. Schiller, II, 119-21 and fig. 405.

21 *Encyclopedia of World Art* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959-83), XIII, 813, fig. 343. Florence, Accademia.

22 C. M. Kaufman, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, Vol. III, in *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), p. 53 and pl. 2. British Library MS. Arundel 60, fol. 52^{v}.

23 Schiller, II, fig. 538. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

24 Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1962), p. 8, fig. 13.

25 Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS. I.4.3., fol. 4^{v}; *Schools of Illumination: Reproductions from Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1915), II, fol. 3^{r}, pl. 9. See also Henry Yates Thompson, *Illustrations of One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson* (London: Chiswick, 1907), II, pl. XVI. Similarly, in the illumination of the Caedmonian Genesis, the Cross is visible in the Tree from which it will come (M. W. Evans, *Medieval Drawing* [London: Paul Hamlyn, 1969], pl. 25 Bodleian Library MS. Junius XI, fol. 7).

26 George F. Warner, *Reproductions of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1923-28), Ser. III, pl. XVIII. British Library MS. 18719, fol. 253^{v}; Laborde, Alexandre, comte de,

La Bible Moralisee, 5 vols. (Paris, 1911-27), III, pls. 240, 500. Reproductions of Biblioteque Nationale MS. lat. 11560, fol. 206[r] and of British Library MS. Harley 1527, II, fol. 29[r].

27 M. R. James, "Pictor in Carmine," *Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity*, 94, 2nd Ser. 44 (1951), 161-62.

28 *La Saincte Bible en francois*, trans. Jacques Le Fevre d'Etaples (Anvers, 1541). I think it possible that a copy of this edition was "the great French Bible with prints" that Donne owned and left to Henry King. King bequeathed to his sister, Mrs. Anne Dutton, "my great French Bible with prints which once belonged to my honored Friend Doctor Donne" (Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Doctor John Donne*, 4th ed. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1973], pp. 259-61).

29 Schiller, II, p. 134; Bennett, p. 157; Tancred Borenius and E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Painting* (Florence: Pantheon, 1927), p. 8 and pl. 14.

30 Chew, p. 8. Huntington Library MS. 1125, fol. 81[r]. In a mode of perception similar to Donne's, several unknown artists envisioned a conjunction of the Tree of Knowledge and the Cross. The stem of the Cross joins the trunk of the fatal Tree in a German book-box of the Carolingian era (Adolph Reinle, "Der Schatz des Munsters zu[r] Sackingen," *Zeitschrift fur Schweizerische Archaeologie und Kunstgeschichte* 10 (1948-49), 140, and Taf. 65). The facade of a church in a French village shows the Tree of Knowledge forming a Cross (L'Abbe Augustin Crosnier, *Iconographie Chretienne*, ou *Etude des Sculpteurs, Peintures . . . due Moyen Age* (Tours, 1876), pp. 146-47.

31 I. B. Supino, *L'Arte nelle Chiese di Bologna* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1938), II, 176-78 and Tav. VI.

32 "Grace Dieu or The Pilgrymage of the Soul," the Petworth Manuscript, New York Public Library MS. Spencer 19. The soul sees the dry tree and the green tree, fol. 69[v], and the soul sees Christ nailed to the dry tree, fol. 78[r]. Another illustration of Christ nailed to the dry tree, but from a different manuscript, is reproduced in M. R. Bennett's "The Legend of the Green and Dry Tree," *Archaeological Journal* 83, 2nd Ser. 33 (1929), 21-32. Quotations are from M. Dorothea Barry, "'The Pilgrimage of the Soul,' A Fifteenth Century English Manuscript 'Le Pelerinage de l'Ame,' Transcribed and Edited from the Petworth Manuscript" (Diss. Univ. of Toronto 1931), p. 158, from fol. 78[r]. For description and history of the Petworth MS., see Victor Hugo Paltsits, "The Petworth Manuscript . . . ," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 32, No. 11 (1928), 715-20.

33 For Donne's relation with Percy, see R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 133-34. Besides Percy, Donne knew others who owned manuscripts, including the Countess of Bedford and members of the Howard, Clifford, and Stanley families. See Bald, pp. 110-11, 133-34, 179-80, 276-77, 325, and *Essays by Rosemond Tuve: Spenser, Herbert, Milton* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 113-18.

34 Barry, pp. 251-52, from fol. 125[v]-126[r]; *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame*, ed. J. J. Sturzinger, printed for the Roxburghe Club (London: Nichols, 1895), color plate, following p. 340. A later work, Giovanni Bellini's painting *Allegory*, is probably based on Deguilleville's account of the transformation of the dry tree through the Crucifixion (Ernest T. Dewald, *Italian Painting, 1200-1600* [New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961], pp. 460-61).

35 *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae* (1607; rpt. Antwerp, 1618), pp. 142-45 and pl. 36. In Joseph Fletcher's *The Historie of the Perfect-Cursed-Blessed Man* (London, 1629), an illustration shows the fall, crucifixion, and resurrection in one landscape, sig. D4[v] (Fig. 10).

36 *Pia Desideria Emblematis* . . . (Antwerp, 1624), pp. 249-58 and Emblem 29. Reproduced in Francis Quarles, *Emblemes* (1635), IV, 14; also cited by Stewart.

37 *The Complete Works of St. John of the Cross*, trans. Silverio de Santa Teresa and ed. E. Allison Peers (London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1934), II, 43-44.

38 Schiller, II, fig. 435, Munchen-Gladbach, Minster Archives Cod. I, fol. 2[v]. A chalice of Christ's blood was sometimes depicted as in the Tree of Knowledge. In Benedict Van Haeften's *Regia Via Crucis* (Antwerp, 1635), the soul's garment, soiled by the Tree of Knowledge, is cleansed by Christ's blood, Emblem 10.

39 Schiller, II, fig. 381. Fulda, Sacramentary, 2° Cod. MS. theol. 231 Cim., fol. 60r.

40 Albert Boeckler, *Die Regensburg-Prufeninger Buchmalerei des XII und XIII. Jahrhunderts (Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in Munchen VIII)* (Munich, 1924), pl. XXVI. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ratisbon Cod. lat. 14159, fol. 1r.

41 Stephanus Luzvic and S. Binet, *Cor Deo Devotvm Pacifice Salomonis Thronis Regius* (n.p., 1627), pp. 176-77.

42 *Emblemata Sacra, Hoc est Decades Quinque Emblematum ex Sacra Scriptura* (Frankfurt, 1624), p. 85 and Emblem XLIII.

43 Schiller, II, fig. 443. By Pupil of Paolo di Giovanni Fei. Hanover, Niedersachsische Landesgalerie. The labors of Adam and Eve, following their expulsion, are depicted in *Queen Mary's Psalter* (London, 1912), pls. 6 and 7. Reproduced from British Library Royal MS. 2B VII.

44 *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford : Clarendon, 1941), p. 33. See Tuve, *A Reading of George Herbert*, pp. 84-87.

45 *The Complete Poetry of Richard Crashaw*, ed. George Walton Williams (New York : New York Univ. Press, 1972), p. 97.

46 *The Minor Poems of Joseph Beaumont, D.D., 1616-1699*, ed. Eloise Robinson (London: Constable, 1914), pp. 450-51.

47 *The Complete Poetry of Henry Vaughan*, ed. French Fogle (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1965), p. 138; also cited by Stewart.

List of Figures

Spencer 19, fol. 78r. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

9. Adam Crucified on Cross with forbidden fruit. From Jan David, *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae* (Antwerp, 1618), pl. 36, p. 142. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. 177

10. Fall, Crucifixion, and Resurrection in one landscape. From Joseph Fletcher, *Historie of the Perfect-Cursed-Blessed Man* (London, 1629), sig. D4v. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 178

11. Christ as Divine Love crucified on the apple tree of the Song of Solomon iii.2. From Herman Hugo, *Pia Desideria Emblematis* (Antwerp, 1624), Emblem 29. General Research Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. 179

12. Crucifixion with Resurrection of Adam and Eve and Tree of Knowledge. From Fuldau, Sacramentary; 2 Cod. MS. theol. 231 Cim., fol. 60r. Reproduced by permission of the Niedersachsische Staats- und Universitatsbibliothek, Gottingen. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ratisbon Cod. lat. 14159, fol. 1r. Reproduced by permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. 179

13. Fall with Church holding the Cross as the Tree of Life. Reproduced by permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. 180

14. Winged heart passes through the straits of death. From Daniel Cramer, *Emblemata Sacra* . . . (Frankfurt, 1624). Emblem XLHI, p. 185. PN 6349 C8 1624 Cage. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library. 180

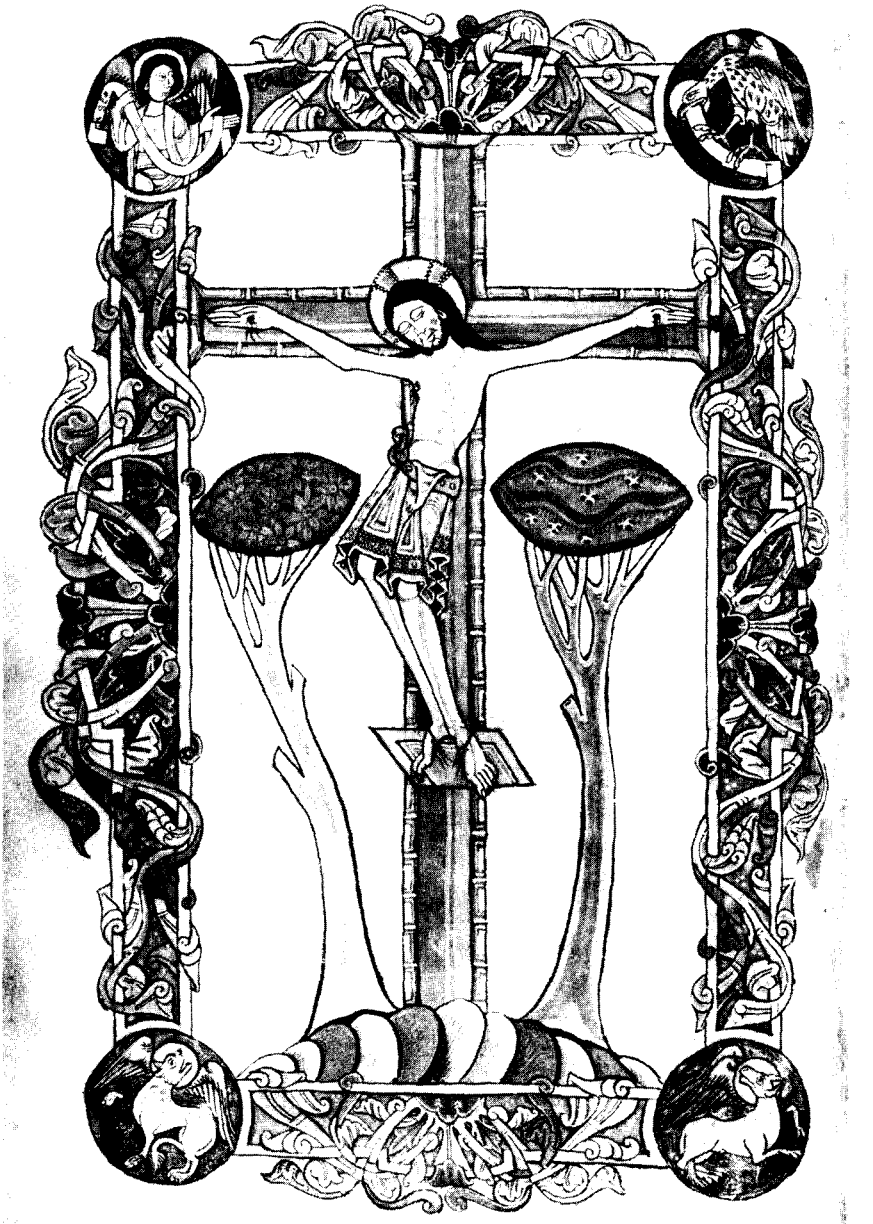

Figure 1


Dat Nye
Teſtament.
Martini Luthers.
Mit Yren Sũma
rien, edder Kortem vorſtande vp
ein yder Capittel dorch
Johannem Bugenha-
gen Pomern.
M·D·XXXIII·

Figure 2

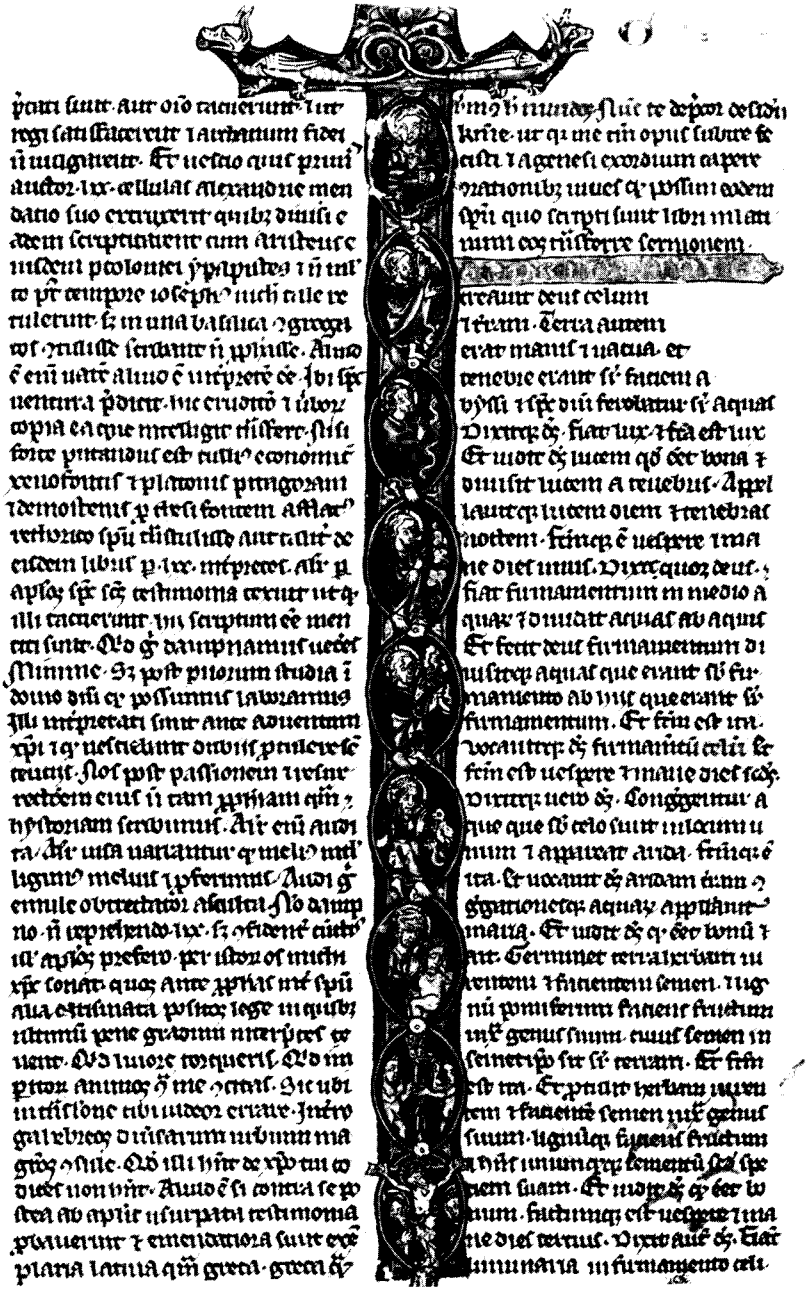

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

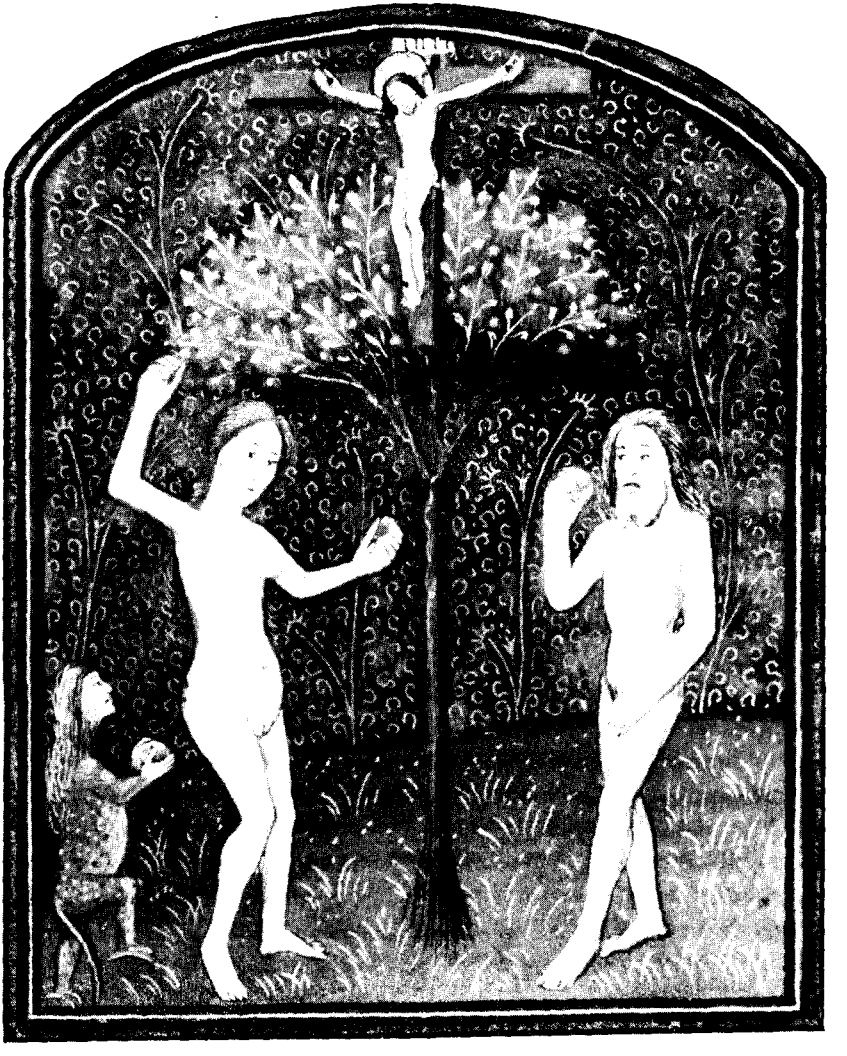

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8


36.
CRVCIFIXIO.
B
D
E
E
B
Fixus Adam nouus eſt, vetus vt ſit liber Adamus;
Hinc nouus vt fixo liber eat vetere.
Hier Voordt den Heere veen, aen t'cruyó om u gheſlaghen:
Sy Vuilt van hem niet ſcheen, t'cruyó ſal u beyde draghen.
Ton Dieu ſ'attache icy, pour te rendre deliure,
A tel pris affranchi, veus tu le monde ſuiure?

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

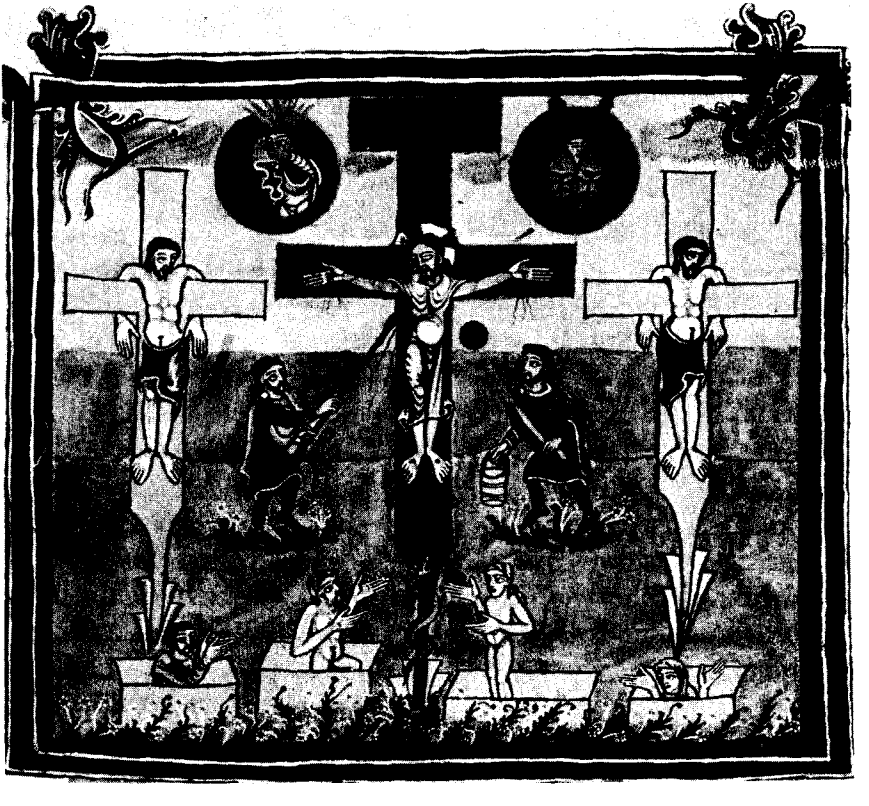

Figure 12

Figure 11

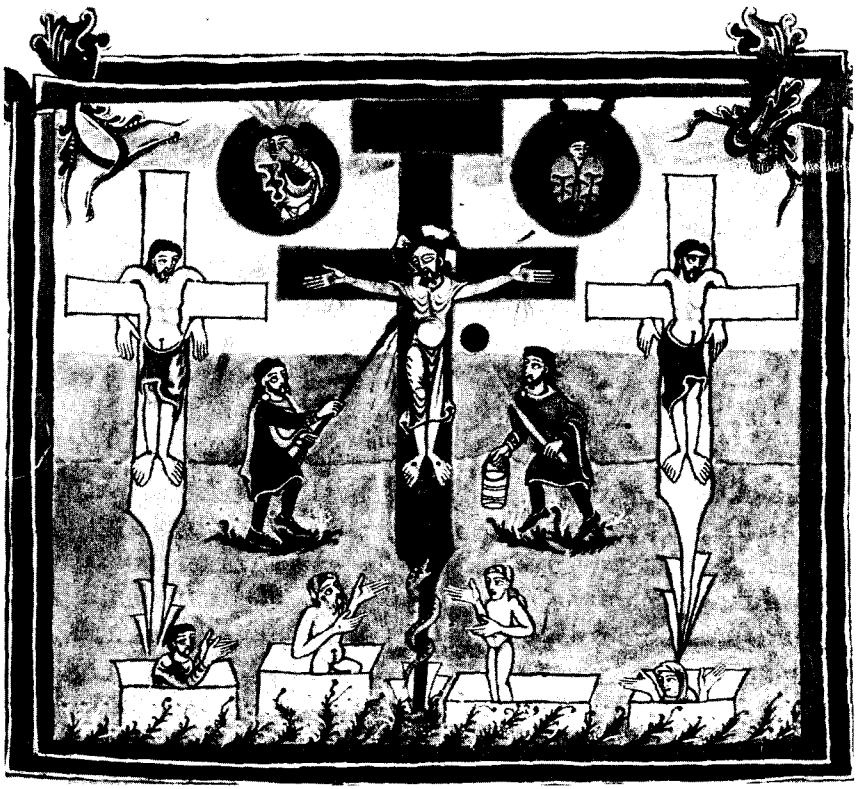

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14