John Donne Journal
Vol. 17 (1998)

Donne's *Anniversaries* and His Anatomy of the Book

Thomas A. Festa

es sind
noch Lieder zu singen jenseits
der Menschen.
—Paul Celan, *Atemwende*[1]

I.

Two paradoxes intersect at the heart of Donne's *Anniversaries*, paradoxes indigenous to that realm of religious cognition to which readers must advance if they would follow the poet. The first paradox brings down to earth the eulogistic tone with which the refrains ring, while, at the same time, the poems offer Elizabeth Drury as "She whose example they must all implore, / Who would or doe, or thinke well ...."[2] Donne elaborates the paradox by means of a laudatory restrictive clause containing the central terms of his philosophical argument:

> She, who in th' Art of knowing Heauen, was growen
> Here vpon Earth, to such perfection,
> That shee hath, euer since to Heauen shee came,
> (In a far fairer print,) but read the same ...
> (*2An*, 311-14)

Elizabeth Drury's "strong example" (*1An*, 47) implies that one might achieve, through a gradual accumulation of skill, an "*Art* of knowing Heauen."[3] The syntax and context of this phrase admit two theologically distinct claims designed, like Keats's Grecian Urn, to "tease us out of thought / As doth eternity." Donne creates an ambiguous syntactic

construction that raises the question, *whose* art did Elizabeth Drury attain? Was it all-knowing heaven's art? If "of" has genitive force, Drury possessed heaven's knowledge.

Or was it an intrinsically human art, humanity's innate capacity for recognizing divinity? If "knowing" functions as a gerund and not a participial adjective that modifies "Heauen," then there is a skill that can be attained in the temporal world that would allow us to comprehend the spiritual. In either case endowed by heaven, she "was growen / Here vpon Earth, to such perfection" that she found heaven "the same" as she did earth (*2An*, 311-14):

> Who with Gods presence was acquainted so,
> (Hearing, and speaking to him) as to know
> His face, in any naturall Stone, or Tree,
> Better then when in Images they bee.
> (*2An*, 451-4)

So graced was she that she could interpret earthly existence with a tropological intuition—with what Sir Thomas Browne calls "an extemporary knowledge"—reading all that transpired in this life as a designation of the next.[4] The exemplary potential of her "Art," however, perished when she died, except insofar as Donne can typify it in his poems, which Janel Mueller has called "the apotheosis of femininity as divinity in the English Renaissance."[5]

The second paradox inheres in the nexus of metaphors with which Christian tradition has illustrated the apotheosis of Christ: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1:1, AV). This paradox has a particular relevancy to the Reformations, the period which not only saw the birth of the technology of movable type, but subsequently fostered a tradition of relating print to godliness—a tradition in England going back at least to John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.[6] Quite literally, a book is both *res et verba*, word and thing. Poems, like all other texts, share with human beings a peculiar ontological status, embodying the freight of consciousness in a material object. So when Donne remarkably describes Elizabeth Drury as "our best,

and worthiest booke" (*2An*, 320), he exposes a crucial metaphorical mode in the poem.[7] Since she "is both the obiect, and the wit" of pious contemplation (*2An*, 442), our "vertuous Actions" in imitation of her "Are but a new, and worse *edition*, / Of her some one thought, or one action" (*2An*, 308-10; italics mine). Consequently, the language of impression, of Drury as the "best, and first originall / Of all faire copies" (*1An*, 227-28), accumulates a specific technological as well as a philosophical connotation when we consider what sort of "booke" she is. Of course, her example bears a resemblance to the Bible, in that she bears God's signature or stamp as a sample of divine *auctoritas*.[8] But, more specifically, she appears at first to be a *printed* book. In reading heaven thus, she reads herself; she "hath . . . *read*," Donne tells us, the divine message in heaven as she did on earth, although "In a far fairer *print*" (*2An*, 314; italics mine).[9] When Donne introduces this metaphor in the poem, he renders print a critical instrument of "th'Art of knowing Heauen." By associating Elizabeth Drury's perception of heaven with the act of reading a gorgeously printed edition, Donne comments on the means by which human beings acquire knowledge, a theme he will return to at the end of the poem.

Donne directs the poems' predominant concern with *forms* of human knowledge toward the relationship between secular and religious epistemology. This contention plays out on multiple levels simultaneously. The "new Philosophy cals all in doubt" (*1An*, 205) as it dislodges the assumptions of a Christian-Classical model of humanity's relation to the cosmos and replaces it with an inhospitable, mechanized vision of the physical universe. This concern with an apparently empty universe governed by a new and crudely physical law parallels the "general thaw" that follows the death of Elizabeth Drury, whose "strong example" was "equal to law" (*1An*, 47-8).[10] Her passing is "like" the passing of the old order, in that she herself stands in a synecdochic relation to the *soul* of the world. Therefore, subsequent to her death, "The art is lost, and correspondence too" (*1An*, 396). The cosmology of analogous relations, which depends on the microcosm sharing a structural

paradigm with the macrocosm, has broken down. In the absence of a soul, the mystery of consciousness evaporates, and the body becomes an object driven by brute, mechanical force.

Such considerations in 1610-11 were timely if not proleptic. As Devon Hodges reminds us, two vanguard "publishing events" had symbolically coincided nearly sixty years earlier with the appearance of both Vesalius's *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* and Copernicus's *On the Motion of Heavenly Bodies* in 1543.[11] Equally disruptive, though less familiar in scientific discourse at the time, were the implications of what Donne empirically observed about the movement of matter in the physical world. Interpreting Donne's observation as an anticipation of Newtonian physics, Anthony Low describes Donne's preoccupation with "the troubling phenomenon of inertial movement, or of an outward mechanical force that replaces living self-activation"—namely, "momentum" or "dead movement." The staggering ramifications of this physical phenomenon, Low goes on to argue, "offered a shockingly accurate model of precisely what was being done to the Christian-Classical universe." Therefore Low characterizes the *Anniversaries* as "enormous poetic expansions on the Cartesian mind-body problem, in this case the mind and body of an entire world." These expansions anticipate Hobbes by implicating the socio-political realm in the *disintegration* of the Ptolemaic-Aristotelian worldview sanctioned by Christian Europe.[12] In the late seventeenth century, the profound impression Donne's concerns with new science left on contemporaries is registered in Thomas Pestell's reference to Donne as "The late Copernicus in Poëtrie."[13]

In the *Anniversaries*, Donne characteristically demolishes one set of certainties while he establishes another. Donne modulates these tensions by means of the epistemological conceit he culls from the Aristotelian-Thomist tradition of speculative metaphysics, as Edward Tayler has incisively shown, such that "there exists for the knowing reader an exact equivalence between the structure of his mind and the structure of the poem." So strong is the correspondence in this received metaphysical tradition that "poet is poem is

subject is reader."[14] It is in the mirrored essence of the rational soul's triadic structure that each human being reflects divinity. Hence, the poem ultimately warns against the folly of a "poor soule" investing faith in the "low forme" of empirically registered matter:

> When wilt thou shake of this Pedantery,
> Of being taught by sense, and Fantasy?
> Thou look'st through spectacles; small things seeme great,
> Below; But vp vnto the watch-towre get,
> And see all things despoyld of fallacies:
> Thou shalt not peepe through lattices of eies,
> Nor heare through Laberinths of eares, nor learne
> By circuit, or collections to discerne.
> In Heauen thou straight know'st all, concerning it,
> And what concerns it not, shall straight forget.
> (*2An*, 290-300)

As if issuing a divine commandment, Donne introduces his instruction to the reader with "Thou shalt not...." Perceive in heaven not as now you perceive, he admonishes, but as you *are perceived* in the *eyes* of God, which require no magnification. One can only *see* such a difference in the mind's eye, not the body's. Furthermore, the theological basis for comprehending the difference between the two kinds of souls exists only for what Tayler calls the "knowing reader." Clearly, the empiricist's "poore soule" presents a stark contrast to "that rich soule" possessed by Elizabeth Drury (*1An*, 1). As Tayler explains, Donne partitions "two kinds of readers" at the outset of the first poem, obliging the reader to "see, and Iudge, and follow worthinesse / And by Deedes praise it." (*1An*, 4-5).[15] So much for the irremediably insatiable mind of the empiricist, who only sees darkly, only knows in part.

Now it is without doubt that a radical cultural transformation was occurring at the same time as Donne was writing these poems.[16] But the fact that anxieties provoked by unresolved epistemological concerns pervade the poems does not exclude the possibility of their resolution by the poet. On the contrary, the poems enact a working through of these tensions, for the oscillation

between theological certitude and conflicting empirical evidence provides the fundamental movement of the poems.[17] It is probably more a symptom of our modern belief-systems than Donne's that we tend to dwell on the tensions produced by mutability, rather than the comforts of stabilizing faith. Firm in their wavering and solid in their essence, the *Anniversaries* address the paradoxical relation between substance and accidents.

In their attempts to conceive of this relation, readers of the *Anniversaries* have formulated numerous hermeneutic strategies. Both the pleasure and difficulty of these poems stem from *the poems'* persistent reformulation of their own terms. Donne generates, in the furiously evolving dynamics of conceit, a cumulative sense of examination. The poet sheds ideas concerning all levels of human knowledge like sparks, as if speculations were the by-product of some tremendous motion whose trajectory remains mysterious even as its destination stands in full view. As premises come and go, so do conceptual structures, genres, topics, metaphors, analogies, and even certainties. Because of this self-reflexive property, the *Anniversaries* tend to upset the kinds of expectations of formal coherence that modern readers bring to poetry and assert a formal, doctrinal coherence that is unfamiliar.[18]

Furthermore, their self-reflexive mode exists on another, more literal level. Donne habitually flirts with an intellectual curiosity that ravishes dogma. Just as Donne's investigation of the New Science threatens his religious beliefs, his inquiry into the vicissitudes of print culture challenges his attitude toward books. The impersonal, mechanical view of the universe, which arose subsequent to the advent of the new astronomical and anatomical sciences, parallels the view that the proliferation of books through mechanical reproduction invites a kind of interpretive chaos.[19] The confluence of these new technologies threatens to overwhelm Donne's sense of control, even if it simultaneously provides the metaphoric turbulence to propel many exciting new thoughts. Given that the poems explore a range of metaphors available to a poet intending the publication of a printed book, a fresh revaluation

of the circumstances of the *Anniversaries*' publication has become necessary.

The most important implications of this set of circumstances concern our understanding of John Donne as an author and of his intentions at this particular stage in his career. But, most of all, their historical relevancy bears directly upon our ability to read the poems in their own terms. Recent work in the sociology of Donne's texts has in this way essentially miscalculated the correspondences among the historical setting or cultural contexts, the material texts, and the works. More generally, as G. Thomas Tanselle eloquently argues, critics have not sufficiently noticed that authors'

> desires have just as much historical reality as do the texts that were finally published, though the desires are likely to be harder to locate. If we grant that authors have intentions and therefore that the intentions of past authors are historical facts, we require no further justification for the attempt to recover those intentions . . . .[20]

Any calculus of Donne's "desires," of their "historical reality," must address the rich complexity of his multiple and sometimes contradictory intentions in writing and publishing the *Anniversaries*. This not only involves attuning ourselves to the material conditions of publication, but also to the feelings and attitudes Donne revealed in the works themselves. In this interaction—between the multiply motivated circumstances that prompted the *writing* of the poems and those that precipitated their public distribution—we may glimpse the lineaments of a poet in the act of finding what will suffice. To admit that this nexus involves numerous operations of the poet's mind, as well as the publisher's, compositor's, copy-editor's, bookseller's, or reader's, is to pave the way for a revaluation of the *Anniversaries*' meaning in relation to the structures of thought and feeling at the time of their conception.

II.

When John Donne's works known as the *Anniversaries* were to be published together for the first time early in 1612, they were "Printed by *M. Bradwood* for *S. Macham*," their publisher, in order "to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard." (Tp., *Var.* 6:4). The fact that they were "Printed" so that they might publicly be "sold" has signally been ignored in recent accounts both of Donne's career and of his poems' textual history. Underestimating the potency of even (or perhaps especially) an anonymous print publication as a gesture of self-presentation, recent archival work that situates Donne in the field of literary history has foregrounded, instead, the networks of manuscript circulation and the interplay of scribal and print cultures. A greater understanding of these reticulations has indubitably enriched criticism's historical imagination of the Tudor and early Stuart periods, of the conventions and institutions of poets and their making.[21] However, such a "cartography" has failed properly to locate the appearance of the *Anniversaries* in print, despite its addition of critical detail to our overall map of the environments in which Donne's works were first received. Furthermore, recent scholarship has unduly neglected Donne's eager participation in the print publication of his religious prose—perhaps most notably the *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624), but also the various sermons he published during his lifetime. Neglecting these vital features in the landscape of Donne's career has been tantamount to providing readers with a map rich in detail but barren of public landmarks.

The *Anniversaries* are, of course, unusual among Donne's poems in making their way into print. Very few of Donne's poems were published during his lifetime (twenty-five, according to Ernest W. Sullivan, II) and therefore "had a wider frame open to them; in particular the two *Anniversaries* were several times reissued in Donne's lifetime and inspired an impressive body of quotation, imitation, adaptation, and remark."[22] Consequently, it seems entirely misleading to neglect or devalue the importance of the *Anni-*

versaries if our objective is to understand Donne's poetic career historically. Consider, for example, that after the complete edition of 1612, the *Anniversaries* were republished in two separate editions (in 1621 and 1625) prior to their inclusion in the posthumous collection of 1633.

Observing Donne's subsequent expressions of regret at having published the *Anniversaries*, critics have imposed retroactively upon Donne the view that he never wished to publish the works—that he may have had ethical objections to their publication, but eventually succumbed to pressure from Sir Robert Drury or Joseph Hall. While the poems had probably been distributed initially in manuscript form to the coterie of readers for whom, on one level, they were written, it is unlikely that the manuscripts used for copy would have been sold to a publisher by their patron. Often books were dedicated to an unknown patron in hopes of soliciting his or her favor as well as the protection from critics. Usually, however, these books bore their author's names on the title page, so that the author could potentially reap the benefits of the compliment issued. But anonymous publications would have been pitched differently. More frequently, printed verse that lacked authorial attribution in the seventeenth century saw the light of Paul's Churchyard through a combination of the poet's ambitions and the patron's magnanimity.[23] Moreover, one wonders at the efficacy of such a gesture as a gambit for patronage. (Readers of Donne are not infrequently met with such considerations when encountering other such bids in his poetry, which, unlike those of Ben Jonson, bring to mind Baudelaire's image of the poet as an albatross—clumsy on land precisely because of the great wings which allow it to soar.)

Consequently, the theory that Donne reluctantly acceded to Drury's urging entails that he was seeking to secure patronage he already enjoyed—he was, after all, in France with the Drurys when the 1612 edition was published—apparently at the risk of jeopardizing more longstanding relationships with "those Ladies" to whom he refers in the letter to G.G. (*Var.* 6:239). Critics following R.C. Bald have claimed

that the poems were written as repayment for patronage tendered as a result of the earlier *A Funerall Elegie*, thought to have been completed shortly after Elizabeth Drury's death. In this view, Donne had already curried favor with Sir Robert and therefore published the longer poems as a monument to their relationship.[24] The problem here is not that this scenario is improbable, merely incomplete. For example, why then would Donne have chosen to remain anonymous, if he wanted the gesture to be so unequivocally *public*? What further happened in the interstitial period, between the publication of *An Anatomie* and the completed edition, that caused Donne to engage in the 1612 publication? The key point remains that Donne's intentions were seldom determined exclusively by one cause. Certainly Donne intended for the poems to be printed, and the fact that they were "to be sold" at Samuel Macham's shop suggests that they were *not* printed as presentation copies for private distribution among friends and patrons. Even if Donne had been prompted by someone else, he surely had his own reasons, too, for publishing these poems. Under the assumption that Donne never intended to publish these poems in print, critics have, *a posteriori*, taken Donne's letters too literally, as if to argue that since Donne eventually regretted a decision, he himself had never made it.[25] Apart from reductive and misleading commonplaces about the historical practices of patronage, there are simply no biographical facts to support such a logical fallacy.[26]

Moreover, the concept of "private" communications in this vision of epistolary writing is predicated on a set of anachronistic assumptions about subjectivity. The fact that Donne donned a mask of disappointment in more than one letter does not necessarily imply that his epistolary disposition represented sentiments more sincere than those he expressed in the *Anniversaries*.[27] Indeed, one wonders to what extent Donne could have had an accurate notion of the reception of his works, since he was in Paris at the time of their publication, and the poems most likely had not yet been long in the London bookseller's stalls. The censure had probably come from the so-called coterie, not from the book-buying public. In particular, Donne's letter of 1612 to Goodyer contains

most of the self-deprecating rhetoric that critics have so often taken literally:

> I hear from *England* of many censures of my book, of M^ris^. *Drury*; if any of those censures do but pardon me my descent in Printing any thing in verse, (which, if they do, they are more charitable then my self; for I do not pardon my self, but confesse that I did it against my conscience, that is against my own opinion, that I should not have done so) I doubt not but that they will soon give over that other part of that indictment, which is that I have said so much; for no body can imagine, that I who never saw her, could have any other purpose in that, than that when I had received so very good testimony of her worthinesse, and was gone down to print verses, it became me to say, not what I was sure was just truth, but the best that I could conceive; for that had been a new weaknesse in me, to have praised any body in printed verses, that had not been capable of the best praise that I could give. (Cited in *Var.*, 6:239-40)

Elements of the diction indicate a complicated tone as Donne plays with metaphors of print. In brief, Donne wittily toys with the *topos* of remorse.

When he writes "I . . . confesse," what follows sounds more like ironic hypocrisy than solemn admission: "that I did it against my conscience." What sort of *gift* does one give against one's conscience? His definition by negation ("I do *not* pardon myself, *but* confesse") has the rhetorical effect of seeming defensive. At face value, it certainly looks as if Donne seeks to exculpate himself, given that his *confession* comprises a defense against charges. There is, however, something archly disingenuous about the prescriptive clause ("no body can imagine, that I who never saw her, could have any other purpose in that, than..."), especially since it is clear from the context that he fears that *anybody* could.

Nevertheless, in his defensive maneuver addressed to one of his coterie of friends, Donne conveys the idea that he conceived of the poems as "printed verses" from the start, for no one could assume

that he himself did not know what "it became [him] to say" when he "was gone down to print verses." In short, the logic of Donne's coyly facile argument depends upon his own proposition, that he knew the verses were to be set in type when he wrote them and, therefore, that no one ought to imagine him as a feeble sycophant willing *publicly* to praise where it was unwarranted. Richard B. Wollman makes an important distinction to this effect:

> [Donne] regrets printing the *Anniversaries* not because of a "gentlemanly disdain" for professionalism, but because the censures that he receives after the publication only confirm for him that in print he can no longer control the rampant misinterpretation of his poem. This is why he sends so many similar versions of his letters to his friends (as if trying to compete with the dissemination of print) . . . . His emphasis is not on print, but rather on the damage print inflicts on his identity.[28]

Contrary, then, to the notion that he did not mean for the *Anniversaries* to appear in print, Donne acknowledged that he published the first complete, public edition of his poems intentionally. Furthermore, he wrote the *Second Anniversary* with the full knowledge and intention of sending the poems to a publisher who would, in turn, procure a printer. (Indeed, the same commercial publisher, Samuel Macham, was responsible for both the 1611 and 1612 editions.) Partly on the basis of biographical data and partly of bibliographic, it has even been suggested that Donne himself "saw and passed the proofs" of the first edition of *An Anatomie of the World* (1611), "since the book was certainly in print before he left England with the Drurys."[29]

The most likely sequence of the poems' composition relative to their publication demonstrates: (1) that Donne wrote the first early in 1611 and that it was published around November 1611, and (2) that, following this publication, he wrote the second in December 1611 and that it was published by early April 1612.[30] Thus, when he wrote the *Second Anniversary*, Donne had in mind the idea of

print publication for the completed work, after he had already published its first installation in that medium. Even if, as Sir Geoffrey Keynes first suggested, Joseph Hall persisted in attempting to place Donne's poems in the hands of Samuel Macham—who had already published several of Hall's books—Hall had resigned from the rectory in Drury's Hawstead in 1607 to take up residence under the auspices of Lord Denny at Waltham Holy Cross, near St. Albans. Therefore, as R.C. Bald conjectures, it is highly unlikely that Hall could have been serving as an intermediary for Donne's relations with the Drurys by 1611.[31] Having adduced this sequence, the familiar notion that Hall beseeched Donne to publish the *Anniversaries* on behalf of a common benefactor, whose privilege Hall himself had not enjoyed for nearly four years, gives way to its more historically plausible obverse: that either Macham or Donne himself sought dedicatory verses from Hall once the decision to publish the *Anniversaries* had been made. The scenario itself invites conjecture, in part because biographers have not yet turned up any new evidence about these relationships. Yet an even more fundamental relationship—that of the poet to his poems—has been greatly misconstrued. For if we are to comprehend the metaphors Donne seized upon as he wrote, we must attend to his ideas about the book not only in the world outside his poems, but also (and perhaps especially) in the world within them.

III.

To the extent that Elizabeth Drury is a text *homologous* to the Bible, she is *analogous* to heaven. By this distinction, I mean to imply that when Donne figures Drury as text, he offers a kind of definition of the act of reading his own poem, *sola scriptura.* The poet thereby reinforces the religious interest of a "thing indifferent" (an "vnconcerning thing" [*2An*, 285]) by emphasizing the structural homology of any pious act of reading. Since she is "our best, and worthiest booke" (*2An*, 320), she is analogous to heaven in that she too "is both the obiect and the wit" (*2An*, 442). Such is the Word.

Although it is unknown if Donne was familiar with it, Maurice Scève's book of *dizains* (ten-line lyrics) contains a similar premise. In Scève's *Délie, Objet de plus haute vertu* (Lyons, 1544), the very title elaborates this idea. Given that *Délie*, the name of the beloved, is an anagram for "L'idée" ("the idea"), Scève propounds "the idea" of the beloved in the form of the *Objet de plus haute vertu* ("object of highest virtue"). With this denomination, Scève initiates a metaphoric mode similar to Donne's in the *Anniversaries*: so identical is Scève's book to the *object* of highest virtue, it *becomes* the object itself. Scève's *book* becomes the object of highest virtue in that the "idea" of it is the self-same beloved object.[32]

The rudiments of this metaphor that associates the human body with the physical book appear in *A Funerall Elegie*, which most critics agree Donne wrote before the *Anniversaries*. The poet begins by asking if mere "ragges of paper" can "giue / Life to that name, by which name they must live" (*FunEl*, 11-12). He thereby connects death with the material object in a literalization of the Pauline doctrine, "for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life" (2 Cor. 3:6, AV). If his page does not manage to resuscitate Elizabeth Drury's "name," the symbiosis his poem lives by will end, and the page will disintegrate into its constituent elements ("ragges").

Donne vividly displays the remains of poems that fail in this task or are committed to others: "Sickly, alas, short-liu'd, aborted bee / Those Carkas verses, whose soule is not shee" (*FunEl*, 13-14). On the other hand, he wonders if she would "stoope to bee / In paper wrap't" or would "dwell in an Elegie" (*FunEl*, 16-18). With his repeated use of the preposition "in," Donne not only puns characteristically (on tomb / tome, or *stanza* as "room"), but also figures a spiritual communion in verbal communication. Employing a favored topic that ultimately derives from Seneca, he writes in a letter of August 1619 to his friend Tobie Mathew, "SIR, At *Ratisbone* I had your Letter from *Brussel's*; and, in it, you."[33]

However, like "Those Carkas verses, whose soule is not shee" (*FunEl*, 13), the written word becomes cadaverous when denuded

of a speaker's voice. As Donne puts it in a letter to George More, "I know what dead carcasses things written are in respect of things spoken," although he goes on to say that, "in things of this kind, that soul that *inanimates* them never departs from them."[34] If, as Donne writes in the *Anniversaries*, "The World is but a Carkas" since "shee which did *inanimate* and fill / The world, be gone," then Drury *inanimated* the world just as the human voice *inanimates* the word (*2An*, 55; *1An*, 68-9; italics mine). (Similarly, "God *inanimates* every State with one power, as every man with one soule," he argues in *Pseudo-Martyr* [1610]. Donne deploys the same politic idiom again when he dedicates the *Devotions* to Prince Charles, claiming that the work will be "*inanimated by your gracious acceptation.*")[35] He says later, in a sermon, "This whole world is one Booke."[36] Thus, Elizabeth Drury's disappearance from "this whole world" leaves it in the same state as a body from which the soul has exited, or a written word from which the vocal presence of the author has vanished.

Nonetheless, "there's a kind of world remaining still" (*1An*, 67). Hence, Donne represents futurity as "the booke of destiny" (*FunEl*, 84), such that a reader turning the pages since Drury's death "Would thinke that eyther destiny mistooke, / Or that some leafes were torne out of the booke" (*FunEl*, 89-90). In the "kind of world remaining still," any virtuous person "is her delegate, / T' accomplish that which should haue beene her fate" (*FunEl*, 99-100). Drury impresses her pattern upon the blank pages of the virtuous, who then become incorporated, like pages tipped into "the booke of destiny," bound together by her soul: "They shall make vp that booke, and shall haue thankes / Of fate and her, for filling vp their blanks" (*FunEl*, 101-2). Later revisiting this favorite trope, Donne in the *Devotions* imagines the book as what Neil Rhodes calls a "heavenly community":

> All *mankinde* is of one *Author*, and is one *volume*; when one Man dies, one *Chapter* is not *torne* out of the *booke*, but *translated* into a better *language*; and every *Chapter* must

> be so *translated*; *God* emploies severall *translators*; some peeces are translated by *Age*, some by *sicknesse*, some by *warre*, some by *justice*; but *Gods* hand is in every *translation*; and his hand shall binde up all our scattered leaves againe, for that *Librarie* where every *booke* shall lie open to one another.
>
> (Meditation 17)

There are sources and analogues for the image of heaven as God's book that range from St. Augustine to such medieval commentators as St. Bernard (11th c.) and Hugh of St. Victor (12th c.).[37] But the particular nuance Donne draws out of the image, in which God's "hand shall binde up all our scattered leaves againe" (Med. 17) such that we "make vp that book" (*FunEl*, 101), resembles most closely Dante's rapturous vision of the divinity at the climax of the *Paradiso*:

> Nel suo profundo vidi che s'interna,
> legato con amore in un volume,
> ciò che per l'universo si squanderna:
> sustanze e accidenti e lor costume
> quasi conflati insieme, per tal modo
> che ciò ch'i' dico è un simplice lume.
>
> (Canto 33, 85-90)
>
> [I saw ingathered, bound by love in one single volume, that which is dispersed in leaves throughout the universe: substances and accidents and their relations, as though fused together in such a way that what I tell is but a single light.][38]

Donne typically conflates the image of Revelation's "book of life" (Rev. 20:12-15, 21:7, 22:19, AV) with the Book of the New Testament in its entirety (although perhaps especially the Gospels). Just as the New Testament is a type of the book of life, so Donne's *Anatomie* forms an imperfect type of the New Testament:

> Onely death addes t'our length: nor are we growne
> In stature to be men, till we are none.

> But this were light, did our less volume hold
> All the old Text . . . . (*1An*, 145-48)

The New Testament fulfills the anticipation of the Old ("the old Text") in "less volume" or space, although we do not contain in our bodies the greater mass of our gigantic ancestors, as they are represented in the Old Testament. Hence, this "volume" is both a book and a capacity (cf. *Var.* 6:394). Likewise, Donne calls the book of life "thy little booke" when addressing Christ in *La Corona* (poem 6, line 8).[39] The book of life is "little" because the number of elect enrolled therein is limited to "an hundred and forty and four thousand" (Rev. 7:4, AV). In brief, Donne's *Anatomie of the World* remains imperfect in the same way that "the old Text" remains imperfect in Christian theology. *An Anatomie* becomes *The First Anniversarie* just as the Hebrew Bible becomes the Old Testament, just as the book of nature becomes the book of God.

When Donne compares his prognosis of the spiritual ills of the world with a "dissectione" (*1An*, 66), he refers to a method for anatomizing the world's "Carkas" that further illustrates the parallel:

> But as in cutting vp a man that's dead,
> The body will not last out to haue *read*
> On euery part, and therefore men direct
> Their speech to parts, that are of most effect.
> (*1An*, 435-38; italics mine)

The body dissected becomes a legible text.[40] As Donne says in a sermon preached at the funeral of Sir William Cockayne, 12 December 1626:

> The world is a great Volume, and man the Index of that Booke; Even in the body of man, you may turne to the whole world; This body is an Illustration of all Nature; Gods recapitulation of all that he had said before.
> (*Sermons* VII.10, p.272)

The key word in this description of "the body of man" is "Nature," for "Nature" only recapitulates God's word second hand, as it were. That is to say, the human body is merely an "Index of that Booke," not the heavenly book itself. Consequently, because it is mediated, hieroglyphic, and untranslated, the book of nature differs from "our best, and worthiest booke." Donne says of nature's bastardized editions and formats:

> That great Library, those infinite Volumes of the Books of Creatures, shall be taken away, quite away, no more Nature; those reverend Manuscripts, written with Gods own hand, the Scriptures themselves, shall be taken away, quite away; no more preaching, no more reading of Scriptures, and that great School-Mistress, Experience, and Observation shall be remov'd, no new thing to be done, and in an instant, I shall know more, then they all could reveal unto me. I shall know, not only as I know already, that a Bee-hive, that an Ant-hill is the same Book in *Decimo sexto*, as a Kingdom is in *Folio*, That a Flower that lives but a day, is an abridgment of that King, that lives out his threescore and ten yeers; but I shall know too, that all these Ants, and Bees, and Flowers, and Kings, and Kingdoms, howsoever they may be Examples, and Comparisons to one another, yet they are all as nothing, altogether nothing, less then nothing, infinitely less then nothing, to that which shall then be the subject of my knowledge, for, *it is the knowledge of the glory of God.*
>
> (*Sermons* IV.3, p.128)

The various books of nature differ in size but not in kind, in format but not in content. No wonder, then, that the compositor(s) in Bradwood's shop responsible for setting the first edition of *The Second Anniuersarie* in type made the following substitution toward the end of the poem: "When no Physician of Reders can speake," in place of "When no Physician of redresse can speake," (*2An*, 477). The error in the first edition looks like a plausible, seventeenth-century spelling of the word "readers." Picking up the idiom left off earlier in the poem, to which the poem circles back

approximately thirty lines later, this phrase differentiates between *degrees* of legibility of the human body. Despite the fact that this diction represents a compositor's error, in the manner of a Freudian slip the mistake conceptually aligns *readers* with *redress.*[41]

Only Christ, however, has power to redress an ailing soul, at the Last Judgment. In apocalyptic iconography, the dead stand before God, who judges them "out of those things which were written" in the book of life and the other books "according to their works" (Rev. 20:12, AV). Thus, Christ's reading aloud the register of election constitutes the moment of judgment. The reunited bodies and souls of the elect, who are "written in the book of life" (Rev. 20:15, AV), advance to eternal bliss at Christ's vocalization of their names.

Donne's *Anniversaries* conclude with a modified representation or type of the events of the Last Judgment. The progress of the soul impersonated by *The Second Anniuersarie* enacts a technological regression. Building a momentum that will carry the reader beyond the poem's final lines in anticipation of the Apocalypse, the poem enacts the process whereby Elizabeth Drury will be resurrected. While she lived, her body language spoke so eloquently of God's design "That one might almost say, her bodie thought" (*2An*, 246). She next appears as "our best, and worthiest booke" (*2An*, 320), a book like the Book of Nature but, once in heaven, herself "In a far fairer print" (*2An*, 314). Subsequently, Donne imagines her no longer as a printed text, but rather

> like to full, on both sides written Rols,
> Where eies might read vpon the outward skin,
> As strong Records for God, as mindes within . . .
> (*2An*, 502-4)

She has become a parchment scroll, the book of life upon which the names of the elect are enlisted. The scroll is written on both sides, such that Christ finds *her* just deeds on earth inscribed on one side as "a patterne" (*2An*, 524), and on the other the names of the righteous who also "see, and Iudge, and follow worthinesse, / And by Deedes praise

it" (*1An*, 4-5); just as her life may be read as the ultimate *Imitatio Christi*, the actions of the soulful may be read as an imitation of her. The poem ends in anticipation of Drury becoming God's speech act, "the Proclamation" (*2An*, 527). Drury's soul enacts a technological regression back toward origins—moving from printed book to inscribed parchment scroll to vocalized word—as she progresses toward the reunion of her soul with her body at the Last Judgment.

What Donne calls "Gods great Venite" (*2An*, 44)—Christ beckoning "Come" as judgment begins—is the "Proclamation" into which Elizabeth Drury is transformed in the final lines of the poem. The Resurrection will *inanimate* her body, infused anew with her soul:

> Since his will is, that to posteritee,
> Thou shouldest for life, and death a patterne bee,
> And that the world should notice haue of this,
> The purpose, and th' Autority is his;
> Thou art the Proclamation; and I ame
> The Trumpet, at whose voice the people came.
> (2An, 523-28)

As Frank Manley notes in his edition of the *Anniversaries*, "The trumpet is a common figure of the prophet, blasted by inspiration." After quoting Ezekiel 33:1-7, Manley cites Donne's sermons, asserting that "Donne has called all men to a general resurrection: 'as at the last resurrection, all that heare the sound of the Trumpet, shall rise in one instant. . . .'"[42] Furthermore, as John Shawcross points out in his edition, there is an allusion to 1 Corinthians 15:52: "the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (AV).[43] The poet becomes the instrument of God, the last trump, "at whose voice the people came."

In the final line of the poem, Donne affects a shift into the past tense, as if to say with Sir Thomas Browne that "in eternity there is no distinction of Tenses" (*Religio Medici*, I.11). As Donne recasts the narrative of reading his poem, the people or readers "came" at the poet's clarion call. It is Donne "whose voice" calls

"the people" to the Resurrection, and Drury is "the Proclamation." But as the reader has read aloud the printed text of the *Anniversaries*, he or she, in effect, has prefigured Christ's "great Venite." By *inanimating* the text with the human voice, the reader anticipates the restoration of Drury's soul to her body. Similarly, if the act of reading has become, in the process of the poem, a kind of ecstasy, the conclusion effects the return of the reader's soul to his or her body.[44] Thus, what I have called the poem's technological regression entails a coming to life of the printed word, a gradual movement back from print to script to human utterance. In emphasizing the utterance, Donne prescribes the act of reading his poems, projecting into posterity "a patterne" analogous to the divine *Fiat* or *Venite*, Alpha or Omega.

This *regression*, from print to voice, is also the *fruition* of the written word. (In this regard, the paradoxical structural pattern that equates regression with progression might fruitfully be likened to the mourner's descent into and growth out of "the first nothing, the Elixer" that effects the transmutation of micro- into macrocosm and macro- into microcosm in "A Nocturnall upon S. Lucies Day.") Complex metaphorical operations like the ones Donne employs in the *Anniversaries*, where the poet scripts the actions of posterity in a self-conscious "patterne," appear in many of his poems.[45] The very prevalence of these metaphors suggests that ideas of Donne's coterie have been superficial. The only coterie to which Donne's projected readers could belong—figured throughout his poetry as all of posterity—would be God's elect.

Although he repeatedly adapted his attitude to match changed circumstances, a printed book's potential for expanded circulation invigorated Donne for the brief period during which he devised and produced the *Anniversaries*. Experimenting with print as a mode of publication for verse, Donne assayed its impact on the book as a metaphor for the universe. In this way, Donne recreated in the *Anniversaries* the traditional metaphors for the forms in which humanity partakes of divinity.

Columbia University

Notes

1. "there are / still songs to be sung on the other side / of mankind" (*Poems of Paul Celan*, trans. Michael Hamburger [New York: Persea Books, 1989]). It gives me pleasure to acknowledge the help of Edward W. Tayler, Anthony Low, and David Scott Kastan, each of whom read and commented on drafts of this essay.

2. Quotations of Donne's *Anniversaries* are from *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, gen. ed. Gary A. Stringer, volume 6 (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1995), subsequently cited parenthetically in my text. This quotation is from *2An*, 306-7.

3. Donne's specific use of the term *art*, which I have defined above as "a gradual accumulation of skill," I take to be a composite of senses commonly used at the time. Depending on how technical we take Donne's terminology to be, *art* could be anything from a "skill in doing anything as the result of knowledge and practice" (OED 1; c.1225), to a specifically "human skill as an agent; human workmanship" (OED 2a; c. 1386), to a "skill in applying the principles of a special science" (OED 4c; c.1300), or to "an acquired faculty of any kind" (OED 12; 1637).

4. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, I.33, *The Major Works*, ed. C.A. Patrides (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp. 101-102; likewise Raphael, in *Paradise Lost* 5:469ff., compares human with angelic reason: "Discursive, or Intuitive; discourse / Is oftest yours, the latter most is ours / Differing but in degree, of kind the same" (488-90). For a careful investigation into what Donne meant by "grace," see R.V. Young, "Donne's Holy Sonnets and the Theology of Grace," in *"Bright Shoots of Everlastingnesse": The Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric*, ed. Claude Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1987), pp. 20-39.

5. Janel Mueller, "Women among the Metaphysicals: A Case, Mostly, of Being Donne for," in *Critical Essays On John Donne*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (New York: G.K. Hall, 1994), pp. 37-48; quotation, p. 46.

6. Foxe explains that "the Lord began to work for His Church not with sword and target to subdue His exalted adversary, but with printing, writing and reading.... How many presses there be in the world, so many block-houses there be against the high castle of St. Angelo, so that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing or printing must at length root him out" (Cited by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 vols. in 1 [1979; rprt: Cambridge: CUP, 1980], p.306).

7. Later in the century, Henry King makes striking use of this metaphor in "An Exequy To his Matchlesse never to be forgotten Freind" (writ. 1630s, pub. 1657):

Deare Losse! Since thy untimely fate
My task hath beene to meditate
On Thee, on Thee: *Thou art the book*,
The Library whereon I look,
Though almost blind.

(lines 7-11; *The Poems of Henry King*, ed. Margaret Crum [Oxford: Clarendon, 1965], italics mine.)

8. On the historical relationship between divine authority and human authorship, see A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984). For a specific interpretation of the metaphor of the book in early Tudor England, see Seth Lerer, "The Courtly Body and Late Medieval Literary Culture," in *The Book and the Body*, ed. Delores Warwick Frese and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 1997), pp. 78-115. More generally, on the book as a metaphor, see E.R. Curtius, "The Book as a Symbol," *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1953), pp. 302-47; see also Hans Blumenberg, *Die Lesbarkeit der Welt* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981), esp. pp. 9-107.

9. This usage of *print*, meaning an "edition" or "impression," dates from 1535, according to the OED (def.10). The more widespread usage (def. 7a), as in "a book in *print*," dates from 1482.

10. Elevating the sociological ideal of noble conduct in similar terms in his ode "To the immortall memorie, and friendship of that noble paire, Sir *LVCIVS CARY*, and Sir *H. MORISON*" (1629; *Vnder-wood*, LXX), Ben Jonson imagines—even if others could not live up to their names—that

such a force the faire example had,
As they that saw
The good, and durst not practise it, were glad
That such a Law
Was left yet to Man-kind.

(lines 117-121; *Ben Jonson*, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, vol. VIII [Oxford: Clarendon, 1954]).

11. Devon L. Hodges, *Renaissance Fictions of Anatomy* (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1985), p.2.

12. Anthony Low, "The 'Turning Wheele': Carew, Jonson, Donne and the First Law of Motion," *John Donne Journal* 1:1 (1982): 69-80; quotations from pp. 79, 77. Low's analysis stems from his reading of the conceit at *2An*, 7-22. Recently, John Rogers (*The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry, and Politics in the Age of Milton* [Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1996]) has explained the political implications of the Vitalist movement in the literature of the latter half of the seventeenth century, usefully analyzing how poets such as Marvell, Milton,

and Cavendish embark on "the late-seventeenth-century project of reconciling the mechanistic conception of nature with the Christian idea of providence" (p.147), a concern, I am arguing, Donne anticipates in the *Anniversaries.* For the more personal, psychological implications of the idea of the mortality of the soul on Donne's thinking, see Robert N. Watson, "Duelling Death in the Lyrics of Love: John Donne's Poetics of Immortality," *The Rest Is Silence: Death as Annihilation in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1994), pp. 156-252. Marjorie Hope Nicolson (*The Breaking of the Circle: Studies in the Effect of the 'New Science' Upon Seventeenth Century Poetry*, rev. ed [1950; New York: Columbia UP, 1960]) and Charles Monroe Coffin (*John Donne and the New Philosophy* [New York : Columbia UP, 1937]) offer the classic treatments of the impact of the new philosophy on Donne's thought. More generally, see Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science*, 1450-1800 (Cambrige: Harvard UP, 1991). For suggestive interpretations of the political implications of this sea change, see William Empson, "Donne the Space Man," rprt. in *Essays on Renaissance Literature*, ed. John Haffenden (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), pp.78-128; and esp. David Norbrook, "The Monarchy of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne's Politics," in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century Poetry*, ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katherine Eisaman Maus (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990), pp.3-36.

13. Cited by Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), p.128.

14. Edward W. Tayler, *Donne's Idea of a Woman: Structure and Meaning in* The Anniversaries (New York: Columbia UP, 1991), pp. 133; 135. Tayler provides a helpful diagram of the structural parallels in the two poems on pp.96-97. On the intellectual history behind Donne's idea of an idea, see esp. pp. 20-67.

15. See Tayler, pp.34-39: "The obligation laid upon the reader—as a requirement for reading the poem!—is nothing less than *nosce teipsum*, to know thyself . . ." (p.35). Tayler concludes, quoting from Sir Thomas Elyot, "Knowing oneself means knowing others of the 'same matter and substance' as integral parts of the *corpus mysticum* of believers—or, indeed, as parts of the community of knowing readers of The Anniversaries" (p. 39).

16. One fascinating manifestation of the shifting paradigms in an institutional context can be seen in the logic textbooks that were in use at the English universities at the time. As late as 1530 medieval scholastic textbooks for logic, the *Libelli Sophistarum*, were printed at Oxford. Robert Sanderson's syncretic technique for teaching logic in his textbook, the *Logicae Artis Compendium*, dates from 1615. Combining the four dominant streams in the history of logic to that point—the medieval traditon, the new rhetorical humanism, Aristotelian humanism associated with the publication of the Greek

Aristotle and commentary on it, and the scientific method—this work was so successful as a textbook that it was still in use at Oxford in the eighteenth century. See E. J. Ashworth, "Changes in Logic Textbooks from 1500 to 1650: The New Aristotelianism," in *Aristotelismus und Renaissance: In memoriam Charles B. Schmitt*, ed. Eckhard Kessler, Charles H. Lohr, and Walter Sparn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), pp. 75-87.

Contemporaneous with this move toward a more inclusive approach to logical methods in education was the tendency as a practice of scholars to quantify knowledge. The attempt to circumscribe the totality of human knowledge becomes a preoccupation of Renaissance humanists. In the exemplary case of Conrad Gesner, the Swiss scholar of natural history and medicine who compiled his *Bibliotheca Universalis* in 1545, this expanding vision of universality and completeness consisted of listing every Greek, Latin, and Hebrew book he knew in the *Pandectae* (1548), which classified the titles in the *Bibliotheca Universalis* under twenty-one subject heads. He thus included a comprehensive subject index of twenty-five thousand books in his attempt to condense and codify all knowledge. See Richard J. Schoeck, "Renaissance Guides to Renaissance Learning," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis* (1976), ed. Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris: Librarie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 239-62.

17. For a richly suggestive account of how the very notion of scientific evidence emerged entangled with the religious discourse of miracles in the early seventeenth century, see Lorraine Daston, "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe," in *Questions of Evidence: Proof, Practice, and Persuasion Across the Disciplines*, ed. James Chandler, Arnold I. Davidson, and Harry Harootunian (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994), pp. 243-74.

18. Rosalie L. Colie describes the centrality of this process to the *Anniversaries*, deriving most of her observations from the frequent shifts in engagement with generic traditions; see "'All in Peeces': Problems of Interpretation in Donne's Anniversary poems," in *Just So Much Honor: Essays Commemorating the Four-hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of John Donne*, ed. Peter Amadeus Fiore (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1972), pp. 189-218.

Modernist reaction to the *Anniversaries* neatly diagrams the extent to which readers' critical intelligence has responded reflexively to Donne's own conceptual apparatus. For the modern masters of fragmentary redemption, Donne's use of anatomical dissection as a metaphor for epistemological method touches an epitomizing nerve. Thus, T.S. Eliot, in the Clark Lectures (1926), speaks of *An Anatomie of the World* as "the most metaphysical of all Donne's metaphysical poems," although he perhaps contradicts himself when he disparages the work for having "no philosophy, no structure or unity, no

'central idea,' no real beginning or end"—in short, for being, like the *Second Anniuersarie*, "crowded with beauties" (*The Varieties of Metaphysical Poetry*, ed. Ronald Schuchard [New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1993]. pp.151; 157). Virginia Woolf, writing in 1931 (the 300th anniversary of Donne's death), offers a more cogent because coherent reading strategy as she elaborates Donne's metaphors in summation: "So we penetrate into distant regions, and reach rare and remote speculations a million miles removed from the simple girl whose death fired the explosion. But to break off fragments from poems whose virtue lies in their *close-knit sinews* and their *long-breathed strength* is to diminish them. They need to be read currently rather to grasp the energy and power of the whole than to admire those separate lines which Donne suddenly strikes to illumine the stages of our long climb" ("Donne After Three Centuries," *The Common Reader* 2nd ed. Andrew McNeille [1932; London: The Hogarth Press, 1986], p. 37, italics mine).

19. As Donne put it in a letter to Henry Goodyer dated 20 December 1614, when he was begrudgingly considering "printing my poems, and addressing them to my Lord Chamberlain" to remedy his financial problems, "I know what I shall suffer from many interpretations." Punning on the sartorial sign of his impoverishment as well as the medium he proposes, he jibes that "By this occasion I am made a rhapsoder of mine own rags . . ." (Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols. [1899; rprt: Goucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1959], 2:68). But Donne also mocks the anxiety produced when the poetical "triumphs" of "Love, and Griefe" are set to music and "so are published," which event causes the speaker of the poem to proclaim "And I, which was two fooles, do so grow three" ("The Triple Foole," lines 17, 20, 21; *The Elegies and Songs and Sonnets*, ed. Helen Gardner [Oxford: Clarendon, 1965]; subsequent citations of these poems are to this edition).

20. G.T. Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1989), p.76. In no way does the rigorous pursuit of such attempts as Tanselle recommends, however, imply that intentionality is a simple matter, reducible to either temporal or mechanically causal factors. Quite the contrary, as philosopher Paul Ricoeur has ably shown in a recent critique of analytical philosophy's descriptive methods for determining what is "intentional" (*Oneself as Another*, tr. Kathleen Blamey [1990; Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1992], esp. pp. 61-73 and 73-87).

21. On the sociology of poetic texts in the English Renaissance, see Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995). Perhaps because of his generic emphasis on "lyric," Marotti grants the *Anniversaries* merely parenthetical notice as "Donne's only deliberately published poems" (p.250). On manuscript circulation as an alternate mode of publication, see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). For further cultural

implications of the gendered character of poetic production in the period, see Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993). For a much-needed refinement of historical perspective on practices of reading, see the essays collected in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge UP, 1996), especially John Kerrigan's fine essay on "The Editor as Reader: Constructing Renaissance Texts," pp.102-24, the only shortcoming of which is that he oversimplifies the complexities of intentionalist editing.

22. Ernest W. Sullivan, II, *The Influence of John Donne: His Uncollected Seventeenth-Century Printed Verse* (Columbia and London: U of Missouri P, 1993), p. 5. The quotation is from A.J. Smith, "Introduction," A.J. Smith, ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage*, vol. 1 (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 3. For a survey of seventeenth-century allusions to the *Anniversaries* which registers the impact of these poems relative to the reception of Donne's other poetry, see citations in Smith's *Critical Heritage*, vol. 1, pp. 36-44, 48, 51-3, 56, 60-1, 63-4, 71, 82, 97, 100, 103, 107, 129, 136, and 150.

23. See H.S. Bennett, *English Books & Readers 1603-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970), pp. 23-39.

24. Cf. Bennett, *English Books & Readers 1603-1640*: "Despite all that can be said about the way in which patronage was sought for by some, this must not obscure the fact that in many other cases the choice of a patron was animated by a desire of the author to put on record his sincere thanks for help of various kinds" (p. 35).

25. Arthur F. Marotti's earlier book (*John Donne, Coterie Poet* [Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1986]) is especially insistent on this point, since the decision itself is inimical to Marotti's thesis. Just as "Donne's restriction of his contemporary readership was a deliberate act" (xi) relative to his *wishes* for his manuscript poems (even if, in manuscript circulation, he could not maintain strict control over the distribution of his verses), Donne's publication in printed media of the *Anniversaries*, as well as the later religious writings published in his lifetime, constituted deliberate acts, laden with multiple and (apparently) contradictory impulses. To accept Marotti's homogenizing vision of Donne's canon would require us to begin by "setting aside the atypical case of the *Anniversaries*," precisely in order to view them as subordinate to Marotti's thesis, a scheme his next clause imposes from his literal reading of the letters to Goodyer and Garrard.

When Marotti finally approaches the question of why Donne published the *Anniversaries* in printed form, his certainty falters. First, he must claim (in the absence of proof) that "the *Anniversaries* had *both* a coterie readership and a public audience reached through the medium of print." He invents a context

in which Joseph Hall and the Drurys became the recipients of a coterie, manuscript text (a "fairly restricted readership"), which then was circulated "in either manuscript or printed form" to "Donne's circle of friends and acquaintances, men like Garrard and Goodyer . . ." (244).

More importantly, Marotti never really addresses why Donne would bother "making the act of praise public by having the poems printed" (182). So intent is he to read the *Anniversaries* "as patronage verse reflecting Donne's continuing desire for advancement" (235), that he implausibly insists that the "association of courtly success and spiritual health" (227) plays a more central role in the poems than the "intellectually and emotionally trivial complaints about astronomical irregularities" (238), the "comic treatment" of which, he claims in a flight of polemical fancy, "is, however, quite obvious" (240). Such uncritical appeals to exegetical obviousness of tone become especially troubling in the context of a work so fervently committed to the re-examination of what has been commonly accepted.

26. In addition, the channels of patronage available to Donne were by no means limited to the obvious ones. Donne's associations with the ancient Catholic nobility of England, as Dennis Flynn (*John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* [Bloomington and Indianapolis: U of Indiana P, 1995]) has provocatively argued, "was of longer duration and deeper significance than has been thought . . ..This link to the ancient Catholic nobility was a matter of honor that remained a presence throughout his life, part of his family's Catholic heritage" (p.5). Indeed, as a result of this link "Donne's contemporaries apparently viewed him not as the desperately ambitious, place-seeking, social-climbing son of a hardware salesman, but as a person of remarkable honor" (pp.176-77).

27. Annabel Patterson has amply demonstrated the vital importance of attuning ourselves to the tonal subtleties of Donne's epistolary rhetoric: "Donne had good reason to identify the familiar letter as . . . a transitional genre between private speech and public communication . . . . One has to be somewhat wary here . . . because familiar letters have generic conventions . . . . Donne's letters produce, as a group of texts, an effect of strain, even of danger, in excess of generic shaping . . ." (*Censorship and Interpretation: The Condition of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* [Madison: U of Wisconson P, 1984], p.103). Indeed, humanists, such as Erasmus in his *De conscribendis epistolis* (1520), endorsed a flexible approach to letter writing that would counter the literal-mindedness of adherents to formulaic rhetorical methods: "Qui in epistolis vnum aliquem characterem vel requirunt, vel praescribunt, id quod ab eruditioribus etiam quibusdam video factum: ii mihi nimirum de re tam multiplici, propeque in infinitum varia nimis anguste atque arcte videntur agere" (*Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* [Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1971], vol.1, pt.2, p.209). ["Those who either demand or

prescribe in a letter some one style—as I have seen done even by certain learned men—are, in my view, dealing with a very complex subject of nearly infinite variety too narrowly and severely" (cited and trans. by R.V. Young and M. Thomas Hester, in Justus Lipsius, *Principles of Letter-Writing: A Bilingual Text of "Justi Lipsi Epistolica Institutio"*, trans. and ed. Young and Hester [Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1996], p.xxi)]. For a sample of the limber tone and attitude of which humanist correspondents in the Renaissance were capable, see the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, published anonymously from 1515-17 and attributed principally to Ulrich von Hutten, available in a modern English translation as *On the Eve of the Reformation: Letters of Obscure Men*, trans. Francis Griffin Stokes, intro. Hajo Holborn (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

28. Richard B. Wollman, "The 'Press and the Fire': Print and Manuscript Culture in Donne's Circle," *SEL* 33 (1993): 85-97, quotation on p. 94. In addition to providing a much needed corrective to the "standard" narrative about Donne's relation to print and manuscript dissemination, Wollman refocuses our attention on Donne's use of the verbs "decline" and "descend" when applied to printing.

29. R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1970), p.244. In support of his dating for the publication, Bald cites Sir Arthur Throckmorton's diary, which shows that he received a copy of *An Anatomie* on 21 November 1611. For details concerning the superiority of the proofreading of this edition over that of the *First Anniversarie* in the complete edition of 1612, see the comments of the textual editors in *Variorum* 6:38-41, as well as the volume's historical collation.

30. See John Shawcross, "The Making of the Variorum Text of the *Anniversaries*," *John Donne Journal* 3:1 (1984): 63-72.

31. Bald, pp. 240, 243-4.

32. See Maurice Scève, *Délie, Objet de plus haute vertu*, ed. Francoise Charpentier (Paris: Gallimard, 1984). As the editor of this edition points out in her useful introduction, "Délie n'est jamais mise en position de 'sujet' " (p.24). A similar metaphoric mode underlies Drayton's title (perhaps especially in the 1619 edition) for his collection of sonnets, *Idea.* For a generally stimulating discussion of some possible implications of objects in the literature and culture of the period, see the editors' introduction to *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), pp.1-13.

33. Cited by Bald, p.359. In his famous disquisition on style (Epistle XL), Seneca thanks Lucilius for so frequently sending a letter, "which brings us real traces, real evidences, of an absent friend!" ("quae vera amici absentis vestigia, veras notas adferunt" [*Epistles 1-65*, trans. Richard M. Gummere, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1917), pp. 262-65]). Donne was

probably also familiar with the *Epistolica* of Lipsius, who more vividly defines the letter as "a message of the mind to someone who is absent or regarded as absent" ("Scriptum animi nuntium ad absentes, aut quasi absentes" [Ch.2]). Moreover, Lipsius approvingly cites Turpilius' assertion that a letter is "the one thing which makes the absent present" ("Sola res est quae homines absentes, praesentes facit" [Ch. 2]). Indeed, Lipsius regards the simplicity of careless conversation to be the proper aspiration of the writer of the familiar letter, "for in nothing do the nature and individuality of anyone more clearly shine forth...than in a letter" ("Nulla enim ex re magis natura cujusque et certa indoles elucet...quam ex epistola") [Ch.9]). See Young and Hester's bilingual edition (n. 27), from which the translations above are cited.

34. Gosse, *Life and Letters*, 2:123; italics mine. Cf. Wollman, p.90.

35. John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1993), p.133, italics mine; John Donne, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1975), p.3. Citations of the *Devotions* are to this edition.

36. This quotation, which itself follows a quotation from Basil (*Mundi moles liber est*), appears in *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1953-62), IX.17, p.373. Hereafter, I will refer to this edition in parentheses in the text.

37. The quotation of Rhodes is from the introduction to his edition of John Donne, *Selected Prose* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), p.18. In his note on the passage, Rhodes quotes St. Bernard (*Sermones de diversis*, IX): "There will be a time when heaven will be folded just like a book, in which certainly no-one should ever have to read again, because they will all be able to be taught by God." For a concise history of the book as a metaphor in Christian thought, including excerpts from Augustine (*Sermo* sup. Matt. 11:25-26) and Hugh of St. Victor (*De Tribus Diebus*, 4), see William Kinsley's entry under "Book" in *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*, gen. ed. David Lyle Jeffrey (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1992).

38. Dante, *Paradiso*, 33.85-90, trans. Charles S. Singleton (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1975), pp. 376-77.

39. John Donne, *The Divine Poems*, ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952). Subsequent citations of these poems are to this edition.

40. Thus, the anatomy as a genre of inquiry accumulates significance as a transitional literary form, especially as the scientific method mobilized in the genre's *topoi* resonates along broader cultural lines, as method becomes epistemology. Devon Hodges documents the role the anatomy played in "the breaking up of the idealized body of man," which was predicated on such ideas a Galen's concept in *De Usu Partium* that "in every case the body is adapted to the character and faculty of the soul" (cited by Hodges, p. 4). In the

anatomical text, "microcosm becomes matter to be enumerated," a process of dislocation Hodges sees reinforced by the artist illustrating the book, who "gives this violent process a strange dignity, which is partially an acknowledgment of the anatomist's claim that fragmentation is a means of getting at a unified truth" (p.5). Insofar as anatomy "is a method for revealing order, but . . . also causes decay" (p.6), "the procedure creates and discovers the world" (p.15). In doing so, an anatomist "condemns vice to a worldly materiality and, at the same time, reveals his own preference for a language attached to visible matter" (p.16). This paradox is endemic to the very word "anatomy," as its etymology demonstrates: "'Anatomy' is related to the word 'tome' from the Greek 'tomos,' which means a piece cut off, a part of a book, a volume (another word suggesting depth) which has its origin in a roll of paper" (p. 129, n.25). For an excellent recent study of "the culture of dissection" in the Renaissance, see Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995); see also Elaine Scarry, "Donne: 'But yet the body is his booke," in *Literature and the Body: Essays on Populations and Persons*, ed. Elaine Scarry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1988), pp. 70-105. For an estimation of the influence contemporary anatomies exerted over Donne's poems, see Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Donne's "Anniversaries" and the Poetry of Praise: The Creation of a Symbolic Mode* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1973), pp.225-63. Donne made use of this metaphor not infrequently, as, for example, in his funeral sermon on John 11:21: "This Text which you Heare, *Martha's* single words, complicated with this Text which you See, The dead body of this our Brother, makes up between them this body of Instruction for the soule" (*Sermons* VII.10, p. 259).

41. See *Var.* 6:88. The errata sheet which bears the correction is extant in only one copy, now in the Cambridge University Library, and was discovered in 1946. See John Shawcross, "The Making of the Variorum Text of the *Anniversaries,*" p.66. The sheet, ironically drawing out the homonym, prints, "for reders r[ead] redresse." The text is reproduced in facsimile in Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr John Donne*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), facing p. 172.

42. *John Donne: The Anniversaries*, ed. Frank Manley (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1963), p.200.

43. *The Complete Poetry of John Donne*, ed. John T. Shawcross (New York: Doubleday, 1967), p. 306.

44. So, in "The Exstasie," the final two stanzas orchestrate terms that bring the act of reading into alignment with the soul's vacating the body in a rapture. Since "Loves mysteries in soules doe grow, / But yet the body is his booke" (71-2), the unified soul of the lovers becomes "this dialogue of one" (74), whereas each appears empirically to reside in a separate "booke." But, as Richard Wollman rightly notes, "The 'dialogue of one' makes the lovers *a*

speaking book that is silent to most of us ('weake men'), but may be heard by one who is also a 'lover,' someone who 'by love refined' may understand the 'soules language'" (p.92; italics mine). Therefore, when a reader returns from the ecstatic state of reading such a text as "The Exstasie" or the *Anniversaries*, he or she has metaphorically retained the spirit of the words. In this way, Donne imbricates us virtuous readers as lovers who "shall see / Small change, when we'are to bodies gone" (75-6).

45. In Elegy XIX (Grierson's number), "To his Mistris Going to Bed," Donne coyly makes use of election as a metaphor for seduction. That is to say, the pattern of having successfully seen the mistress in "Full nakedness" suggests that the male lover has been granted women's "imputed grace" (33, 42). Since women "Themselves are mystique bookes" (41), the unlettered laity can only see their beautiful covers, whereas the elect cleric "Must see reveal'd" (43) the significance of the text itself. Notably, in "A Nocturnall upon S. Lucies Day," the speaker of the poem, outliving his lover but not his love, becomes a pattern for future lovers: "Study me then, you who shall lovers bee / At the next world, that is, at the next Spring" (10-11). In the "Hymne to God my God, in my sicknesse," Donne recomposes the metaphor, projecting into the afterlife the pattern of humility and patience brought on by his raging fever: "And as to others soules I preach'd thy word, / Be this my Text, my Sermon to mine owne..." (28-29). In the love lyrics, the intersubjectively created microcosm of the lovers becomes a text for posterity to read and learn by (cf. Anthony Low, "John Donne: 'Defects of lonelinesse,'" *The Reinvention of Love: Poetry, Politics, and Culture from Sidney to Milton* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993], pp.31-64). Most famously, in the "hymnes" by which "all shall approve" the lovers as saints in "The Canonization," love's martyrs will be invoked to serve as "A patterne of your love" (35, 45). In "A Valediction: of the Booke," Donne binds the two lovers together like a codex, a chronicle *précis* of the letters they traded as they professed their love:

> Study our manuscripts, those Myriades
> Of letters, which have past twixt thee and mee,
> Thence write our Annals, and in them will bee,
> To all whom loves subliming fire invades,
> Rule and example found;
> There, the faith of any ground
> No schismatique will dare to wound,
> That sees, how Love this grace to us affords,
> To make, to keep, to use, to be these his Records.
> (10-18)