John Donne Journal
Vol. 17 (1998)

Piety and the Genre of Donne's *Devotions*

Kate Narveson

When we look at recent scholarship on Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, it's remarkable how the work continues to license a range of incompatible explanations. Most recently, for instance, Mary Arshagouni Papazian has aligned Donne with John Bunyan, disputing Joan Webber's use of the two to represent an opposition between Anglican and Puritan mentalities. Yet Richard Strier joins Webber in asserting Donne's opposition to Puritanism, and aligns Donne with the "avant-garde conformity" of the proto-Laudians.[1] How can Donne be both Puritan and anti-Puritan in one work? More importantly, why the difficulty defining Donne's religious sympathies, and what can we claim about them? Is he just theologically slippery? Is he ridden by non-theological demons, as John Carey and Arthur Marotti have argued?[2] Or do we need a new approach to understanding religious positions and their literary manifestations in the early Stuart period?

One such approach would be to look beyond doctrine and church polity to "piety," a term church historians use to denote an overall way of being godly, or "a person's essential religiousness which underlies all religious obedience, actions and virtues...both public and private."[3] Church historians speak of a person's "style" of piety, not in the sense that this style is consciously assumed but rather in the sense that godly actions exhibit distinctive traces of upbringing, natural leanings, and communal influences.[4] One's style of piety can involve inclinations about doctrine—how much emphasis is placed on the spirit as opposed to the letter of the law, how much emphasis on the social gospel as opposed to soteriology—

and about accoutrements of worship; some believers feel that something is wrong unless the best linen and silver are used at Communion, while others reply that Christ's blood is Christ's blood even in a Dixie cup. Today, believers tend to shop for a church that accords with their piety. But even within the parish system of early Stuart England, believers forged links to others of a similar piety, and sought to extend the mesh through publication of devotional literature expressing and teaching their piety.

One consequence of shifting our attention to piety is that we observe that divergent pieties can endorse the same doctrine.[5] Attention to piety is necessary to determine the experiential force of a doctrinal statement to a specific believer. Although, as recent studies of the early Stuart church have shown, believers did not identify with clearly defined party lines, a believer would nonetheless feel strong identification with a particular way of being godly—a piety—and communities came together around shared pieties.[6] These pieties drew from a galaxy of possible attitudes about doctrine, church order, relations to fellow believers, sense of the work of the spirit, etc. A particular attitude could be shared by different pieties but bear a different weight within each.[7] Donne might to a large extent agree with the Augustinian soteriology of Calvin and Bunyan, and he might also share certain anti-Puritan attitudes with Laud. But the whole to which Donne attached those stances is not that of either Bunyan or Laud.

Piety is a useful construct for literary scholars because it influences not only doctrinal emphases but also a person's sense of how to cultivate and express faith. Devotional literature in turn tends to be a sensitive meter of piety because it brings together all of piety's components—theology and the messier matter of lived experience; senses of what figures are exemplary; a sense of personal relation to God and of how that relation is mediated by one's religious community; and attitudes about language, about what style and genre best further devotion. Not surprisingly, we find that the various early Stuart pieties each produced characteristic forms and styles of devotional literature. To focus solely on content is to ignore the

choices about how to write that signal an author's piety. And that piety can help us determine the specific emphasis of theological or ecclesiological statements.

Looking at Donne's choices in writing the *Devotions* within this context, we will discover Donne's affinity with a "contented" conformity that endorsed the established church not simply as a compromise but as a well-reformed institution uniquely fitted to edify and promote true worship, and to avoid the errors of extremists on either side. To demonstrate Donne's participation in this contented conformity, I will first look briefly at his attitudes in the context of contemporary positions. However, since the devil may quote Donne to suit his purposes, I will then give more detailed attention to Donne's choice of devotional form and style, and will argue that his literary choices place him firmly within what I label a "confession-centered" type of conformist piety.

Richard Strier's study of the *Devotions* undertakes something like the new approach I advocate, linking Donne to a set of attitudes both theological (anti-Calvinism) and ceremonial (proto-Laudianism), and to a group mentality that they are indicative of, which Peter Lake calls "avant-garde conformity."[8] Strier draws on Lake in arguing that Donne's anti-Puritan barbs and endorsement of church ordinances indicate avant-garde leanings. But Lake's warning about Laudianism can be applied equally to avant-garde conformity: àffiliation cannot be identified by "Shibboleths, opinions, or attitudes which wherever they occur betray the presence of `Laudianism'. For what was distinctive about Laudianism...was not so much any of the individual opinions that made up the whole but the overall package, the ideological synthesis, and the resulting style."[9] This caution allows us to ask whether Strier has looked far enough for the piety that conditions Donne's attitudes, especially since other scholars have found sufficient cause to speak of Donne's "Puritan" imagination and locate him within English Calvinism.[10]

These differing judgments are possible because conformity (in preference to the anachronistic "Anglicanism"), while evoked by church historians as a foil to Puritanism or the avant-garde, has

received little attention in its own right. "Contented conformity" is my own coinage and I will begin to give it content by responding to Strier's study. Strier's case partly rests on theology; he points out that Donne's comment, "thou [God] doest not plant grace but in good natures," is "straightforward Thomism" (107). Donne's disinclination to engage in wranglings that "tend not to edification," though, makes it possible to find equally Calvinist formulations within the *Devotions*.[11] Donne prays, for instance, that God preserve him from "all such distempers, as might shake the assurance which my selfe and others have had, that because thou hast loved me, thou wouldst love me to my end, and at my end" (Pr. 5), a hope based on the doctrine of perseverance.[12]

Strier's larger argument draws on ecclesiology, aligning Donne with the avant-garde conformity described by Lake. Lake lists among its features concern for uniformity, prayer over preaching, congregational worship over individual devotion, and humble reverence and a rich church fabric befitting the presence of God, as well as a charge that Puritans focus on doctrinal debate rather than practical godliness.[13] Lake notes, however, that many of these attitudes are held singly or in some combination by conformists who are not of the avant-garde; the catalyst that created the avant-garde was a fundamental re-envisioning of the nature and efficacy of worship, reoriented around a sacrificial conception of prayer and the Eucharist, which engendered the concern for uniformity and the sacredness of ritual and place, and the de-emphasis on preaching.[14]

Strier demonstrates that Donne shared many attitudes typical of the avant-garde—he felt the special force of God's presence in congregational worship, emphasized the church's ordinances, was intolerant of Puritan extremist attacks on externals such as bells, and castigates schismatical conventicles (101-8). Yet Strier does not detail any attendant focus on the Eucharist and sacrificial worship, nor any detraction of preaching. Whether, then, Donne's anti-Puritan attitudes were unified by a proto-Laudian discontent with the established church or represent standard conformist anti-puritanism needs further examination.

In fact, an examination of contented conformity calls Strier's claims in doubt, and bears out Lake's suggestion that potentially avant-garde views were also common among conformists who embraced established ways. For instance, even a firmly Calvinist conformist like Daniel Featley (chaplain to Archbishop Abbot) ranked public worship over private devotion in efficacy. For Featley, this is because God touches the elect through the preached Word. Unlike anti-Calvinists, Featley refers to worship as the ministry of the Word; however, unlike Puritans, he never criticizes set prayer or distinguishes between godly and ungodly in the congregation. His sense of God's presence in worship is distinctive of contented conformists in stressing both the special unifying nature of public worship and the centrality of the Word as conduit of Grace: "in the publike Ministery of the Word, the Spirit commeth downe like a mighty rushing Winde filling the whole roome, [and] we receive then Grace in a fuller measure."[15]

Other contented conformists who similarly celebrated congregational worship were uncomfortable with a perceived Puritan overemphasis on doctrine, and elevated public prayer to equal status with the sermon. The stress on public prayer also countered the unhealthy individualism that conformists perceived in Puritanism. Samuel Gardiner wrote that prayers "of Christians in their closets, the doores shut upon them, are not without their vertue and effect, but the multitude in the open church, in their prayers, exceed them in the efficacie thereof." Thomas Tymme exults that public prayer, "as it seemes to maintaine the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace: so it increaseth the hope and comfort of the Church, and efficacie of our prayers with God, when the whole congregation, speakes one and the same thing, like the Church triumphant in Heaven."[16] For most, the stress on public prayer emerges from a sense of unity and harmony and is a sign of how well-reformed the English Church is. But the Reformation emphasis on preaching is not lost. The potential to touch the hearts of the lukewarm as well as the need to confirm the faith of the godly lent an evangelical warmth to many conformist sermons.[17]

Thus, for contented conformists, unity need not imply uniformity; concern for public prayer need not imply a devaluation of preaching; and concern for decency need not, in the first place, imply a desire for elaborate ritual or church fittings as sacred in themselves, and might, in the second, regard decorous words and gestures as things ultimately indifferent though valuable as expressions of order pleasing to an orderly God. Conformists place a positive but relative value on the accoutrements of worship. Even a Calvinist like Featley is concerned to endorse them and defend against puritan criticism. Featley cites Richard Hooker's claim that feast days are "forcible witnesses of ancient truth," and explains that "holinesse is twofold, inward and inherent, outward and relative." God sanctifies times and places, as when "Gods particular presence makes the place an holy Temple" or "his speciall work on the day makes the day a Feast." This presence or work leaves "a kinde of impression" upon the time or place, and "to deny them therfore Outward or relative Holiness is prophannesse," though they remain signs of holiness and are not holy in themselves. The Church of England, Featley concludes, steers a true course between Puritan prophaness, and the superstition of Catholics who grant outward signs inherent holiness.[18]

Contented conformists, then, shared these attitudes within a basic satisfaction with the existing church, while the avant-garde fundamentally re-envisioned worship and campaigned for change. Not only does Donne lack the avant-garde's eucharistic revisionism and tendency to situate holiness in things, he retains a stress on the centrality of the preached word and frequently celebrates congregational worship.[19] In his sermons Donne argues, for instance, that though a person in private hears "Gods soft and whispering voyce," yet "thinke not thy spirituall resurrection accomplished, till, in this place, thou heare his loud voyce...in his Church." At the same time, Donne balances God's voice with the congregation's joint response. The congregation adumbrates the Church Triumphant. "I finde," Donne states, "the highest exaltations, and the noblest elevations of my devotion, *when I give thanks in the great Congregation, and*

praise him among much people, for, so me thinks, I come nearer and nearer to the Communion of Saints in Heaven" (IV:70, 84).

Like other contented conformists, Donne values congregational worship because it makes possible a mutual strengthening of faith, and because its abundant multiplicity of means and witnesses is a key part of assurance. While avoiding "doubtful" disputes about election, Donne maintains a basically Calvinist understanding of assurance. English Calvinists tended to link assurance to "evidences," spawning on the Puritan side a genre of devotional literature detailing the "marks of faith" to be found in one's thoughts, words, and deeds. Donne, on the other hand, shows his conformist leanings by avoiding this subjectivism. Assurance is conveyed not simply by an inner sense or outward marks but by the Church's witness. Grace, hearts, hands, and tongues are on a continuum, and it is the concurrence of all that gives a believer assurance of election: "Herein is our assurance, an election there is; The Spirit beares witnesse to our spirit, that it is ours; We testifie this in a holy life; and the Church of God, and the whole world joynes in this testimony" (V:74). God's election allows assurance, but Donne's conformist sensibility does not stop with the inner witness of the Spirit and the testimony of a holy life, which are standard themes of English Puritan devotion. Rather, with other contented conformists, he insists on a final element, the testimony of the church and indeed the whole world. The overflowing witness and the confirmation of religious identity in congregational worship echo the exuberance of Robert Hill, Thomas Tymme, or Daniel Featley.

The *Devotions* joins the sermons in insisting on the interconnection between public witness and assurance. The problem of assurance preoccupies Donne, and sickroom isolation forces him to broaden his understanding of the public witnesses that allow assurance. Donne feels a bitter sense of excommunication, yet he discovers means in illness of finding a community "by way of reflection[;] in the consolation of his temporall or spirituall servants and ordinances: one can look on God" (Ex. 5). God provides signs—the funeral bell, the pigeon, the "voices" of Scripture—and

Donne finds connections between world, Word, conscience, and experience, until he realizes that "meanes are not meanes, but in their concatenation, as they depend, and are chained together" (Ex. 19). In each devotion, Donne achieves assurance through the concatenation of God's signs and his own interpretive efforts. Each devotion must recapitulate the movement from sin to assurance, for God "wouldest have us alwaies sure of [God's] love, and yet wouldest have us alwaies doing something for it." Donne thus prays "let mee alwaies so apprehend thee, as present with me, and yet so follow after thee, as though I had not apprehended thee" (Pr. 22). The *Devotions* hold in tension the believer's genuine assurance and his continual effort to know and serve God through attention to God's signs and voices.

Donne's attention to the public might seem to support Strier's argument that, like the avant-garde, "Donne does not see God as primarily concerned with the private, non-social realm of the heart" (104). Strier traces the trajectory of Donne's imagery from private to institutional, noting, for instance, that Donne's thoughts in isolation, identifying the feathers of his bed with the thorns of illness, lead him to desire the thorns to become feathers again, this time identified with the Dove of the ark as the "Instruments of true comfort" in the "Ordinances of thy Church" (Pr. 3). Strier sees the direction of Donne's thought as part of a avant-garde conformist "paean to religious non-immediacy" (105). Yet Donne does not end the prayer with that desire for eventual recourse to the ordinances. He returns to the immediate circumstances, the "bedde of sloth, and worse than sloth" to entreat God to "enable me according to thy command, to commune with mine owne heart upon my bed, and be still." This process of self-communion, with the heart's immediate experience, will then allow Donne to dispose his sins in Christ's wounds, and "to rest in that assurance, that my Conscience is discharged from further anxietie, and my soule from farther danger." Certainly Donne misses the extra ratification of the ordinances, but he does not so focus on them as to exclude what Calvin himself described, that the individual heart could through devotional exami-

nation discover its faith, placed in Christ, and so discharge its anxiety. For Calvin, "the occasion that best stimulates [believers] to call upon God" is that experience in which "distressed by their own need, they are troubled by the greatest unrest, and are almost driven out of their senses, until faith opportunely comes to their relief." Calvin argued that this pattern of unrest, devotional seeking, and relief recur throughout life; Donne represents this recurrence in each of twenty-three devotions.[20]

Indeed, while English anti-Calvinists elevated the mediation of the ordinances out of discomfort with the Reformation stress on self-examination, for Donne, consideration of one's state is a duty.[21] From the first devotion, Donne thematizes the need to awake to the pulse in his soul and consider his spiritual health. Donne's introduction of the problem makes it clear that his devotions will ask how rather than whether to engage in the practice. Donne chides himself for the sort of "vaine imaginations"

> that it is an overcurious thing, a dangerous thing, to come to that tendernesse, that rawnesse, that scrupulousnesse, to fear every concupiscence, every offer of Sin, that this suspicious, and jealous diligence will turne to an inordinate dejection of spirit, and a diffidence in [God's] care and providence. (Pr. 1)

Donne rejects such arguments. The contrast between his immediate sensitivity to physical collapse and his reluctant attention to his inner state warns him that the Christian should welcome a state in which sin touches a raw nerve.

Donne therefore stresses the reassuring thought that God will prevent "inordinate" dejection in those who examine their souls. In Devotion 6, Donne tells God that though scrupulosity awakes fear, "thy feare" is better than neglect of contemplation. To show that tenderness of conscience is not necessarily dangerous, Donne invokes the simultaneity of justification and sin. He need not despond; his "leprous soule ... attends guiltily, but yet comfortably" God's judgment (Ex. 9). Like Calvin, Donne associates comfort

with God's decrees: though sin persists, God need only refer him to the promises written in Scripture and he will be healed. Donne also records this conviction in the first devotion; he must watch for sin while at the same time he is

> establish'd, both in a constant assurance, that thou wilt speak to me...and that, if I take knowledg of that voice then, and flye to thee, thou wilt preserve me from falling, or raise me againe, when by naturall infirmitie I am fallen. (Pr. 1)

Donne can confront his infirmity because God can prevent or overrule the power of sin. Godly fear springs naturally from consciousness of sin but, counterbalanced by the assurance given by faith, does not debilitate.[22]

Thus, Donne does see God as concerned with the heart, as demanding self-examination. The difficulty comes in knowing the heart, and Donne, like many early modern Protestants, looks at it as part of a continuum, its disposition witnessed not only by the hand but by a plethora of other voices and signs. Donne's expectation that assurance will come from "assistances" is not a mark of "avant-garde" leanings. It marks a contented conformist's attempt to make space for the institutional church of a sort lacking in Puritanism and to model a devotional process that looks outward as much as inward for assurance. Against the Puritan tendency to so emphasize self-examination that they seemed to locate the responsibility for assurance in the believer, Donne and other contented conformists wanted to keep the final focus on God.[23] This attempt is nonetheless made within the broadly Calvinistic frame of mind that looks for assurance from marks and signs witnessing to faith.

This brief sketch of Donne's place within Jacobean conformity indicates that the *Devotions*'s concern for the ordinances and its anti-Puritan jabs are best located within a basically Calvinist contented conformity. This context also allows us to reconcile Donne's anti-Puritanism with the Augustinian theology and use of the self as spiritual exemplar noted by Mary Papazian, who traces the many

parallels between Donne and Bunyan in their soteriology, and shows the basis for their doctrine in Calvin and Augustine.[24] Since most contented conformists were more or less Calvinist in their soteriology, Donne's affinity to Bunyan reflects their rather general similarity in understandings of sin and Grace, the human and divine roles in salvation.

But while useful in its insistence on Donne's Protestantism, Papazian's study leaves many questions open about Donne's more immediate affinities. Donne clearly was not in sympathy with the sort of piety that Bunyan represents, and was far more vague about soteriology than Calvinists of the Puritan bent; so where did his religious sympathies lie? Further, there is the question of genre. With Kate Frost and N.J.C. Andreasen, Papazian points out that the *Devotions* can be read in the tradition of spiritual autobiography exemplified by Augustine's *Confessions*.[25] But Papazian dismisses generic differences between the *Devotions* and *Grace Abounding* as "adiaphora," factors of variations in time and place irrelevant to the basic kinship between the two works.[26] Yet we can't disregard differences between works upon noting the similar philosophies behind them. To focus on content is to ignore the choices about how to write that signal an author's loyalties and determine the specific emphasis of theological or ecclesiological statements.

Each of the early Stuart pieties gravitated toward, and were in turn shaped by, specific types of devotional literature. As I argue elsewhere, while Puritans and non-Puritans seem to have employed similar devotional methods in private, they diverge with notable consistency in the sort of devotional works they publish.[27] In publishing, a writer intends to shape the piety of his readers, to draw people into the community of those who envision a certain sort of relationship to God and their fellow godly. Generic choices reveal different senses of how to engage the minds, affections, and imaginations of the reader, which faculties to appeal to and what to leave to the motions of the Spirit in the reader's own heart. Unlike Puritans, conformist writers tend to publish set prayers and meditations, holding that most people are not skilled in composing devo-

tions and the effort to find words will take all their energy, detracting from the focused devotion that is the real object. Further, the lack of skill tends to produce ridiculous or nonsensical devotions. Finally, because true godliness is an ideal that all Christians strive for, the words of one believer can voice the situation of another, as David's Psalms speak of the tribulation, longing, and joy that all experience.

While these general assumptions characterize contented conformist devotion as a whole, the devotional literature and piety of conformity can be distinguished into broad types. Joseph Hall's *Meditations and Vowes* clearly represents a different sort of piety than that shaping the *Devotions*, which I call "confession-centered" because the devotional form it developed sought to voice the basic dynamic of repentance and faith through a first-person "confession" of sin and faith. In this piety's devotional form, believers address the self, soul, and God as they meditate and expatiate on the interconnections among God, world, and speaker, alternately considering, questioning, acknowledging, dramatizing the self, testifying, and praying. This sort of devotion does not engage the "practical" godliness that Helen White found to typify English Protestant writings.[28] Nor is this the sort of self-reflection that involved casting up one's accounts with God—examining the day's transactions in good and sinful thoughts and deeds. Rather, this "soul talk" examines and confesses the believer's spiritual estate as an inner condition implicated in a divine cosmology.

There was no consistent term for this form in the early Stuart period. I have chosen to call it the holy soliloquy; meditation is too broad and diverse a category.[29] The term "soliloquy" was used by a number of Donne's contemporaries. For Richard Sibbes, soliloquy imitates the Psalms, which are "as it were, the anatomy of a holy man, which lay the insides of a truly devout man outward to the view of others." For Paul Bayne, soliloquy is a "wrestling and contention" in which "wee commune with our owne soules, and excite them towards God."[30] Sibbes and Bayne were Puritans, and their praise witnesses to the appeal to many early Stuart Protestants of the

soliloquy as a form of private devotion. Sibbes and his fellow Puritans, however, did not publish works in that genre. Those who did were contented conformists who, imitating David's Psalms and Augustine's *Confessions*, published their soliloquies to be exemplary and useful to others in spiritual distress. The form appealed to them because it accorded with their sense that godliness begins with an equal scrutiny of the soul and God's promises, leading to renewed assurance and cultivating the devout affectivity that must be the basis for any action.[31] Unlike much Puritan self-examination, though, which looks for marks of faith to see if one is of the elect, confession-centered piety sees the devotional process as sufficient evidence that one is upheld by grace. By inviting others to share in the process, this devotional form implies that practitioners are not to dwell on whether they are elect, or on the precise order of salvation, but to plunge right into devotion with the faith that God accepts them. This assumption joins with the assumption that underlies publication, that assurance must be ratified not only in the heart but in public sharing, just as private prayer must issue in public worship. These beliefs suit the genre to the piety of contented conformists like Donne.

My starting point for a definition of the *Devotions*'s genre is thus the attitudes held by a type of piety, which underwrite a certain sort of devotional project and its attendant genre. Critics who have proposed generic models for the *Devotions* have based their judgments on what they perceive to be a symptomatic central theme, whether affliction, repentance, or holy dying. But they have agreed only that none of these themes adequately embraces the whole work. Failure to find an obvious prototype or theory for the *Devotions* led its recent editor, Anthony Raspa, to accept Helen White's assertion that the *Devotions* is a unique work in "Anglican" devotional literature.[32] But Raspa's sense of Donne's isolation from common practice results primarily from the failure to recognize a devotional mode constituted from certain postures and processes more than from formal elements. While the division into twenty-three tripartite units is unique, the *Devotions* more generally considered were not without precedent.

One person who has focused on procedure and purpose is Kate Frost. She holds that the *Devotions* should be understood as spiritual autobiography, "events in historical time become emblems of spiritual change" and the "recounting of th[e] past becomes in itself an act of devotion."[33] Frost argues that for his chief model Donne turned to Augustine, who read his life through typological and providential frameworks and offered that life for the edification of fellow Christians. References to the *Confessions* in the *Devotions* support Frost's claim.[34] Both authors explore God's hand in their life in order to bear thankful witness to God's ways, and both thematize the individual's attempt to understand his relationship to God. But differences between the works qualify the way Donne drew on autobiographical tradition. Most basically, the *Confessions* relates a narrative, while narrative in the *Devotions* is attenuated. For Augustine, events cause spiritual development. In the *Devotions*, though, events are "occasions" for meditation on an existing situation, each laying out a field of signs that calls for exploration as Donne confronts the problem of interpreting his illness as beneficial affliction and describes repeated efforts to transcend a human perspective. Thus the *Devotions* is not an autobiography in the sense that the *Confessions* is.

Donne's interest in the *Confessions* and in Augustine's devotional method can, though, be related to the holy soliloquy, for that genre was launched in English largely through translations of works attributed to Augustine. The *Confessions* themselves did not appear in English until 1620, though scholars knew the Latin. But English writers had another source for "Augustinian" devotional practice. Both in the medieval and in reformed devotional traditions, the devout could turn to pseudo-Augustinian devotional works associated with the *Confessions*.[35] These were translated in Protestant versions by Thomas Rogers in 1581, as *A Pretious Booke of Heavenlie Meditations; a Private talke of the soule with God, A right Christian Treatise, entituled S. Augustines praiers, and Saint Augustines Manual: Containing speciall, and picked meditations, and godlie Prayers*.[36]

Rogers' work set the pattern for holy soliloquy. His pseudo-Augustinian translations remained popular, going through at least 11 editions by 1640. In both the *Pretious Booke* and the *Manual*, the rhetorical stance shows a special debt to Augustine. Through paradox, the speaker confesses God's attributes:

> O Lorde, thou fillest heaven and earth, bearing up all things, and yet not burthened: filling all things, and yet not included: alwaies working, and yet ever quiet, gathering and yet lacking nought, seeking and yet wanting nought.[37]

This confession of faith soon shifts to confession of dependence: "Mercifull GOD, I beseech thee, forsake him not which calleth upon thee now: for before ever I could call upon thee, thou diddest not call mee onely, but also seeke mee." Confession of sin follows, in the context of dependence and of general human sinfulness: "But where is there so pure a temple in man, that it may receive thee which rulest the world? who can bring a clean thing out of filthiness? but thou alone who onely art pure."[38] This questioning stance resembles that of the *Confessions* and the *Devotions*.[39] Protestants may not have been able to read the *Confessions* in English, but a confessional devotion, both passionate and argumentative, had been extracted from Augustine's autobiographical framework and made widely available.[40] Thus, while Donne of course knew the *Confessions* in Latin, he also would have known the Augustinian devotional process manifested in holy soliloquies, in which a soul's history was attenuated and the focus placed on its duty to confront personal corruption and to praise God's gracious choice to overlook sin. Donne joins other soliloquizers in alternately addressing God and his soul with questions and exclamations, in confessing sin within the context of praise and faith, and in reminding God of the meditator's place in God's pattern.

Comparison with another collection of soliloquies will highlight the *Devotions*' participation in that genre. Among works that Donne could easily have known was Sir John Hayward's popular *Sanctuarie*

of a Troubled Soule (1601, at least 13 editions by 1640).[41] The two works are similar in a number of ways, though not, perhaps in the quality of the prose. In formal terms, the *Sanctuarie* provides the closest parallel to the *Devotions* of any work I found. Hayward divides his meditations into discourse, consideration, and prayer.[42] These parts are long and are not always set off typographically; as much as a literary model, they reflect a sense of the natural progress of a meditation through reason to affective application. While the sections within each devotion are not as clearly marked, the *Sanctuarie*, like Donne's work, consists of a series of distinct devotions.

Both authors address the problem of waking to sinfulness and of discerning God's regard by looking outward, to precedents and promises. While Hayward's soliloquies are tied not to an occasion but to a spiritual state, his method of reading that state resembles Donne's on several counts. It is densely metaphorical, deriving many of its figures from Scripture, and it strives for a more committed attention to God than, the meditator confesses, has been his wont. Hayward's opening prayer takes a stance familiar from the *Devotions*:

> Defend my weake heart from spirituall assaults; restrain my wild and wandring imaginations, which are like the fowles that came to hinder Abrahams offering: whippe out of my soule those theevish thoughts, which are like to buyers, and sellers, and changers in thy temple. Wherewith, although all men are (in some measure) molested, yet more especially such wicked weaklings as I; even as flies swarme thicker about a sore beast, then about a sound.... And therefore, O good Jesu, settle thou my scattered thoughts, binde them together with the chaines of thy love, that they range not whether they list freelie, much lesse unlawfullie.[43]

Like Donne in Prayer 1 or Expostulation 21, Hayward finds himself helpless and plagued by sin. He feels that God must bind his thoughts to save him from himself just as Donne prays for God to

preserve him from inconsideration or relapse. Like Donne, Hayward lets his images—from Scripture and nature—range associatively, from the fowls that hinder Abraham's worship to the moneychangers in the temple to flies about a sore, but at the same time tethers those images to a central conceit, the waywardness of his faculties.

Like Donne looking for the pulse in his soul, Hayward laments that he is not more alive to sin, complaining "it is a great encrease of my miserie, that I am not yet so sharply touched with sorrowe, as both my present distresse and imminent dangers doe urgently require.... What doest thou, O unprofitable soule? O sinfull, O sencelesse soule, wherefore art thou not more livelie moved?" (138). Both Donne and Hayward look back to discover how they came to their present crisis. Both confess complete dependence on Grace and predicate their recovery on God's heeding their cries. Hayward acknowledges God's benefits and his ingratitude: "I have not sufficiently endeavoured, since my calling unto thee, to further thy service, but first, like an olde knottie tree, did stand at one stay; and then turned backe: forsomuch as the not going forward in thy wayes, doeth necessarilie inferre a turning backe" (93, mispaginated 91). Here, in confessing to God how he infers God's meaning, Hayward adumbrates Donne's efforts of interpretation and conversational way of relating to God his own processes of thought.

Hayward's combination of assurance and supplication also looks forward to Donne. He concludes one devotion by declaring

> I assure my selfe, that thy goodnes is as willing to restore as it was to give; and that my weakenes is as able to recover as it was to receive.... Be as great in pardoning those that are submitted unto thee, as in punishing those that are rebellious: poure into my soule the sweete streames of thy grace; conforme my life, confirme my faith... (94).

Donne too takes the fact that he is alive to sin and able to confess as signs that he can expect grace (Ex. 10, 13). For each meditator, the

act of contemplating God's nature becomes grounds for assurance that he can hope for "the sweete streams" of Grace.

Donne and Hayward proceed in each devotion from discursive meditation to affective apprehension to heartfelt appeals. Within the transition from discursive to affective address Hayward, like Donne, uses Scripture to supplement or direct his thoughts; at times, he even uses Scripture as Donne does in the Expostulations, to further a dialogue with God, declaring

> except it please thee to come unto me, where shall I see thee? and how shall I know thee? who dwellest in the light which cannot be approached. The light which cannot be approached? why then the dull will doubt of it, the malicious will denie it, O light of my understanding, where is that light? how shall I attaine? how shall I sustaine it?.... I am desirous to see thee, but no man shall ever see thee, and live: I would come unto thee, but thy place is unapproachable (278).

The phrases and paraphrases of Scripture guide a conversation between the questioning Hayward and the absent but not silent God.[44]

In both subject and method, the *Devotions* and the *Sanctuarie* exhibit the sort of devotional project involved in holy soliloquies in general. But these works vary enough in form to show that their writers approached what they wrote more as the record of a type of devotional practice than as a genre with well-established formal characteristics, and indeed, generic terminology was fluid. In dedicatory epistles, writers of soliloquies call their works meditations, considerations, or contemplations and profess to be following the practice of St. Bernard, Augustine, or Ambrose, imitating the manner in which they conversed with God. That the term "soliloquy" did not seem to refer to any well-defined formal procedures is in fact a reason to adopt it; the term allows for the variations in practice and the tendency to oscillate between meditative and prayerful passages typical of many works of this type. Publishing the second part of the *Sanctuarie*, Hayward explained that "I have

endeavoured, in framing these devotions...so to entermixe meditation and prayer, that they may seeme, as it were, twisted into one thread"; others move more systematically from meditation to prayer.[45] Bishop Arthur Lake, a moderate Calvinist, resembles Donne in using Scripture as the sourcebook for the exegesis of his condition, moving from proposition to affective consideration to prayer within a continuous soliloquy.[46] Phineas Fletcher, on the other hand, clearly divides his soliloquies into two parts, a consideration and a meditation culminating in prayer on each topic.[47] Thus, though in authorial stance much like Ignatian colloquy, the soliloquy did not have a well-defined role as part of a larger devotional scheme.[48] Indeed, the frequency of authorial justifications for experiments in method, and Joseph Hall's comment that "if experience and custom hath made another form familiar to any man, I forbid it not," indicate that discomfort with what was perceived as rote Roman Catholic practice fostered formal experimentation among Protestants.[49] We need not expect to find a close formal model for the *Devotions*; soliloquizers shaped their own variations on a general pattern.

It is clear, though, that the practice was seen as that of an individual. Not only are the Psalms as David's personal devotions the primary biblical precedent (along with Hezekiah's sickbed meditations), but there is evidence that some people distinguished between soliloquies as the expression of an individual's talk with God, and a more public sort of meditation that was a thinking out loud before others. Samuel Purchas, for instance, refers to "my Soliloquies and devoutest Meditations" as the forum in which he "sentenced my selfe guilty" of vanity, before turning those thoughts into the public meditation that is the *Microcosmus*.[50] Hayward's *Sanctuarie*, Lake's *Meditations*, Fletcher's *Consolations*, and Donne's *Devotions* are similar in presenting themselves as the expression of an individual. In assuming the usefulness of the individual voice, in their rhetorical stance toward God and soul, and in the way they group a series of loosely connected devotions moving from meditation to prayer, soliloquies of all sorts share key features of the *Devotions*. This similarity argues that Donne looked

to the holy soliloquy more than to any other devotional genre available in early Stuart England.

As usual, though, Donne transforms what he touches. Space permits only a summary of Donne's innovations. First, where most soliloquies were what Joseph Hall called deliberate meditations, in which the person chose a subject from an abstract store of topics—Christ's passion, human sin, God's providence—Donne chose to write what Hall called occasional meditations, works prompted by something observed in daily life or the world around.[51] This model gave the *Devotions* the sort of situatedness that Reformation readers found in the Psalms, allowing it to share the kind of realism and personal appeal that David's words enjoyed. This situatedness also allows Donne to claim, in his dedicatory letter, the sort of exemplarity exhibited by Hezekiah's meditations—and, we might add, claimed by Augustine for his confessions. Further, by introducing the probing method of holy soliloquy into occasional meditation, Donne transformed the latter, typically a collection of discrete meditations lacking unity and focused on outward occasions—a lark, a storm, a globe—into a sustained and intense series of devotional engagements.

Donne's interest in David's exemplarity is clear in a sermon on Psalm 6; Donne points out that it may be good to express one's repentance to the world, and "so [David] sighed, and so he groaned; he laboured, he was affected bitterly with it himselfe; And he declared it, he made it exemplar, and catechisticall, that his dejection in himselfe, might be an exaltation to others" (VIII, 199).[52] David was ashamed of his sin but not of his sorrow for sin; that sorrow provided the example that could strengthen others. In the *Devotions* Donne states, "I am fallen into the handes of God with David, and with David I see that his Mercies are great" (Pr. 2), and as he declares in the dedication, he sought to make his own dejection "exemplar."

Donne locates the exemplarity of the *Devotions* in the sort of consultative and interpretive activity they exhibit.[53] In the dedication he declares that "examples of Good Kings are Commandments; And Ezechiah writt the Meditations of his Sicknesse, after his

Sicknesse." Donne follows Hezekiah's example by recording meditations that interrogate God about an event.[54] In the 4th Prayer Donne further links exemplarity and observation of events. He asks that God aid the doctors "in that manner, and in that measure, as may most glorifie thee, and most edifie those, who observe the issues of thy servants, to their own spiritual benefit." Manner and measure fall under observation and edify. Donne's readers, too, can observe God's hand in Donne's issues, to "their own spiritual benefit." In the 16th Expostulation, hearing the passing bell, Donne notes that "a man extends to his Act and to his example; to that which he does, and that which he teaches." Making public his devotions becomes Donne's act and example in sickness.

Donne thus draws on Augustine's understanding of confession as edification, and like Augustine, Donne sees confession as a duty owed God. God does not need to be told of sins, for God sees all, but "O my God, there is another way of knowing my sins, which thou lovest better then any of these; To know them by my Confession" and "thou knowest them not to my comfort, except thou know them by my telling them to thee" (Ex. 10, Pr. 10). All confession is imperfect, since human limitations forestall full self-knowledge (Pr. 10), but God supplements self-recognition; it is not finally the act of confession that creates godly identity but God's regard (Ex. 13). Confession indicates that Grace has awakened the heart to see its sin and acknowledge need. Donne's newly enabled self, serving God through confession, is no longer completely defined by sin. Donne borrowed from Augustine's *Confessions* ways of conceiving his project—edifying example, service owed to God. But Augustine traced his path from confusion and error to spiritual understanding, whereas Donne exhibits the recurrent movement noted by Calvin, from anxious consciousness of sin to celebration of grace—a Reformation preoccupation. A collection of soliloquies was thus formally better suited than an autobiographical narrative.

A final aspect of Donne's revisioning can be seen in his formal recasting of the holy soliloquy. His primary innovation was to develop expostulation as a component distinct from and equal to

meditation and prayer, a move that further marks his affiliation with the Psalmist. In a sermon on Gen. 18.25, Donne declares that "God admits, even expostulation, from his servants; almost rebukes and chidings from his servants" so that

> if we have an apprehension when we beginne to pray, that God doth not heare us, not regard us, God is content that in the fervor of that prayer, we say with David, *Evigila Domine*, and *Surge Domine*, Awake O Lord, and Arise O Lord.... God is content to be told, that he is slack and dilatory when he should deliver us.

Unlike earthly princes, God accepts such rebukes and misinterprets nothing. Expostulation is the stance of the soul impatient for delivery, and when a devout person seems to be questioning God's favor, he is in fact making a doctrinal statement and calling for its confirmation.[55] In the Psalms, when David says

> by way of expostulation, and jealousie, and suspition, Will God shew wonders to the dead? shall the dead arise and praise him? shall his loving kindnesse be declared in the grave, or his faithfulnesse in destruction? All these passionate interrogatories, and vehement expostulations may safely be resolved into these Doctrinall propositions, Yes, God will shew wonders to the dead (IV, 67).

Donne conceived his expostulations as the manner in which God's own people are bold to call on him, to express fully their distress when events seem opaque and threatening, and yet to reveal their faith that God's mercy exceeds human expectation. Donne's illness pressures him to fear his standing in God's eyes, and he opens each expostulation by exploring the case against himself. Each time, however, he responds, "but though" such and such could be true, nonetheless there is another way, a better way, to construe the evidence. Despair is faulty exegesis; it ignores God's former works, which refute the testimony of sin. Expostulation, on the other hand,

allows one to confront God with one's experience of fear or doubt and yet to express confidence, and it was to convey this mixed experience that Donne raised expostulation to a position of prominence in holy soliloquy.

By making expostulation the crux of each devotion, Donne adapted toward even greater expressivity a genre that already encouraged public, exemplary confession of sin and doubt as well as faith. In choosing this genre, his emphasis is on a particular, non-Puritan experience of assurance. The advantage of this classification of Donne's work is that it attends to his piety, or style of religiosity, rather than to theology or ecclesiology alone. Donne's devotional style is anti-systematic, expressive, and associative. Like Hayward and others of a confession-centered piety, Donne chose a genre in which he confessed before others his ongoing (and non-Arminian) sense of simultaneous sin and Grace, thereby ignoring questions about God's decrees that he found over-curious and harmful to faith, and resisting the Puritan drift toward a privatized self-examination at the same time that he rejected an anti-Calvinist distaste for intense self-examination. Familiarity with the devotional context makes it clear that Donne adopted a "contented conformist" genre, and adapted it to heighten its effectiveness as a model of Protestant devotion neither Puritan nor Arminian but true to the moderate, essentially Calvinist piety of the church as established. This choice provides us with a strong indication of the context in which to read Donne's statements about the means and ordinances, or Puritans, or soteriology, and makes it clear that we need to focus renewed scholarly attention on conformity as the forgotten middle.

Mount St. Mary's College

Notes

1. Strier, "Donne and the politics of devotion," in *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688*, ed. Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 93-114; Papazian, "Literary `Things Indifferent': The Shared Augustinianism of Donne's *Devotions* and Bunyan's *Grace Abounding,"* in *John Donne's Religious Imagination*, ed. Raymond-Jean Frontain and Frances M. Malpezzi (Conway, AR: UCA Press, 1995), pp. 324-49.

2. Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 13-4; Marotti, "Donne as Social Exile and Jacobean Courtier: The Devotional Verse and Prose of the Secular Man," in *Critical Essays on John Donne*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (New York: G.K. Hall and Co, 1994), pp. 77-101. Jeanne Shami, however, has surveyed a number of abuses in quotation by those who argue for the primacy of non-theological motives in Donne's thought ("Donne's *Sermons* and the Absolutist Politics of Quotation," in Frontain and Malpezzi, pp. 382-392).

3. Jerald Brauer, "Types of Puritan Piety," *Church History*, 65 (1987):39.

4. Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, for instance, define Puritanism by appealing to the idea of a religious "culture" as "a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic forms...in which they are expressed or embodied." The individual interacts with a culture in "an ongoing dialectic spiral" in which "the psyche gives rise to culture, and culture shapes the psyche" (*The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996], p. 9.) For an example of how a church historian has applied the concept of piety, see Peter Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635," *Past and Present* 114 (1987): 39-47.

5. Lake notes several cases in "Calvinism and the English Church," pp. 40, 45, 67-70.

6. For useful overviews of recent scholarship, see Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church"; Durston and Eales' introduction to *The Culture of English Puritanism*; Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant....1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Kenneth Fincham's introduction to *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); and Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642* (London; Longman, 1989).

7. Brauer, in "Types of Puritan Piety," details how shifts in emphasis created at least four distinctive types. For a similar attempt to categorize conformist types, see my unpublished dissertation, *The Soul's Society: Genre, Community, and Identity in Early Stuart Devotional Literature* (University of Chicago, 1996).

8. Strier, p. 99; Lake, "Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-garde Conformity at the Court of James I," in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

9. Lake, "The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630's," in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-42*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (London: Macmillan, 1993), p. 163.

10. See, for instance, Daniel Doerksen, "'Saint Pauls Puritan': John Donne's 'Puritan' Imagination," in Frontain and Malpezzi. Among others, Mary Papazian ("Literary 'Things Indifferent'") and C.F. Allison (*The Rise of Moralism: The Proclamation of the Gospel from Hooker to Baxter* [New York: Seabury, 1966], pp. 24-7) have found in Donne's writings a Reformed soteriology at odds with proto-Laudianism, and Barbara Lewalski demonstrates the Protestant—biblicist, providentialist, and typological—principles shaping Donne's religious lyrics in *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 253-82.

11. Lake demonstrates that disinclination to wrangle was a central trait of contented conformity; see "Calvinism and the English Church," pp. 56-60. For Lake's discussion of "hypothetical universalism" as a contented conformist modification of English Calvinism, see pp. 57-9; this position perhaps best approximates Donne's.

12. Donne also dismisses debates over the entrance of the soul into the body (Med. 18), original sin (Pr. 10), and the precedence of faith or works (Ex. 20), and is consistent in refusing to engage contentious doctrines with any systematic rigor (Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975]; future references will be to section and number, and will appear in the text). Donne's vocabulary and general stance, though, are often much like that of other moderate Protestants; typical is Donne's statement in a sermon that there is "no sparke of worth in us, before God call us" (*The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter [Berkeley: University of California Press 1953-62], VII:271. Future references will be to volume and page number in the text). See also Allison's discussion of Donne's soteriology in *The Rise of Moralism*, pp. 24-7.

13. "Avant-garde conformity," pp. 113-33. In "Calvinism and the English Church," Lake describes "the positive aspects of Arminianism" as "its emphasis on sacramental grace, on the visible church as a sacred or holy institution and on a definition of Christian piety and membership of the Christian community in terms of the rites and observances of that holy institution" (75).

14. "Avant-garde conformity," pp. 125-30.

15. Featley, *Ancilla Pietatis, Or the Handmaid to private devotion* (London, 1626), p. 66.

16. Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 269; Gardiner, *The Devotions of the*

Dying man (London, 1627), p. 306; Tymme, (*The Chariot of Devotion* [London, 1618], pp. 39-40). See also Robert Hill, *The Pathway to Prayer and Pietie* (London, 1613), p. 128.

17. For a contented conformist's effusions about the church as established, see Samuel Gardiner, *A Dialogue or Conference...about the rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England* (London, 1605), sig. F2. Fincham discusses the ideal of the "preaching pastor" in *Prelate as Pastor*, pp. 250-76.

18. Featley, pp. 431-2. Donne's interest, in the *Devotions*, in special consideration of days does not necessarily mark high-church leanings. Donne, in fact, sounds much like Featley, demanding of God (rhetorically) "doest thou take away all Consideration, all destinction of dayes? Though thou remove them from being of the essence of our Salvation, thou leavest them for assistances, and for the Exaltation of our devotion, to fix our selves...upon the consideration of those things, which thou hast done for us" (Ex. 14).

19. Lori Anne Ferrell makes a similar argument, demonstrating that unlike avant-garde conformists, Donne "favored communication over Communion," and that his emphasis on preaching is manifest in his frequent examination of "the complex and mysterious relationship of congregation, preacher, and God that comes together at the sound of the spoken word" ("Donne and His Master's Voice, 1615-1625," *John Donne Journal* 11 [1992]: 63, 65). See also Mueller, "Exegesis of Experience: Dean Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 67(1968): 1-19.

20. John Calvin, *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, The Library of Christian Classics, vols. 20-21 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 3.20.11.

21. See also Terry Sherwood, *Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 178-182. For Arminian jibes against introspection, see Lawrence A. Sasek, *Images of English Puritanism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1989), pp. 215-334. In the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton warns that "solitariness, much fasting, divine meditation, and contemplations of God's judgments" cause religious despair (*The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3 vols. [Boston: Dana Estes and Company, n.d.], III:456).

22. Richard Strier elaborates on the distinction between distrustful fear and reverential fear in "John Donne Awry and Squint: The `Holy Sonnets,' 1608-1610," *Modern Philology* 86 (1989):363.

23. In 1627, Donne preached that the true anchor and outcome of devotion is God's mercy, which precedes a person's act: "Trace God in thy self, and thou shalt find it so. If thou beest drowzie now, and unattentive, curious or contentious, or quarrelsome now, now God leaves thee in that indisposition, and that is a judgement: But it was his Mercy that brought thee hither before.... Begin where thou wilt at any Act in thy self, at any act in God, yet there was

mercy before that, for his mercy is eternall" (VII:355-7). In the face of the mutability of human affects, assurance must rest in God.

24. "Shared Augustinianism," in Frontain and Malpezzi, pp. 328-42.

25. Frost, *Holy Delight: Typology, Numerology, and Autobiography in Donne's "Devotions upon Emergent Occasions"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Andreasen, "Donne's *Devotions* and the Psychology of Assent," *Modern Philology* 62 (1965): 209.

26. "Literary 'Things Indifferent'," p. 325.

27. *The Soul's Society*, Chapter 2.

28. These topics range from how to understand the work of the Spirit in prayer to moral advice about diligence in one's calling and curbing the tongue to reflections on deportment at public worship; see Helen White, *English Devotional Literature 1600-1640*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, 19 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1931).

29. This type of devotional practice was not given a consistent form or name. I choose "soliloquy" both because it appears frequently in discussions of the form, and because it was used by Thomas Rogers, who did most to pioneer the soliloquy, in his punningly titled *Soliloquium Animae: The Sole-talke of the Soule* (London, 1598). The term was used almost exclusively for religious works into the eighteenth century; from the mid-seventeenth century it is applied frequently to devotional poems, as in Francis Quarles, *Divine Fancies* (London, 1638), #31, or J. Short, *Sololoquies theologicall* (London, 1641).

30. Sibbes, *Works*, ed. Alexander Grosart, 7 vols. (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1864), 1:130; Bayne, *Holy Soliloquies: or a Holy Helper in Gods building* (London, 1618), sig. A6r.

31. See Debora Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp.197-200, 233-7, for Donne's participation in a "liberal Protestant" tradition, rooted in Augustine, that stressed that the essential nature of religious experience was the loving response of the heart to God, and that therefore adopted a passionate style intended to make divine matters vivid and move the affections, as opposed to the plainer style advocated by William Perkins.

32. Raspa, "Introduction," *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, pp. xxxi-xxxix; White, p. 253.

33. Frost, *Holy Delight*, pp. 20-21.

34. See, for instance, Expostulations 7 and 10 and Meditation 14.

35. See Pierre Courcelle, *Les Confessions de saint Augustin dans La Tradition Littéraire* (Paris: Étude Augustiniennes, 1963), chs. 5 and 6. Giles Constable finds that a fifteenth-century revival of spirituality looked primarily to twelfth-century spiritual writings, many of which circulated as Augustine's. Thus a long tradition associated Augustine with works of meditation and prayer; see "The Popularity of Twelfth-Century Spiritual Writers in the Later

Middle Ages," in *Renaissance Essays in Honor of Hans Baron,* ed. Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi (Dekalb, Ill.: Dekalb University Press, 1971).

36. Rogers acknowledges that many doubt these works' attribution to Augustine but justifies their worth on the basis of their exemplary devotion. Were Augustine not the author, Rogers writes, "it skilleth not greatlie. For the matter it conteineth, is verie spiritual, godlie, and necessarie" (*Manual*, sig. a3r). A J. Daye published another, rather clumsy translation of these works in the 1570s. Thomas Rogers, not to be confused with the Puritan Richard Rogers, firmly supported the Elizabethan settlement. For other translations of pseudo-Augustinian devotional works, see Timothy Pimm, *The Sinners Glasse. Containing Augustines Ladder to Paradise*, (London, 1609); and T.W., *A little pamphlet of saint Augustine entituled the ladder of paradise* (n.p., 1581).

37. *Saint Augustines Manual*, p. 1; compare Augustine's *Confessions*, Book I.4.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 137.

39. Echoing the *Confessions*, X.6, the speaker recounts, as if reminding God, how he has searched for God in his life: "I have gone astray like a lost sheepe, seeking thee without, who art within. And much have I laboured to finde thee without me, and thou dwellest within mee, at leastwise if I had a lust of thee. I went about the lanes, and by the streets of the citie of this world, seeking thee, but I found thee not. Because I sought thee not rightly without, who art within. I sent abroad my messengers, namely all my outward senses to seeke thee; yet did I not finde thee: because I sought amisse" (p. 148). The echo of *Confessions* X.6 becomes even clearer as the speaker proceeds.

40. Several continental parallels were also translated into English, one of which directly echoes the *Confessions*; see William Style, *Contemplations, Sighes, and Groanes of a Christian* (n.p., 1640), a translation of Johann Michael Dilherr's *Contemplationes et suspiria hominis Christiani* (Jena, 1634). In his first contemplation Dilherr paraphrases part of *Confessions* XI.3. The same passage attracts Donne in Expostulation 7. Dilherr's work consists of discrete meditations; again, Augustine's meditative manner appears without an autobiographical framework.

41. For more general comments on the typically non-Puritan practice of publishing holy soliloquies, see *The Soul's Society*, pp. 130-36. Hayward (1564?-1627) was best known as an historiographer at Chelsea College, where he was appointed, along with William Camden, at its founding.

42. See also Frost, p. 3, n. 2.

43. Hayward, *Sanctuarie of a Troubled Soule* (London, 1604), pp. 3-4. Future references will appear by page number in the text.

44. Donne's expostulations similarly become dialogues. Donne begs God, "reveale therefore to me thy method, O Lord," and finds an answer in Eccles. 38.9: "In time of thy sicknesse, be not negligent." Donne asks, "wherein

wilt thou have my diligence expressed?" and finds the response "Pray unto the Lord, and hee will make thee whole" (Ex. 4). Donne sets God's "voice" off typographically in italics while he weaves his questions and God's answers into a conversation. Webber records similar occasions in the sermons; see *Contrary Music: The Prose Style of John Donne* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), p. 40.

45. Hayward, *The Second Part of the Sanctuary of a troubled Soule* (London, 1607), "To the Reader."

46. Meditating on his spiritual drought, Lake tells God "gladly would I recover some strength, even as gladly as the prodigall child would have fed upon Huskes, but he found none that gave him. I here in my wildernesse I find no waters except they be the waters of Marah, so bitter they cannot be drunke; or of Jericho, so bad that they will make the land barren" (sig. a6r). Fincham notes that Lake was a hypothetical universalist and that in his sermons he avoided confessional controversy, two points of similarity to Donne (pp. 261, 269).

47. Phineas Fletcher, *Joy in Tribulation. Or, Consolations for an Afflicted Spirit* (London, 1632). For another English collection, see Abraham Holland, *Certeine Meditations*, in *A Funerall Elegie of King James: with...divers other patheticall Poemes, Elegies and other Lines, on divers subjects* (Cambridge, 1626). The soliloquy form also structured several translations of Lutheran writers, including W.S.R's of Luther (*Every Dayes Sacrifice* [London, 1607]) and R. Bruch's of Johann Gerhard's *The Soules Watch: or a day-booke for the devout soule* (London, 1615). Gerhard's works were extremely popular, seeing six different translations and at least twenty editions between 1611 and 1640.

48. For a description of the colloquy, see Louis Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 36-7.

49. Hall, *The Arte of Divine Meditation* in *The Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall*, ed. Philip Wynter (New York: AMS Press, 1969), 6:78.

50. Purchas, *Microcosmus, of The Historie of Man* (London, 1619), p. 816. Purchas breaks into soliloquizing when he reaches the discussion of his own soul, pp. 120ff. For the association with David, see for instance John Reading, *Davids soliloquie* (London, 1627). See also Paul Baynes, *Holy Soliloquies: or, a Holy Helper in Gods Building* (London, 1618), p. 5.

51. Barbara Lewalski observes this connection in *Donne's "Anniversaries" and the Poetry of Praise* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 83-7.

52. In a 1622 sermon on Job 36.25, Donne gives another picture of the usefulness of observing God's hand on the self; the man "entendred by Gods easie corrections, he whom God hath not left to himself, nor yet put him beyond himself...[that man may] finde a rich, and a sweet advantage in that correction; it is a seeing of God, not as before, in his works abroad, but in his working upon

himself, at home" (IV, 173).

53. In a 1622 sermon Donne explains that "God proceeds by example, by pattern," and we should "propose to our selves the Example of some good, and godly man in [our] Calling, whose steps we will walk in" (IV, 99). As Jeanne Shami argues, Donne places less stress on the glorified saint's reflection of Christ's perfection than on "*this* world and on the way in which *all* men must learn to live well within its limitations": see "Donne's Protestant Casuistry: Cases of Conscience in the Sermons," *Studies in Philology* 80 (1983):55.

54. As Kate Frost has shown, Donne followed a long tradition of looking to Hezekiah as one of the principal exemplars of devotion in the Old Testament, and incorporated many thematic parallels from Isaiah's version of Hezekiah's illness into the account of his own (pp. 63-73).

55. Joan Webber discusses the rhetoric of expostulation (pp. 191-96).