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Ramon Llull's *Principia*, Martin Luther's Divine Names, and the Revised Sequence of John Donne's Holy Sonnets

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Seventeenth-century England was marked by the belief that cross-cultural religious doctrines, if shared, could transform a fractious society into one of peaceful coexistence. John Donne embraced this arguably naïve millenarian agenda, which can be traced back to the library of Pico della Mirandola (1463-94)[1] and to Pico's medieval source, Ramon Llull (1232-1316).[2] Llull believed in inter-religious open-mindedness, which belief prompted him to engage Jewish theologians in inter-faith dialogue.[3] He hoped that his Jewish interlocutors would, in turn, teach their people Christian doctrine. Ultimately, he envisioned a time when Jews and Christians would worship the same God. In order to accomplish this task, he combined

[1] See Pearl Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York: AMS, 1966), p. 261. She observes two works by Llull in Pico's library. Of these she notes: "an edition of *Ars brevis* appeared in 1481; and of the *Ars generalis* at Venice, 1480."
[2] See *A Companion to Ramon Llull and Lullism*, ed. Amy M. Austin and Mark D. Johnston, ed. and trans, Amy M. Austin, Alexander Ibarz, and Mark D. Johnston, vol. 82 of *Companions to the Christian Tradition (*Leiden: Brill, 2019). This series of chapters, authored by fourteen scholars, surveys Llull's influence throughout the centuries, even into the New World.
[3] Llull's main missionary efforts were among Moors in Northern Africa (1293, 1307, and 1315). This study limits his work to various Jewish communities in Spain, including his native Majorca, and extends it to Lullists working in the 16th and 17th centuries.

already established systems of Divine Names—the classical system of Christian Names devised by Pseudo-Dionysius in the fifth century[4] and the Jewish *sephiroth*, alongside cabala.

The Names in the *sephiroth* vary in number (often ten, sometimes nine). Whatever the number, they represent channels by which the divine creative force is revealed to mankind. Observing cabalistic techniques for deriving hidden meanings from names, Joseph Blau explains how the *sephiroth* was adapted by Christians for their own purpose, especially as a way to define the Trinity. One source he cites is *De auditu kabalistico*, a fifteenth-century pseudo-Lullian treatise:[5] This treatise cites nine Divine Names : "good, great, lasting, powerful, wise, ready, virtuous, true, and glorious."[6]

In accordance with this kind of Jewish mystical thought, Llull had compiled his own list of nine *Principia* (Dignities or Attributes) representing God. He developed a methodology whereby these Names would point to a triune principle disseminated throughout all Creation. (Throughout this study I shall use the terms, Principia, Dignities, Attributes, and Names interchangeably.) He used this "innocent" teaching device as an instrument to entice Jews to recognize *their own*

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[4] See Annemarie C. Mayer, "Llull and Inter-Faith Dialogue," in *A Companion to Ramon Llull and Lullism*, pp.146-175. She observes: "Llull's list of attributes may be traced to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's *De divinis nominibus* as a classical Christian model," p. 150. For her original source, see Dionysius Areopagita, *De Divinis Nominibus*, Corpus Dionysiacum 1, ed. Beate Regina Suchla (Berlin: 1990). Dionysius distinguishes the individual attributes of the godhead—"Goodness," "Being," "Wisdom," etc.—but he also applies these names to Unity, which is the essence of God, the whole.

[5]See Joseph Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 15. Blau explains the Divine Names in the *sephiroth* in terms of Christian cabala as it was adapted by Pico and others, such as Marsilio Ficino (1433-99) and Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), after him: "[The] three highest *sephiroth*…*keter*, *chochmah*, and *binah*…[were] representations of the Trinity. *Keter*, the supreme diadem, represented the Father; *chochmah*, wisdom, represented the Logos, the Son; *binah*, understanding…became the representative of the Holy Spirit of Grace. The only other emanation which was treated with any thoroughness [in this treatise] was the sixth of the *sephiroth*, *lifereth*, glory, which was conceived as the representation of Jesus incarnate."

[6] Blau, Ibid., p. 17.

God in his schema and, moreover, as a way to comprehend God's triune nature. He called this his *Ars combinatoria*.[7] His lists of Names vary from phase to phase, but eventually they resolved as nine: *sapientia* (Wisdom), *voluntas* (Will), *virtus* (Virtue), *veritas* (Truth), *gloria* (Blessedness), *bonitas* (Goodness), *magnitudo* (Greatness), *aeternitas* (Duration) and *potestas* (Power).

Like Dionysius and Llull, Martin Luther (1483-1546) composed a list of Divine Names, albeit twelve, presenting them in both their positive and negative forms so that they resolved as twenty-four: Life/*Leben* (as opposed to Death), Light/*Licht* (as opposed to Darkness), Wisdom/*Weisheit* (as opposed to Ignorance), Truth/*Wahrheit* (as opposed to Lies), Righteousness/*Gerechtigkeit* (as opposed to Sin), Goodness/*Güte* (as opposed to Malice), Power/*Gewalt* (as opposed to Weakness), Joy/*Freude* (as opposed to Sorrow), Glory/*Ehre* (as opposed to Confusion), Peace/*Friede* (as opposed to Dismay), Blessedness/S*eligkeit* (as opposed to Desperation), and All Good/*alles Gute*.[8]

Donne follows the same track, saying, "It is plaine, it is evident, that that *name* which *God* hath taken in *Exodus* [I Am], signifies, *Essence*, *Being* . . . *Gods* proper name is *Alwayes Being*."[9] He adds, "For *Being* is the *peculiar*

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[7] Those desiring detailed accounts of Llull's spiritual philosophy should consult such sources as: Frances Yeats, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Mark D. Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987); Anthony Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull: A User's Guide*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Josep E. Rubio, "Llull's Great Universal Art," in *A Companion to Ramon Llull and Lullism*, pp. 81-116; and Robert D. F. Pring-Mill, "The Trinitarian World Picture of Ramon Llull," *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* vol. 7 (1955-56), pp. 229-256.

[8] See Martin Luther, "Psalm 22," in *Commentary on the First Twenty-Two Psalms*, trans. Henry Cole, vol. 2 (Forgotten Books: Classic Reprint Series, 2017), pp. 354-442. Luther's German Names are from *Psalmen-Auslegung*, "Psalm XXII," ed. Chr[istian] G. Eberle, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Verlag der Evangelischen Bücherstiftung, 1873), pp. 368-411. Luther's German list of Names reads: "*Gott aber ift das Leben, Licht, Weisheit, Wahrheit*, *Gerechtigkeit, Güte, Gewalt, Freude, Ehre, Friede, Seligkeit, und alles Gute,*"p. 371. Luther publishes this list of Names at the beginning of his commentary so that it may serve as a "Reader's Guide" whereby readers (both Jewish and Christian) may understand the psalm. Cole's translation of Luther's list is on p. 359.

[9] Donne, *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson. 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-62), 8:75.

and *proper* name of God."[10] Broad hints of Donne's Lullist agenda can be found not only in the sermon text just cited but also in his essays, and devotions, where he explains the importance of Names. In the *Essays*, for example, he distinguishes some of God's attributes—"*Eternity*, *Wisdom*, and such"—but insists that one name "taken by God, the Name of *four* letters . . . the Name, *I am*" defines "as much the Essence, as we can express."[11] Clearly Donne had studied Llull, for his own library contained Llull's *Duodecim Principia Philosophiae*, where Llull explains the Dignities of God in both their positive and negative senses.[12] The Holy Sonnets themselves demonstrate how Llull's *Ars combinatoria* functions as a system of coessential Names. To those who know the references (and scholars working in Llull studies today do) it is not strange to discover versions of Lullian operatives scattered throughout the Holy Sonnets. The editors of the *Variorum* edition of the Holy Sonnets believe that "the ordering of the sonnets [which varies among numerous manuscripts] was a matter of continuing authorial attention."[13] This study attends to Lullian constructs in one specific ordering to the exclusion of the rest. The reason for this will become evident below.

The climate of Donne's seventeenth-century world differed from Llull's medieval world in that it expanded Llull's original agenda to encompass various antagonistic Christian communities—Catholics, Calvinists and Arminians (uncomfortably coexisting within the Church of England), and Lutherans—along with Jews. During the seventeenth century, the conversion of the Jews was a crucial Protestant agenda because it was thought to be a necessary precursor to the millennium, which would mark the end of religious strife and usher in a reign of

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[10]Ibid., p. 76.

[11] Donne, "Of the Name of God," *Essays in Divinity*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), p. 24.

[12] See Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne*: *Dean of Saint Paul's*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), p. 271. In "Appendix 4, "Books from Donne's Library," pp. 263-279, Keynes notes: "Lullus, Remundus, *Duodecim Principia Philosophiae*, Paris, 1516." He adds, "Donne's signature and motto on the title-page. Pencil markings in margins."

[13] *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, gen. ed. Gary A Stringer, vol. 7, part 1 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), "Introduction," p. LXI.

peace, holiness and happiness. This was a unique time in post-Reformation history, a time when Protestants actually *needed* Jewish converts in order to fulfill their expectations. Seventeenth-century thinkers (linguists, philosophers, rhetoricians, theologians, and poets), intent on preparing the way for this imagined millennium, discovered in Llull's spiritual philosophy, which had never entirely disappeared from the intellectual marketplace, an apt model for addressing, mollifying, perhaps even healing, religious strife.

Among sixteenth and seventeenth-century Lullists were Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaplis (Johann von Staupitz or Staupulesis, c. 1455-1536),[14] Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522),[15] Bernard de Lavinheta (d. 1530), Joseph Mede (1586-1639), and Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638). Mede and Alsted, in fact, launched the millenarian movement in Europe, which profoundly affected English linguists and theologians. A Fellow at Christ College, Cambridge, Mede disseminated Lullian thought among his students, including Henry More (1614-1687)[16] and possibly John Milton (1608-1674).[17]

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[14] See John Lewis, "Rabelais and the reception of the 'art' of Ramón Lull in early sixteenth-century France," *Renaissance Studies* 24.2 (2009): 260-280. Lewis observes that "Lefèvre, unlike Pico, took no interest in Lullism as a symbolic language, or with its potentialities for creating a universal system of knowledge through the application of the *ars*. What Lefèvre unquestionably did was to lend his own great authority to a renewal of interest in Lull, through popularization and dissemination of a selection of works aimed at explaining the ascent of the soul to God," pp. 271-272.

[15] Reuchlin learned cabala from Pico. In 1517, the same year that Luther posted his ninety-five theses, he published *De Arte Cabbalistica*.

[16] Henry More authored many works including "Conjecture Cabbalistica."

[17] Milton studied at Christ's during Mede's tenure. For Milton's employment of Lullist thought in his treatise, "The Reason of Church Government," see Albrecht, "Llull in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Companion*, pp. 481-482. Mede (also Meade) was a fellow of Christ's (1586-1638). Milton's career at Christ's has been surveyed by his biographer, William Riley Parker, *Milton: A Biography*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968). Parker notes, "We do not know precisely what Milton was taught at Cambridge . . . . the original importance of University lectures or professors had diminished with the attempts of individual colleges to provide most of the instruction for their own students" (1, p. 26). Significantly, Parker remarks Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627), published before Milton left Cambridge in 1632 (2, p. 1362). This widely

As co-founders of the millenarian cause, Mede and Alsted employed Llull's original Art as a way to reconcile not only Christians with Jews, but also Catholics with Protestants, and Lutherans with Calvinists. These latter two antagonists were, of course, a consequence of the Reformation. These Lullist agendas factor into Donne's Holy Sonnets, especially into what I call the "Lullist correspondents" in the last two sets (below). As far as this specific sequence is concerned, the millenarian enterprise is split into two points of view: the individual soul, the creature, seeking reconciliation with the Creator—a personal endeavor—and this same millenarian agenda—an external agenda.

Despair as Theme in The Holy Sonnets and *Biathanatos*

Despair and its converse, Blessedness, is a Name iterated throughout the sequence to be studied. Spellings derive from the Revised Sequence of the Holy Sonnets developed by the editors of *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*. Since readers may not be familiar with this sequence, I also provide (at this point) the short forms for Donne's works provided for volume 7. Here are a few examples: "I shall soone despaire" in Sonnet I (*HSDue*); "All whom…Despaire…hath slaine" in Sonnet 4 (*HSRound*); and "desperate men" in Sonnet 6 (*HSDeath*). Other hints of the same are, for example, "to noe end…neuer shalbee free" in Sonnet 10 (*HSBatter*).[18]

Much ink has been spilt on the subject of despair in Donne's Holy Sonnets, and I do not intend to rehearse the matter yet again. *Despair* as a Name defines the dark side of God, what Luther calls *Verzweiflung*, and its opposite, *Seligkeit*, or Blesssedness. (Because *despair* is also a theme written into the Psalms, Luther naturally focuses on it.)[19] In his preface to *Biathanatos*, Donne had tagged the Agent of *despair* "[T]he

influential work argued that the Jews would be miraculously converted to Christianity before the second coming.

[18] The "Revised Sequence" in the Donne *Variorum* is found on pp. 21-26.

[19] See, Roberta J. Albrecht, "Ramon Llull, Martin Luther, and the Dignities of God," in *Ramon Llully Los Lulistas* (siglos XIV-XX), ed. Raphael Ramis Barceló (Madrid-Porto, Sindéresis, 2022), pp. 303-322. This essay studies "despair" in Luther's commentary on Psalm 22. Two sources inform Luther's commentary. (See note 8 above.) Cole offers an English translation. Eberle provides Luther's original German.

common Enemie."[20] In the Holy Sonnets this same Agent crops up as "the Deuill" in Sonnet I (*HSDue*); "the . . . Deuill" in Sonnet 3 (*HSScene*); "your enemye" in Sonnet 10 (*HSBatter*); and "Satan" in Sonnet 11 (*HSWilt*). When we study the chronology of Donne's life and when we consider the time in which these sonnets were written, we begin to understand why Donne focuses on the same.

Dating the Holy Sonnets and *Biathanatos*

One problem with biographical criticism is that it may limit rather than expand meaning. In this case, however, since we now ascertain the circumstances of Donne's life during the same general timeframe, biographical investigation is more than encouraged.

The *Variorum* editors devote much attention to the dating of Donne's Holy Sonnets. Until further material surfaces, their conclusions are inconclusive. Nevertheless, the timeframe suggested (between 1600 and 1610) is important because this implies that period of Donne's life when he was debating what his relationship with the Protestant Church of England might be. In other words, his psychomachia was already in gear. (It will be remembered that Luther faced a similar dilemma when determining what his relationship with the Roman Church might be. His *Anfechtungen* [temptation or doubt] was an earlier version of Donne's own.)

We do not know when Donne's treatise on suicide was composed. Published posthumously (1648), *Biathanatos* provides us with an intriguing glimpse into Donne's psyche during what seems to have been his Mitcham years (1606-1608). John T. Shawcross ascertains 1608 to be the probable date.[21] John Carey cites this as a time when Donne "became depressed and ill, and was tempted at times to do away with

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[20] Donne, *Biathanatos: A Declaration Of That Paradox Or Thesis That Self-Homicide Is Not So Naturally Sin, That It May Never Be Otherwise* (1648), "Preface," (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.), p. 17.

[21] John T. Shawcross's *The Complete Poetry of John Donne* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967). Shawcross ascertains the possible date for this work in his "Chronology of Donne's Life," p. xiv. All references to poetry other than the Holy Sonnets are from this work.

himself."[22] Were this the case, then we can reasonably assume that the original composition of at least some of the Holy Sonnets overlapped with the composition of *Biathanatos*.

Donne's "Preface" to *Biathanatos* shows us a way to understand the place of *despair* in the Holy Sonnets. In it he confesses "I have often . . . . a sickely inclination [to throw my life away]."[23] He lists several reasons that this may be so: his "first breeding and conversation with men of a suppressed and afflicted Religion,"[24] perhaps his "rebellious grudging at Gods gifts,"[25] perhaps "a brave scorn, or that a faint cowardlinesse beget it, whensoever any affliction assailes me."[26] What seems most pertinent to the Holy Sonnets is Donne's remark, "Or that the common Enemie find that doore worst locked against him in mee."[27]

Luther provided a preface for his commentary on Psalm 22. Donne, however, provides no preface for either the Original or the Revised sequences. Because Donne's sonnet sequences were published as several versions by a number of copyists and editors, readers today are faced with a conundrum. Gary A. Stringer, general editor of the *Variorum* edition of the Holy Sonnets, takes a wise course to the problem of authorial sequences, answering the question with a series of more questions.[28] The upshot is that no preface was warranted. Nevertheless, Donne's apology (his more personal remarks) in *Biathanatos* may help explain the more impersonal or objective version of Despair in the poems. Both study, in different ways, the ascent of the soul to God. He likens his "affliction," his "sickely inclination," his predisposition to

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[22] John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind, and Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 73.

[23] Donne, *Biathanatos*, p. 17.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p. 18.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 17.

[28] See Gary A Stringer, "Discovering Authorial Intension in the Manuscript Sequences of Donne's Holy Sonnets," in *Variorum*, vol. 7, pt. 1, pp. 111-112. Here Stringer answers one question—which sequence(s) is/are authorial?—by asking others: 1) "Does the reading represent 'a genuine alternative'?" 2) "Is the reading readily explicable?" 3) "Is the reading appropriately located in the poem's transmissional history?" 4) "Are there extrinsic considerations touching individual scribes, artifacts, or transcriptions that affect confidence in the legitimacy of particular readings?"

self-slaughter, to those sick and disabled people who visit the Pool of Bethesda. When the waters are troubled, the possibility of healing is eminent: "Now there is at Jerusalem . . . a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda" (John 5: 2-4).[29] At this pool gather all sorts of weak people. An angel, at a certain season, comes down into the pool and troubles the waters. Whoever steps into the pool first after the troubling of the waters is made whole.

Donne is telling his readers (and himself) that his treatise on the "troublesome" subject of self-slaughter will, he hopes, "have the nature of medicine."[30] In *Biathanatos*, this "medicine" becomes an effort to heal spiritual despair by means of a minute and exhaustive study of the subject of suicide. In the Holy Sonnet sequence to be studied below, this "medicine" translates as a system of Lullian coessential concepts attached to and including spiritual Despair and Blessedness.

Donne's implementation of Lullian constructs will not be evident to uninitiated readers. That is because, as coessentials, Despair/Blessedness are necessarily attached to other godly dignities (both in their positive and negative forms, as Llull intended). My hope and intent is that those readers who for the first time encounter other godly coessential Attributes—such as Life/Death, Light/Darkness, Truth/Lies, etc.—when they crop up in the Revised Holy Sonnet sequence to be examined below, will remember to attach these others to their coessential complements. Despair and Blessedness, which, as correspondents, end the sequence, also serve as the architecture of the whole.

In fact, precisely because of the coessential nature of Llull's Dignities, it is theoretically possible to read them into any of the Holy Sonnets in any of the arrangements in order to make some sense—but not the kind of sense derived here. My work with Luther's commentary attends to some of these same coessentials: "Luther's commentary is Lullian in that he not only names the Dignities, albeit as twelve (not Llull's nine), but also because these Dignities, being coessential, may be approached in no certain order. Studying any one of them is a way of studying all."[31]

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[29] The King James Version of the Bible.

[30] *Biathanatos*, p. 217.

[31] Albrecht, "Ramon Llull, Martin Luther, and the Dignities of God," p. 314.

Llull's moralizing method, Mark D. Johnston explains, is to distinguish between affirmation and negation: "The manipulation of affirmative and negative statements is the basis of all Lullian argumentation . . . because it serves the expression of the identity or difference between creature and Creator."[32] Examples from Donne's Holy Sonnets, other than those noted above, include such affirmative/negatives as Weakness/Strength, Sickness/Wholesomeness, Wisdom/Ignorance, etc. We shall discover these and more as we survey individual sonnets in the Revised sequence.

This idea of identity and difference is compounded by its use as a noun or a verb. Despair, for example, can be both a noun and a verb. As a noun it defines what it *is*. As a verb, it shows what it does—both how it is existing and what it does. In other words, the property of the noun is to signify substance and quality and the property of the verb is to signify action or affection. In Donne's Revised sequence (DT1), we find these Dignities (Truth/Lies, Beauty/Ugliness, Wisdom/Ignorance, etc.) employed as both nouns and verbs, as well as qualifying adjectives. Ultimately, and informing the whole, we discover Despair/Blessedness. No matter which Dignity, all the negatives lead back (or forward) to the original Positive.

Arrangements of the Holy Sonnets

As mentioned above, the arrangements of the various sonnet sequences have elicited much attention from the *Variorum* editors. The longest sequence, which consists of nineteen sonnets, is contained in the "Group IV MS" (NY3), along with other poems. This is the Westmoreland manuscript housed in the New York Public Library, and it was compiled by Donne's life-long friend, Rowland Woodward. (That is why some critics have considered it sufficiently "authoritative" that they have built interpretations upon it.)[33] Woodward seems to have added and inserted sonnets and other poems as Donne directed.

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[32] Mark D. Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), p.76.

[33] Donald Ricks' interpretation of all nineteen sonnets in this manuscript is one example. See "The Westmoreland Manuscript and the Order of Donne's 'Holy Sonnets'," *Studies in Philology* 63 (1966): 187-95.

Of course, one can always argue, as some have, that the sonnets may justifiably stand alone as separate entities. This is true, except that such a position ignores the importance of the sequences Donne himself determined by his revisions. The *Variorum* editors are adamant that Donne was "an artist who very much cared about his poems and who continued to fine-tune or revise individual items, sometimes in multiple stages, even after distributing the original versions."[34] These revised arrangements, as Donne ordered them, are important. John T. Shawcross, one of the editors, underscored this fact when he remarked the need to establish an order or orders, saying that, "anyone who has paid attention to Donne's Holy Sonnets is aware that the order in which the sonnets appear casts 'meanings' upon them."[35] The editors of the *Variorum* remind readers of his contention when they observe "Shawcross finds 'the order of the poems is a major importance in establishing meaning and craft'."[36]

Illustrating Shawcross's argument is the difference between the sequence called "Original" in the *Variorum* edition and the sequence called "Revised" in the same. In the Original (H5) version, that sonnet beginning, "Death be not proud" (*HSDeath*), is situated as Sonnet 11. In the Revised (DT1) version, "Death bee not proude" is situated as Sonnet 6, which I have designated as complement to Sonnet 7 (*HSSpit*), that one beginning "Spit in my face yee Iewes." My argument is that, taken together, Sonnets 6 and 7 constitute the hinge of the entire sequence. However, "Spit in my face yee Iewes" is *absent* from the "Original" sequence. This fact reaffirms Shawcross's observation that "the order in which the sonnets appear casts 'meanings' upon them."

Those of us working with the sequences are fortunate in that the *Variorum* editors, although they have not attempted "to confect a single 'true' text out of the welter of disparate equally authoritative materials," nevertheless retain "a number of readings in (especially) the two authorial manuscript sequences that may well be scribal in origin."[37]

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[34] *Variorum*, vol. 7, "Appendix 2," p. 111.

[35] John T. Shawcross, "A Text of John Donne's Poems: Unsatisfactory Compromise," *John Donne Journal* 2 (1983): 11.

[36] *Variorum*, pt. 1, vol. 7, ""General Commentary on the Holy Sonnets," pp. 116-201. The citation is from p. 143.

[37] Ibid., "Introduction," p. C1.

The *Variorum* editors further remark that "The copy-text for the revised sequence is . . . . generally the most reliable of the Group-II manuscripts."[38]

To the general reader, this information is merely academic. However, it does establish a firm base from which to work. Helen Gardner's observation that one of these arrangements consists of "two contrasting sets of six" is prescient (in that she could not take advantage of the *Variorum*). Nevertheless, Gardner established a base from which I can work: "[I]t is impossible when one reads these twelve sonnets in the order in which they were printed . . . . and as they appear in the two groups of manuscripts which have the higher authority, to resist the conclusion that they were intended to be read as a consecutive set of twelve, made up of two contrasting sets of six."[39] Gardner reads these sets thematically, according to Ignatian meditative practice, which resolves as meditations on "death and judgement, or the Last Things."[40]

Her schema, but not her agenda, has become the operative structure wherein I have discovered in Donne's Revised sequence (DT1) Llull's logical constructs: *Concordantia* and *Differentia*. The schema below invites readers to think in dichotomous ways. Simultaneously, it begins to show, not only the architecture of the Revised sequence but also (to readers familiar with Llull) the interactivity of Dignities embedded throughout.

When I first devised this schema (from DT1), the agenda was to demonstrate how pseudo-Lullist alchemical language informed the whole.[41] Now that agenda gives way to another more "scientific"

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[38] Ibid., p. CII.

[39] *The Divine Poems*, ed. Helen Gardner, "Introduction," (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), p. xli.

[40] Ibid., p. xl. "When we look at the two sets of twelve sonnets, we see at once that…the twelve sonnets of Groups I and II, printed in *1633*, form a coherent set of poems….The first six are quite clearly a short sequence on one of the most familiar themes for meditation: death and judgment, or the Last Things." She characterizes the last six sonnets in the set as sonnets that address "two aspects of a single theme, love," p. xli.

[41] Roberta J. Albrecht, *Using Alchemical Memory Techniques for the Interpretation of Literature: John Donne, George Herbert, and Richard Crashaw* (Lampeter, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), p. 44.

methodology, one that employs Llull's spiritual logic.[42] Since Donne authorized this sequence, it is reasonable to study ways that *Concordantia* and *Differentia* serve to explain how the human soul might achieve congruence with God.

1 The Father's vested interest	12 The Father's two Wills
2 The thief consigned to prison	11 Christ as robbed man
3 The creature seeking purgation from world/flesh/devil	10 The creature seeking purgation and divorce from Satan
4 Composition of place: the end of time	9 Composition of place: the world's last night
5 Lament that other creatures cannot be damn'd, but man can	8 Wonder that strong creatures wait upon weak mankind
6 Apostrophe: powerful Death proved ineffective	7 Apostrophe: weak Christ proved victorious

I consider these sonnets to be sets of correspondents (the first six responding respectively to the final six), attached to Llull's Divine Names. Within these sets of poems, we discover the Dignities embedded not only in each set but *in the whole*. As we do this, let us not forget that each "Name" is coessential with the rest. Studying one is a way of studying all. We must also remember to think in terms of negative definition. How can we understand "light," for example, if we

[42] Llull never practiced alchemy. His reputation, nevertheless, was hijacked during the English Renaissance by such persons as Edward Kelly (1555-1597) and George Ripley (ca. 1415-ca. 1490). Ripley's *Compound of Alchemy* was highly regarded in England, even as Francis Bacon and the new philosophy (and eventually the Royal Society) were calling into doubt alchemical theories and related theories, including magic. Donne lived in the interstices. So naturally he sometimes referenced magic and the language of alchemy in his poems.

have never experienced the dark? How can we understand "truth" if we have no knowledge of lies? Recognizing a lie leads back to its opposite.

Donne's Lullist instrument also demands that we think in terms of relative principles: "What is contrary to this?" "What is identical?" "What is finite and what is infinite?" "What is major and what is minor?" "What is in between?" "What is the beginning, the middle, the end?" "What is the agent? The patient? The act?" These are some of the questions Llull's "spiritual logic" provokes. All of these questions are inspired by such logical constructs as relative principles, correlatives, and negative definitions. One example from Donne's *Devotions* proves his Lullian bent of mind, even as he studies the "middle" in order to understand the "end." He likens the "plaguey" spots on his body to the very "*letters*, in which thou hast written thine owne *Name*, and conveyed thy selfe to mee."[43] This is an oblique allusion to Llull's system of Names.[44]

The Names of God as a Guide for the Holy Sonnets

As noted above, Donne's *Essays* do not offer a complete list of the Names of God. Nevertheless, he writes: "[N]ames are to instruct us, and express natures and essences."[45] Then he proceeds to explain these essences as Names that signify "some determined and limited property

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[43] John Donne, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975), p. 70.

[44] Few scholars working with Donne's *Devotions* cite his references to Lullism. Rather, some reference Lullist scholars working after him but omit him as original source. For one example, see Kate Gartner Frost, *Holy Delight: Typology, Numerology, and Autobiography in Donne's Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (Princeton University Press, 1990). Frost does not reference Llull's Spiritual Logic per se, but she does recognize Donne's debt to the Lullist thought via Ficino and Pico, both well-known for their appropriation of Lullist agenda. Both Ficino and Pico devised systems of memory that employed cabalistic codes as a way to express Christian doctrine. Having observed the influence of Ficino and Pico on Donne's Devotions (p. 96), Frost follows up by remarking Pico's *Heptaplus*, which treatise employs Llull's combinations of Names (*Bonitas*, *Magnitudo*, *Eternitas*, *Potestas*, *Sapientia*, *Voluntas*, *Virtus*, *Veritas*, and *Gloria*) as a way to understand all of Creation (p. 100n57).

[45] *Essays*, p. 23.

[of] this whole and entire God."[46] We find these same Dignities, these "limited properties," in Donne's sermons.

Potter and Simpson include several Divine Names among their "List of Hebrew Words" in the sermons.[47] One is *Shaddai*, meaning "*Omnipotens*, Allmighty"[48] or Power, and its opposite is weakness: *Potestas/Debilitas* is the same as Luther's *Gewalt/Verzweiflung*. Among other Hebrew names that function in the sermons is *Chanan* or *Canan*, which means Mercy. Donne sometimes equates Mercy with Power. In one sermon, for example, he declares Mercy a manifestation of God's Power:

> *He that hath mercy on the poore, honours God* . . . . God hath made the charitable man partaker with himself, in his own greatest attribute, his power of *shewing mercy*. And then, lest any man should thinke, that he had no interest in this great dignity, that God had given him no meanes to partake of this attribute of God . . . the holy Ghost uses [this Name] . . . . for mercy, which is *Canan* . . . this great attribute of Gods, this power of showing mercy.[49]

We shall see Donne's earlier use of this concept of *Misericordia/ Iustitia* or of *Voluntas* [Will]/*Potestas* [the power to bestow Mercy] as it crops up numerous times in the Holy Sonnets.

Another Hebrew name included on Potter and Simpson's list is *Elah* (*Alah*), meaning "that great name of God,"[50] which translates to Llull's *Magnitudo* and to Luther's *Alles*. Yet another Hebrew name to be studied

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[46] Ibid., p. 24.

[47] *Sermons,* Appendix, "List of Hebrew Words on Which Donne Comments in the Sermons," 10: 329-344.

[48] Ibid., p. 335. Donne asks the question: In "what nature, what *Attribute*, and what Capacity, [has] *Iob* conceived and proposed *God*"? Then he answers this question: "*Iob* sets before him, that God, whom he conceives to be *Shaddai*, that is, *Omnipotens*, *Allmighty*."

[49] Ibid., 8: 287-88.

[50] *Sermons*, 10, "Appendix: List of Hebrew Words," pp. 329-344. The editors remark "Elah [should be Alah]," p. 343.

below is *Elohim* (Creator), a name Donne cites in his sermons,[51] and a name directly linked with the Lullist, Raymond of Sebund—also Saibunde, Sabiende, and Sabunde (ca. 1385-1436)—who declared the Creator to be a Triune God. "By 1290," according to Henry Berlin, "Llull's Art was thoroughly trinitarian in structure. Not only was the divine essence, understood and communicated through its dignities, a Trinity, but creation and language were, by ontological analogy, trinitarian as well,"[52]

Simpson devotes some attention to Donne's references to Sebund, both in the *Essays* and in the *Sermons*. She observes that "It was probably from Montaigne's 'Apologie pour Raymond de Sebunde' in his Essais that Donne derived his initial impulse towards the study of Sebund."[53] Concerning *The Book of Creatures* (1436), Donne himself writes: "*Sebund*, when he had digested this book into a written book, durst pronounce, that it was an Art, which teaches al things, presupposes no other, is soon learned, cannot be forgotten, requires no books, needs no witnesses, and in this, is safer then the Bible itself, that it cannot be falsified by Hereticks."[54] Donne's comment here is a reference to Llull himself in that Sebund was reciting Llull's teaching that Creation should be understood as the diffusion of the Divine Dignities throughout the universe. Linda Báez Rubí remarks Sebund's *Scientia libri creaturarum naturae* (otherwise called *Theologia naturalis*) as a work that employed "accessible language . . . to express Lullian concepts, while setting aside their combinatory apparatus, in an attempt to be a unified universal

[51] Ibid., 8: 55. Donne remarks, "[W]e finde, in the first line of the Bible, that *Bara Elohim*, *Creavit Dii, Gods created heaven and earth*; In this, that there is the name of God in the plural," etc.

[52] Henry Berlin, "Ramon Llull and His Contemporaries," in *Companion*, pp. 182-45. The citation is from p. 36.

[53] "Sources," *Essays in Divinity*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson, p. 108.

[54] Ibid., p. 7.

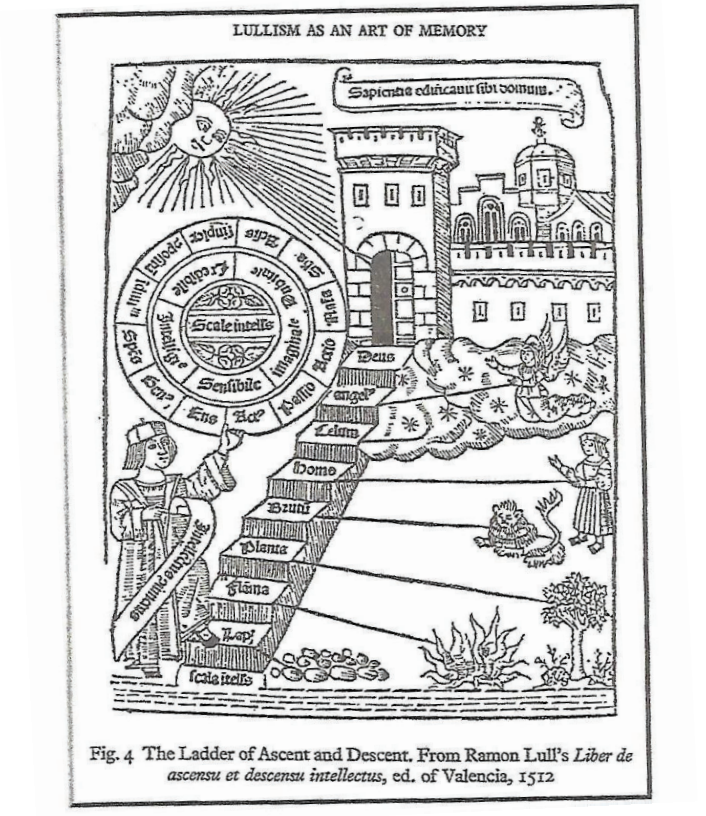

Fig. 1: "The Ladder of Ascent and Descent" from Ramon Llull's *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus (De nova logica*, Valencia, 1512). Permission to reproduce by the New York Public Library.

science"[55] Llull's combinatory apparatus depicted to the left in the figure above is what Báez Rubi says Sebund set aside. Actually, what Donne did do in the Holy Sonnets was both to employ Llull's Dignities on a descending/ascending scale—as a ladder—such as Sebond himself described and to employ the Dignities as a way to express the positive/negative aspects of God's attributes as he compared the

[55] Linda Báez Rubí, *Companion*, "Lullism among French and Spanish Humanists of the Early 16th Century," pp. 399-436. The citation is from p. 410.

Creator/creature relationship in the Revised Sequence we shall study below.

The above illustrates Llull's belief that the Trinity was disseminated throughout all Creation. Donne and Luther embraced the same idea. Echoing Sebund, Luther insists: "In all creatures are a declaration and a signification of the Holy Trinity."[56] As Creator/Maker, *Elohim* is also an important informing principle in Donne's Holy Sonnet sequence, where the word "making" is iterated throughout. *Elohim* in both the positive and negative sense is that name distinguishing the Trinity/trinity beginning with the human sense in Sonnet 3 (*HSScene*) and the divine sense in Sonnets 8 (*HSWhy*), 10 (*HSBatter*), 11 (*HSWilt*), 12 (*HSPart*), and 1 (*HSDue*). These sonnets alone link Donne's thought with that of Llull, Sebund, and Martin Luther, and they are rife with subtle indications that God's limited or otherwise distinguished properties—including *Eternitas* and *Finitudo*—envelope the whole.

A word of caution is in order before we begin: other sonnets outside the frame sometimes correspond with the same schema. One example would be Sonnet 19 in the Westmoreland manuscript (NY3), that one beginning, "Oh, to vex me" (*HSVex*). Be that as it may, we work from the "Revised Sequence" alone.[57] Possibly Donne's decision to include specific sonnets for his Revised Sequence (to the exclusion of other likely candidates) was to sharpen the Lullist agenda. If so, this may indicate his decision to revise the Original sequence accordingly. At any rate, the sonnets studied below move beyond the limitations imposed while simultaneously creating a system that welcomes the participation of Llull's *Principia*.

Part 2: Donne's Holy Sonnets (DT1)

We begin as Luther began his list of Divine Dignities: with the correspondents, Life and Death, which I consider to be the hinge of the whole.

SONNETS 6 (HSDeath) and 7 (HSSpit) of REVISED

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[56] Luther, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, ed. and trans., William Hazlitt (London: Bell & Daldy, 1872; rpt. 1902), p. 74.

[57] Donne, *Variorum*, vol. 7, part 1: "Revised Sequence," pp. 21-26. Henceforth, all sonnets discussed will be from this volume.

SEQUENCE (DT1)
Life/Death Luther's *Leben/Tod*
Power/Weakness Luther's *Gewalt/Schwachheit*
Blessedness/Despair Luther's (S*eligkeit*)/*Verzweiflung*

Death bee not proude, though some hath called thee
Mighty and Dreadfull, for thou art not soe
For those whom thou thinck'st thou dost overthrowe
Dye not poore Death, nor yet canst thou kill mee.
From rest, and sleepe, which but thy pictures bee,
Much pleasure, then from thee, much more must flowe
And soonest our best men with thee doe goe,
Rest of their bones, and Soules deliuerie.
Thou art slaue to Fate, Chance, Kings, and desperate men,
And dost with poyson, warr, and sicknes dwell
And Poppie or Charmes, can make vs sleepe as well
And better than thy stroak, why swell'st thou then?
One short sleepe past, wee wake aeternallye
And Death shall bee noe more. Death, thou shalt dye.[58]

The *compositio loci* may very well be a graveyard or a mausoleum or even a catacomb. One theologian remarks the custom of early Christians to gather for prayers in such places.[59] Ostensibly, the subject of Sonnet 6 is Death, but actually it is Life. Or, more to the point, together, as Lullian constructs, Sonnet 6 and Sonnet 7 constitute the same apophatic[60] nature of God. Like Luther, whose consuming interest—woven throughout his Latin poems—was death and life-after-death,[61] Life meets Death in Sonnet 7:

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[58] *Variorum*, p. 23

[59] Ben Myers, *The Apostles' Creed: A Guide to the Ancient Catechism*, (Bellingham, Washington: Lexham Press, 2018), pp. 82-83. "Believers would assemble for prayer in tombs. They would worship Christ among the bones of the dead. Believers would raise the bodies of martyrs in the air and parade them through the streets like trophies . . . . When new believers were preparing for baptism, they would gather in the presence of the dead, and there they would receive instruction in the ancient catechism."

[60] *Apophatic* is a theological term meaning what is dark or hidden within the godhead. It is the opposite of *cataphatic*.

[61] Carl P. E. Springer, "Death and Life After Death in Martin Luther's Latin Elegies: *Acta Conventus New-Latini*," *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International*

Spitt in my face yee Iewes, and peirce my side,
Buffett, and scoff, scourge, and crucifie mee,
For I haue sinn'd, and sinn'd, and only hee
Who could doe none iniquitie hath dyed.
But by my Death cannot bee satisfied
My sinnes which pass the Iewes impietie;
They kill'd once an inglorious man, but I
Crucifie him daily, being nowe glorified.
Oh lett mee then his strange Ioue still admire,
Kings pardon, but hee bore our punnishment;
And Iacob came cloathed in vile harsh attire,
But to supplant, and with gainfull intent;
God cloath'd himself in vile mans fleash that soe
Hee might bee weake enough to suffer woe.[62]

Martin Brecht says Luther determined to "take Christ's model of suffering and death upon himself."[63] Donne's speaker, the "I" in Sonnet 7, assumes the same guise. Death shall die in Sonnet 6, but Christ shall live in Sonnet 7. Even Death's victory is weak because Christ's victory is powerful (*Potestas*) because He is invincible. The speaker's sleep in Sonnet 6 is but Death's picture from which he will "wake aeternallye." Hence, Sonnet 7 is the speaker's more developed response to Death's challenge in Sonnet 6. The speaker admits that he has sinned (and therefore deserves to be punished). In fact, he depicts himself as Christ crucified on a daily basis or as one who does the same: "I / Crucifie him daily" (l.8). This is a broad hint of Donne's latent Roman Catholicism, one reason for his *Anfechtungen*, a condition that informs the entire sequence.

Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Upsala: Brill, 2009), pp.1049-1059. Having surveyed Luther's Latin poems, Springer concludes that Luther was attracted "to one of the most profound of all poetic themes, namely, death and life after death," p. 1050.

[62] *Variorum*, p. 24.

[63] Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation 1483-1521*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985). Brecht explains that Pre-Reformation Luther believed that "the justified believer can only hope that Christ will bring his work to a victorious conclusion in him, and accordingly take Christ's model of suffering and death upon himself," p. 136.

Every time Roman Catholics celebrate the Mass, the speaker declares, they crucify Christ "daily." This occurs when the elements are miraculously changed into the very body and blood of Christ. The Church of England had rejected this Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, substituting consubstantiation, which allowed the real presence of Christ with, *not in*, the Sacrament. The speaker's confession indicates that he is separated from the English Church, identifying instead with Roman Catholics, who slay Christ "daily," and with Jews, who slew Christ once.

Among Donne's Jewish interlocutors may be those who believe that justice demands abuse, that they should be allowed to spit in the face of a human who has committed blasphemy. Under these circumstances, they might reasonably determine that this man's crime against God is justified, allowing them to pierce his side, to scoff and to scourge the "man-Christ."

In his commentary on Psalm 22, Luther allows his Jewish readers the choice between a carnal Christ and a divine Christ, between Christ the Man (not God) and Christ the Son of God (God Himself). His commentary makes this clear: "Shall we not say that Christ at the same time was (as he stood in our stead) the most righteous person and the greatest sinner, of the greatest lies and the greatest truth, of the greatest glorying and the greatest desperation, and the most utterly damned?[64] Thus Luther weaves Llull's dignities (Righteousness/Sin, Truth/lies, Blessedness/Desperation, and All Good/All Evil) throughout his text. Donne's version of the Messiah in Sonnet 7 is similar, not the same.

As "God-Christ," he is the fulfillment of the Old Testament patriarch and hero, Jacob, a man. Jacob disguised himself as his brother Esau so that he could receive Isaac's blessing. God has allowed Christ to be "cloath'd . . . in vile mans fleash that . . . Hee might bee weake enough" (*Debilitas*) to deserve pardon, "to supplant, and with gainfull intent" (*Potestas*) redeem and offer Life to all mankind. The argument of Sonnet 7 is therefore based upon a cognitive proposition, inviting Jews to consider the possibility that the "Messiah to come" actually might be the "Messiah now here." Certainly, that would have been Pico's way of understanding the poem. According to Joseph Blau,

[64] Luther, Cole trans., p. 360.

"When Pico della Mirandola was led to the study of the cabala by his Hebrew teachers and friends, he found its adaptation easy. All that had to be done was to substitute the Christian doctrine of the Messiah-who-had-come for the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah-who-shall-come, to substitute Jesus, a concrete redeemer who had already been on earth, for the vague future redeemer believed in by the Jews."[65]

Before leaving the sonnet, let us remark the word, "*Ioue*" (l. 9), which, as Lullian construct, is connected with *Voluntas* [Will], to be discussed below.

Now that we have discovered the hinge in this sequence, or as Helen Gardner might say, one of the "contrasting sets," let us move vertically as well as horizontally, studying other Dignities informing other "contrasting sets of six." Since Donne at no time offered a list of Dignities, I shall take the liberty to supply Names, like needles in a haystack,[66] whereby individual sonnets touch each other.

SONNETS 5 (HSMin) and 8 (HSWhy) of SEQUENCE (DT1)
Weakness/Power Luther's *Gewalt*
Wisdom/Ignorance Luther's *Weisheit/Thorheit*
Elohim (God)/creature (mankind)

If poysonous mineralls, and if that tree
Whose fruit threwe death on, ellse immortall, vs,
If Leacherous Goates, if Serpents Envious
Cannot bee damn'd, Alass why should I bee?
Why should intent, or reason borne in mee
Make sinnes, ells equall, in mee more heynous?
And mercy being easie, and glorious
To God, in his sterne wrath, why threatens hee?
But whoe am I, that dares dispute with thee?
O God, oh of thine only worthy bloud
And my teares make a Heauenly Lethean floud,
And drowne in it my sinnes black memory,
That thou remember them, some clayme as debt,

[65] Blau, p. 15.
[66] *Variorum*, "Appendix 2," p. 111. Gary A. Stringer compares the quest for authenticity among the variants informing the Holy Sonnets to "Finding the needle . . . in the haystack."

I think it mercy, if thou wilt forgett.[67]

As correspondents, "If poysonous mineralls" and "Why are wee by all Creatures waited on?" illustrate Llull's conception of how affirmation and negation correlate in the theological sphere. Donne accomplishes this linguistic feat by fragmenting the linear narrative structure in these poems into their constitutive elements, then rearranges them in such a way that readers are invited to match "this" with "that." Here in this set of sonnets Donne's "limited property of the whole" is the "this" of *Power* and the "that" of *Weakness*. Alongside these two Names are Wisdom and Ignorance: "If" is the "this" and "Why?" is the "that"—both connected with the property of Reason, another form of Power. All Divine Names studied so far employ the Lullian logical construct, *Concordantia* and *Differentia.* In fact, as we shall see, all six pairs of sonnets in this sequence illustrate what Mark D. Johnston calls Llull's "fundamental dynamic."[68] They represent "the absolutely basic role of identity and difference as the types of all Lullian argument."[69]

The speaker of Sonnet 5—"If poysonous minerals"—begins as a complaint that mankind is condemned, even though other creatures are not. He whines for his rights. He considers himself to be stronger than beasts because God has given him *reason*, a virtue they lack. Yet, he—not any of them—is "damn'd." In contrast, the speaker of Sonnet 8—"Why are wee by all Creatures waited on?"—is in awe that, although he is weak, the stronger beasts serve and wait upon him, submitting to his leash and even to his knife. In the opening lines, he expresses wonder that the Powerful wait upon the Puny. The word "Creatures" initiates a theme that is reprised in the end ("Created Nature," "Creatour," and "Creatures"), all connected with *Elohim,* Agent(s) in the creative Act*:*

Why are wee by all Creatures waited on?
  Why doe the prodigall Elements supplye
Life, and foode to mee, being more pure then I,
  Simpler, and farther from corruption?
Why brook'st thou ignorant horse, subiection?
  Why dost thou Bull, and Bore soe sillilye

[67] *Variorum*, p. 23.
[68] Johnston, p. 93 n8.
[69] Ibid., p. 172.

Dissemble weaknes, and by one mans stroke dye,
Whose whole kinde you might swallowe, and feed vpon?
Weaker I am, woe is mee, and worse then you.
You haue not sinn'd, nor neede bee timorous;
But wonder at a greater wonder, for to vs
Created Nature doth these things subdue.
But their Creatour, whom sinne, not nature tied
For vs his Creatures, and his foes hath died.[70]

Helen Gardner asserts that "If poysonous mineralls" has no *compositio loci*,[71] but Sonnets 5 and 8 are, in fact, situated in a kind of psychological purgatory, and purgatory is a place.[72] This *compositio loci*, this place, is the human soul (assuming animals do not have souls) wrestling with the question of its salvation. "If" and "Why" represent reason, the need to find a reason so that it may find a solution. This place represents the middle ground between heaven and hell. This place represents Llull's *Potestas* (Strength) and *Debilitas* (Weakness), also included on Luther's list of God's Names.[73] Also these Dignities are coessential with the first two studied above, *Life/Death* in Sonnets 6 and 7. Altogether, these four sonnets represent the progress of the soul trying to understand who God, the Creator, *is* as well as who she, the creature, is *not*. Other necessary questions are "How?" "When?" and "What response is due?" The soul's answers to these questions will articulate her own spiritual condition.

Now is a good time to remark the context for Gardner's *compositio loci*. She, as many others, study these sonnets as exercises in Ignatian

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[70] *Variorum*, p. 24.

[71] Gardner, p. 68.

[72] Ibid, p. 116. Gardner addresses the matter of purgatory, which the Reformation "rejected on the ground that it could not be proved out of Scripture." She goes on: "Calvin . . . judged the whole debate [about purgatory] . . . to be '*bien frivole*'." Luther, on the other hand, worried about and prayed for his loved ones in purgatory. Even after the Reformation, he insisted that his dead parents needed his intercession, but by 1522 he reluctantly let go purgatory.

[73] Cole translates Luther's commentary: "[M]y energy, my effective power, my executive strength . . . all my strength being poured out, and all my bones being broken, I melt in my heart, and am become useless for every kind of work," p. 402.

meditation, which consists of three stages: the first is to imagine a specific place or situation, the second is to extract meaning from that particular image or situation, and the third, having come to some reasonable conclusions about what has been learned, to offer a colloquy or prayer. Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, as a series of Ignatian meditations, is an excellent example. All end with a prayer (a request) or a colloquy (conclusion) about what has been learned from the experience. Going back to the sonnets already surveyed, we note that they sometimes end with a prayer: "O God, oh of thine only worthy bloud / And my teares make" (*HSMin*), etc. Or by a colloquy: "God cloath'd himself in vile mans fleash that soe" (*HSSpit*), etc.

The next set of sonnets are examples of the same. Both occur at the Last Judgment, when souls are judged either by the rigor of the Law or Law tempered by Mercy. The time is the same but the setting differs. The *compositio loci* of Sonnet 4 is an exterior setting and that of Sonnet 9 is interior. Since they constitute a set, I take the liberty to shift their position.

SONNETS 4 (HSRound) and 9 (HSWhat) of SEQUENCE (DT1)
Despair/Blessedness Luther's *Verzweiflung/Seligheit*
Mercy/Justice Luther's *Barmherzigkeit/Gerechtigheit*
Wisdom/Ignorance Luther's *Weisheit/Thorheit*
Glory/Shame Luther's *Ehre/Schanden*

Both sonnets are anchored in the Name *Gloria*, meaning Honor (Luther's *Ehre*), and its converse, Shame (Luther's *Schanden*). Honor and Shame, as Lullian logical constructs, are necessarily connected with Salvation and Damnation (Luther's *Verdammnis*). As already observed, all the Dignities are enveloped by the concept of Time—*Aeternitas/Finitudo*—even as in combination they express versions of God's *Essence*. It is as if the clarinet, the tuba, the harp, and the kettle drum—all different instruments—become One. This phenomenon anticipates Eternity in that there can be no time (*Finitudo*) without motion. Ergo, these and other sets of sonnets represent time active, time bringing forth change. These sequences of events become Lullian constructs anticipating the logical end, which is Eternity.

With that in mind, we are free to study Donne's Sonnet 9 and Sonnet 4 as a recognizable set connected with the whole. We begin with Sonnet 9 (*HSWhat*) and then move sideways (or back) to Sonnet 4 (*HSRound*):

What if this present were the worlds last night?
  Mark in my hart ô Soule where thou dost dwell
The Picture of Christ crucified, and tell,
  Whether that countenance can thee affright.
Teares in his eyes quench the amazeing light,
  Bloud fills his frownes which from his pierc'd head fell
And can that tongue adiudge thee vnto hell
  Which prayed forgiuenes for his foes fierce spight?
Noe, noe, but as in my Idolatrie
  I said to all my Prophane Mistresses,
Beauty of pitty; foulness only is
  A signe of Rigor; soe I say to thee
To wicked spiritts are horrid shapes assign'd,
  This beauteous forme assures a piteous minde.[74]

The *compositio loci* of Sonnet 9 is a "hart," rather the speaker in stasis before a glass that shows--not just his own face but also the face of Christ. Christ's face is ugly: "Bloud fills his frownes which from his pierc'd head fell." The logical deduction from the speaker's own argument is that this "horrid shape" harbors some "wicked spirit," a spirit that would "adiudge thee vnto hell." The verdict is "guilty." Moreover, the face in the glass is complicated by the images of various, presumably beautiful, mistresses the speaker has seduced. The result is a palimpsest, beautiful and ugly faces together.

The clock is ticking: "this present were the worlds last night." Judgment Day draws near. The speaker's "Prophane Mistresses" witness against him. He resorts to repeating the same "line" he had used when seducing them: Begging for Mercy, he insists that Christ's marred face is actually a "beauteous forme." The colloquy is one of directive (thinly disguised as a prayer). The verdict is clear. The judge must be merciful.

Those who know Donne's "Sapho to Philaenis" may discover here a reference to Sapho's gazing in a mirror and seeing her "other self" alongside: "O cure this loving madnesse, and restore / Me to mee; thee, my *halfe*, my *all*, my *more*" (ll. 57-58).[75] Both the poem and the sonnet

[74] *Variorum*, p. 25.
[75] Shawcross, *Complete Poetry*, p. 77.

explore the connection between body and soul. While surveying the body, both seek to rediscover that *holy fire*, that necessary congruence.

Before leaving this sonnet, we might consider the way Donne's Jewish interlocutors may have understand the concept of *Mercy* as a Name. The Talmudists, Johann Reuchlin observes, believed "that 'in mercy' comes in the middle of the Messiah's proper name, YHWH, together with 'merit' and 'service' and 'with rigor and harshness'."[76] He therefore concludes that Jews recognized that "the [very] name of the Savior includes the word 'clemency'."[77]

When we turn to Sonnet 4 (*HSRound*) in this set, we find again Llull's *Misericordia/Iustitia*. The time is the same—the world's last night—but the *compositio loci* is now exterior. Rather than stasis (the speaker contemplating his situation while standing before a mirror), Donne provides his reader with much noise and much activity. If there is Beauty in this scene, it is the beauty of music—not so much the blare of trumpets as it is the harmony of bodies and souls reunited. The opening scene is from the Book of Revelation: "And after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth" (Revelation 7: 1a).[78] The four angels blow their trumpets, the Last Trump announces the Resurrection, bodies and souls are joined again:[79]

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[76] Johann Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah: De Arte Cabalistica*, trans., Martin and Sarah Goodman (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), p. 113.
[77] Ibid.
[78] The King James version of the Bible.
[79] See *Variorum* , "Notes and Glosses," p. 408. The editors observe one 16th century scholar's observations that Donne's reference to "the four corners of the earth" may have been influenced by Agrippa: The reference is to "John Freake's translation (1561) of Heinrich Cornelius Aggrippa of Nettesheim's *De occulta philosophia* (1533), ('whose work Donne certainly knew'), where there is a table . . . showing how the cosmos is organized on the principle of the tetrad." This same "tetrad," represented by "the four corners of the earth," factors into one phase of Llull's system of thought based upon the Tetragrammaton. Llull's quaternary phase represents the four humours. Significantly, Potter and Simpson remark Agrippa's debt to Llull in Appendix B, "List of Medieval and Renaissance Commentators and Controversialists Quoted by Donne in the *Sermons* and Other Main Prose Works," 10: 387-401. They observe that Donne's references to Agrippa in his sermons and in other prose works were influenced by Reuchlin and Heinrich Cornelius of Nettesheim, 1486–1535,

At the round Earths imagin'd corners blowe
  Your Trumpetts Angells: and arise, arise
From Death, you numberless infinities
  Of Soules, and to your scattred Bodies goe,
All whom the floud did, and fire shall overthrowe
  All whom Warr, Death, Age, Agues, Tyrannies
Despaire, Lawe, Chaunce hath slaine, and you whose eyes
  Shall behold God, and neuer tast Deaths woe,
But lett them sleepe Lord, and mee mourne a space
  For if aboue all these, my sinnes abound
'Tis late to aske aboundance of thy grace
  When wee are there; here on this lowly ground
Teach mee howe to repent, for thats as good
  As if thou'hadst seal'd my Pardon with thy bloud.[80]

The souls of those still alive, "whose eyes / Shall behold God, and neuer tast Deaths woe," are already united. But Donne's focus here is on the souls and bodies of the dead—no matter how they died, whether by drowning ("the floud") or by suicide ("Despaire"). Their reunion is beautiful, both as music (harmony) and as image. Depending upon the date of composition, Donne's imagery here may anticipate similar images in *The Second Anniversary* (1612). In that poem, Donne describes the soul flying through the firmament like a string of beads so that Heaven and Earth may join. The Agent (Llull's agent/patient/act) is Death. Death strings the soul to the body, even as the "Pith," or the cartilage of the backbone, fastens the vertebrae to the body: "Whose quicke succession makes it still one thing: / As doth the Pith, which least our Bodies slacke, / Strings fast the little bones of necke, and backe; / So by the soule doth death string Heaven and Earth" (ll. 210-213).[81] Donne's Roman Catholic readers may understand this string of beads in *The Second Anniversary* as a rosary, as a link to Heaven.

But then suddenly this otherwise beautiful, musical moment is interrupted by the speaker. Why? Because he now remembers: "Tis late." He prays that God will turn off the alarm clock and stop the show:

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and they conclude that Agrippa was "influenced by the cabbalism of Reuchlin and Lully [Ramon Llull]," p. 387.

[80] *Variorum*, p. 22.

[81] Shawcross, *Complete Poetry*, p. 297.

"But lett them sleepe Lord, and mee mourne a space." He has not yet finished his homework, hence the camera shifts to the interior with his concluding prayer: "Teach mee howe to repent." In terms of Lullian logic this sudden prayer represents an imperfect moment, for turning back veers from God's perfection, *Aeternitas* (or *Duratio*), when it demands that Time stand still.[82]

Wisdom/Ignorance are one of the Dignities connecting Sonnet 4 and Sonnet 9. Not knowing is a way to Wisdom. Perhaps Mark D. Johnston best articulates the sometimes confusion we face when trying to unravel the ways Llull's Dignities function in tandem. Referring to Llull's "middle natural," he explains, the "doctrine of the middle is an attempt to justify metaphysically the enormous number of relational arguments most of which manipulate the poles of identity and difference or contrariety and concordance in reducing the many to one."[83] As correspondents, Sonnet 4 and Sonnet 9 are an example of the same "many."

SONNETS 3 ((HSScene) and 10 (HSBatter) of SEQUENCE (DT1)
Strength/Weakness Luther's *Gewalt/Berzmeiflung*
Despair/Blessedness Luther's *Verzweiflung/Seligkeit*

The speaker of Sonnet 3 (*HSScene*) pulls on the same thread as had the speaker of Sonnet 4 (*HSRound*), the end of Time. The *compositio loci* is almost the same (Last Trump, the Last Night, the Last Chance) but not quite. This time the speaker is an actor *playing* his last scene: The "worlds last night" becomes "my Playes last Scene." Stage performance is a way of combining the interior/exterior view for both Sonnet 3 and Sonnet 10. In both correspondents the speakers are actors. In Sonnet 3 the actor is male, and in Sonnet 10 the actor is female. What further

[82] For a different way to understand time standing still, see Theresa M. DiPasquale, "From Here to Aeviternity: Donne's Atemporal Clocks" in *Modern Philology* (2012): 226-252. She cites the Old Testament story wherein God makes the sun "Stand still" (Joshua 10: 12-14). Although to some this phenomenon may represent an example of God's miracles, what DiPasquale calls "miraculously altered temporality," p. 251, in terms of Llull's spiritual logic, this would be an example of *otiositas* (imperfection) or a case of God allowing imperfection to invade perfection.
[83] Johnston, p. 234.

links these sonnets more than any other feature, however, is the *colloquy* of Sonnet 3 as it echoes the opening lines of Sonnet 10.

The colloquy of Sonnet 3 (*HSScene*) cites a converse "trinity." The opening lines of Sonnet 10 (*HSBatter*) address the Trinity as Christian theologians define it. Let us look at them now, even as the Name *Elohim* contains and envelops both. As noted above, Donne discusses the name *Elohim* in his *Essays*, and he references *Elohim* in his *Sermons*. About this name, *Elohim*, he has much to say concerning the doctrine of the Trinity which the Name itself embodies. My focus here moves beyond the acting motif, shifting to *Elohim* as Creator and mankind as creature:

> This is my Playes last Scene, Here heau'ns appointe
> My Pilgrimages last mile; And my race
> Idly, yet quickly run, hath this last pace,
> My spanns last Inch, my minutes last point.
> And gluttonous Death will instantly vnioynt
> My Bodie, and Soule; And I shall sleepe a space
> But my euer wakeing part shall see that face
> Whose feare already shakes my euery ioynt.
> Then as my soule, to heau'n her first seat, takes flight
> And earth-borne body, in the earth shall dwell,
> Soe fall my sinnes, that all may haue their right
> To where they'are bred, and would press mee, to Hell.
> Impute mee righteous thus purg'd of evill.
> For thus I leaue, the world, the fleash, and Deuill.[84]

Let us begin with the last two lines of Sonnet 3: "Impute mee righteous thus purg'd of evill." The beginning of this prayer brings the Old Testament and the New Testament concept of atonement together. Blood is crucial to atonement. For the Jews, blood on the altar offered a substitutionary death: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul" (Leviticus 17: 11 *KJV*). This is repeated by the psalmist David: "Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity and in whose spirit there is no guile" (Psalm 32: 2 *KJV*). The Apostle Paul echoes the same: "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute

[84] *Variorum*, p. 22.

sin" (Romans 4:8 *KJV*). The speaker (whether Jew or Christian) understands this need for atonement, lest he be damned.

What best knits this pair of correspondents is concern for atonement that can only be accomplished by a Triune God. The speaker of Sonnet 3 wants to be separated from the "trinity" currently holding him down: "For thus I leaue, the world, the fleash, and Deuill." This negative "trinity" tells us what God is *not*. It is the converse of *Elohim* because, rather than create, it destroys. In the *Essays*, Donne observes that "by this name of *God*, *Elohim*, because it is plurally pronounced in this place [the first verse in the Hebrew Bible], and with a *singular* verbe, the Trinity is insinuated [in the act of Creation]."[85] Since the concept of *Elohim* informs both Sonnet 3 and Sonnet 10, let us take them together. We begin with the actress on stage:

> Batter my heart, three person'd God; for you
> As yet, but knock, breathe, shine, and seeke to mend.
> That I may rise and stand, orethrowe mee, and bend
> Your force to break, blowe, burne, and make mee newe.
> I, like an vsurp'd towne, to another due,
> Labour to'admitt you; but oh to noe end,
> Reason, your Vice-roye in mee, mee should defend,
> But is captiu'd, and proues weake or vntrue,
> Yet dearly I loue you, and would bee loued faine
> But am betroath'd vnto your enemye.
> Divorce mee, 'vntye, or breake that knott againe;
> Take mee to you, imprison mee, for I,
> Except you inthrall mee, neuer shalbee free
> Nor euer chast except you ravish mee.[86]

Potter and Simpson explain Donne's use of *Bara Elohim* in the *Sermons*: The name itself, they say, "is a plural form, but *bara*, the verb of which *Elohim* is the subject, is in the singular."[87] When we look at the first line of Sonnet 10, we find *Elohim* in the form of essential definition, "three person'd God," only without the particular distinctions defined by the *sephiroth*. The editors explain *Elohim* by citing the argument of

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[85] Donne, *Essays,* p. 26.
[86] *Variorum*, p. 25.
[87] *Sermons* 10: "Appendix: List of Hebrew Words on Which Donne Comments in the Sermons," pp. 329-344. The citation is on p. 329.

Peter Lombard (ca. 1100–1160) that the first verse of the Hebrew Bible demonstrates the Trinity. According to Lombard, the words "*Creavit Deus*" betray a "lack of agreement between subject and verb. This fact, he argued, is in itself "an intimation of the Trinity."[88] Donne weaves this doctrine into the end of Sonnet 3 and into the beginning of Sonnet 10. These "trinities" represent the negative and positive Names of *Elohim*, the Creator.

Looking beyond the Trinity as subject, we see that Despair informs both texts: "feare already shakes my euery ioynt" in Sonnet 3 and "Labour to'admitt you: but oh to noe end" in Sonnet 10 indicate the respective actors' dread. The Agent of this "feare" is in both sonnets—Death. Desperation or Despair is occasioned by Death's separating body from soul: "Death will instantly vnioynt / My Bodie, and Soule" in Sonnet 3 and "Divorce me, 'vntye, or breake that knott againe" in Sonnet 10.

Yet another dichotomous feature is that of Weakness/Strength (Luther's *Schwachheit*/*Gewalt*). Energy and Lassitude inform both. The actor of Sonnet 3 has all but given up: "My spanns last Inch, my minutes last point." Exhaustion leaves him prone: "my sinnes . . . press mee to Hell." The actress of Sonnet 10 is likewise bereft of energy. *She* (perhaps Donne's way of expressing weakness) complains that *Elohim*, this "three person'd God," has failed to rescue her from Satan. The reason is that *Elohim* does not exert sufficient Force or sufficient energy. He is so kind that she, the besieged city, is bereft of Power. He must "seeke to mend" by exerting more Force, must "break, blowe, burne" in order to break through the gates and rescue the town. Beyond all of this, she demands that this triune Creator "make mee newe." This exhausted "she" (just as the actor of Sonnet 3, who is likewise unable to "rise and stand") simply lies prone and moans, "ravish mee."

SONNETS 2 (HSBlack) and 11 of SEQUENCE (DT1)
Calvinism / Arminianism
Peace/Dismay Luther's *Friede / Unfriede*
Power/Weakness Luther's *Gewalt / Schwachheit*

These correspondents introduce a subject unfamiliar to Llull and Luther: strife between radical Calvinists and Arminians coexisting

[88] Ibid.

uneasily within the Church of England. The issue is whether or not mankind may be an active participant in the process of salvation.

> Oh my black Soule, nowe thou art summoned
> By Sickness, Deaths Herald, and Champion,
> Thou'art like a Pilgrim which abroad had done
> Treason, and durst not turne, to whence hee is fled
> Or like a Theife which till Deathes doome bee read
> Wisheth himself deliuered from prison,
> But damn'd, and hal'd to execution
> Wisheth that still hee might bee'imprisoned.
> Yet Grace, if thou repent, thou canst not lack.
> But whoe shall giue thee that Grace to beginne?
> Oh make thy self with holy mourning black
> And red with blushing as thou art with sinne
> Or wash thee in Christs bloud, which hath his might
> That being Red, it dyes red soules to white.[89]

As the *Variorum* editors suggest, most of Donne's Holy Sonnets were probably composed (but not necessarily revised) before 1615, when he became an Anglican priest. Therefore, we cannot expect that these sonnets as we have now received them represent the mind of John Donne, Dean of Saint Paul's (1621–1631). Moreover, as Dean of Saint Paul's, Donne served under two different kings. The initial attitude of James I towards radical Calvinists and Arminians vying for the center of power within the Church of England was conciliatory. But as strife worsened under his son, Charles I, especially in tandem with William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, who wanted to move closer to Rome, irenic policies ceased. Donne naturally had to adjust to these changing circumstances. So what does this have to do with his Holy Sonnets, which were clearly written before all this intense, escalating religious strife?

John Stachniewski argues that "[t]he most significant theological influence on the 'Holy Sonnets' is not Jesuit, not Catholic, not Laudian-Anglican, not Hookerian-Anglican, but Calvinist."[90] Others have attributed Donne's despair to his apostasy, because he has left (or is

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[89] *Variorum*, p. 21.

[90] Stachniewski, "John Donne: The Despair of the 'Holy Sonnets'," *ELH* 48 (1981): 677-705. The citation is from p. 697.

considering leaving) the church of his great-grand-uncle and Roman Catholic martyr, St. Thomas More, and the church of his maternal uncle. Jasper Heywood, secret Jesuit missionary to England.

Thomas Hester, in fact, argues that Sonnet *2*, which begins "Oh my black Soule," betrays Donne's angst over his brother Henry's martyrdom and over his inability to achieve assurance of his salvation.[91] Hester says that the final lines in Sonnet *2* contain a two-fold degree of ambiguity in the questions: 1) "whether man's own efforts to 'make thy selfe' (as in Good Deeds) and 'wash thee' (as in Penance)" is a way of achieving assurance of salvation or 2) whether "the Protestant doctrine of Imputation (as explained by both Luther and Calvin)" is a way of achieving "a sense of assurance."[92] The course of this study is not entirely different in that it recognizes ambiguity throughout the sequence even as it seeks to understand the Lullian concept of *Despair*.

Ambiguity, in fact, is written into these same Lullian constructs, one of which Luther determines as Peace/Dismay (*Friede/Verzweiflung*). Like Donne, Pre-Reformation Luther had also turned "apostate." The ambiguous "assurances" in Sonnet *2* are Lullian operatives based upon these Names—two sides of the same coin. Now let us see how the two sonnets, Sonnet *2* and Sonnet 11, cooperate.

The speaker in Sonnet *2* likens himself to a thief and a traitor who "abroad had done / Treason" (ll. 3-4). Time, as in other sonnets, is a factor, for he is "hal'd to execution" (l. 7). However, he refuses to despair, even though the executioner is approaching and the clock ticking. He decides to "make do" quickly. ("Making," as we have seen, is again a reference to *Elohim*.) How will this creature emulate the Creator? He will do it with the assistance of tears, a black costume, some rouge, and dye:

> Oh make thy self with holy mourning black
> And red with blushing as thou art with sinne
> Or wash thee in Christs bloud, which hath his might
> That being Red, it dyes red soules to white.

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[91] Hester, "The troubled wit of John Donne's 'blacke Soule'," *Cithera* 31 (1991): 16-27.

[92] Ibid., p. 23.

Radical Calvinists (Puritans) might understand this "making" as a slur on Roman Catholics and Arminians, who think that their own works (the Sacraments, penance, confession, prayer, etc.) can cooperate in the process of salvation. These same Calvinists, depending upon the extent to which they are "radical," may take Calvin's original doctrine of total depravity to extremes, believing that the sinner can do nothing to accomplish his or her salvation. The sinner is even devoid of (Llull's) Will/*Voluntas*, for he has not the Strength/*Potestas* to exercise that Will. God must do all. A commonplace among radical Calvinists is the image of a man lying in a deep pit without any means of escape. Even were someone to let down a rope, the sinner has neither Power (*Potestas*) nor Will (*Voluntas*) to grasp it.

Roman Catholics and Arminians might, on the other hand, understand the creature's making to be a true and effective way to achieve, eventually, congruence with the Creator. Donne, as Hester suggests, allows for both interpretations. Some years after these sonnets were composed, Donne provided us with an example of his toleration for both points of view, ambiguity being written into his sermons.

Preaching at St. Paul's Cross on 24 March 1616 [1617], an open air venue, the audience large and varied, Donne preached on Proverbs 22:11: "He that loveth pureness of heart, for the grace of his lips, the King shall be his friend." This text allowed him to descant on various ways to understand "pure." In doing so, he found opportunity to speak to opposing religious factions without undue offense. He begins with those "*purifying Puritans*, quarrelling with men, with States, with Churches, and attempting a purifying of Sacraments, and Ceremonies, Doctrine and Discipline, according to our own fancy."[93] Many among those gathered must have scowled. But when he goes on to refer to those "new *Romane Chymists*, . . . [who] can *transubstantiate bread into God*, [thinking] they can change any foulness into cleanness easily,"[94] those same scowls turned to smiles.

Donne was savvy, addressing both camps and identifying with neither. Towards the end of this sermon, he offers a prayer: "Next let us pour out our thanks to God, that in his entrance he was beholden to no *by-religion*. The *Papists* could not make him place any hopes upon

[93] *Sermons*, 1:189.
[94] Ibid., p. 203.

them, nor the *Puritans* make him entertain any fears from them."[95] Later in his career, while serving under Charles I, Donne preached against the disputants of the world, among whom he included "*papists* against *Protestants*, or of Protestants, *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, against one another."[96]

Taken together, these sermons, both preached at St. Paul's Cross during Donne's service under two different kings, illustrate his deep and abiding concern that harmony be restored to the Church of England. In his own way, Donne embraced the healing spirit of Ramon Llull, striving to restore a fragmented world to "whole-someness."

Holy Sonnets 2 (*HSBlack*) and 11 (*HSWilt*) anticipate this same concern about how to achieve congruence with God. Thematically, of course, the two sonnets cohere (thief, treason, recovery). Point-of View—interior in Sonnet 2 and exterior in Sonnet 11—provides contrast. But it is the Dignities—Peace (Sonnet 11) as opposed to Dismay (Sonnet 2) and Power (Sonnet 11) as opposed to Weakness (Sonnet 2)—that establish focus. Most certainly *Elohim*—the concept of a powerful Creator God as opposed to a limited human creator—knits the two sonnets together.

> Wilt thou loue God as hee thee, then digest
> My soule, this wholsome meditation,
> Howe God the Spirit by Angells wayted on
> In heauen, doth make his Temple in thy breast.
> The Father having begott a Sonne most blest
> And still begetting, (for hee nere begunne)
> Hath daign'd to chuse thee by adoption
> Coheire to his Glorie, and Sabaaths endless rest;
> And as a robb'd man, which by search doth finde
> His stollen stuff sold, must loose, or buy'it againe
> The sonne of glory came downe, and was slayne
> Vs, whom hee had made, and Satan stolne, to vnbind.
> 'Twas much that man was made like God before
> But that God should bee made like man, much more.[97]

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[95] Ibid., p. 219.
[96] Ibid., 9: 114.
[97] *Variorum*, p. 26.

God, the Creator, and man, the creature, are inextricably bound. The creature, whether Arminian or Roman Catholic, does the making in Sonnet 2: "make thy self," and "wash thee." Here in Sonnet 11 we have a more Calvinistic kind of *making*, this time done by the all-powerful Creator compounded: "doth make," "having begott," "still begetting," "whom hee had made," "was made like," and "should bee made like." In contrast to the interior view of Sonnet 2, we have the exterior view in the form of a meditation concerning God's relationship with his creatures. Part of this contrast between interior and exterior views is the concept of time. There are two kinds of time. The human creator, who hears the clock ticking, recognizes that the executioner is near and therefore wants double-quick time. Therefore he declares that he will do the "washing" himself, which is a way of manipulating time, of accomplishing fast work. But the Creator's work in Sonnet 11 demands slow time: time to beget a "Sonne," time to "chuse" an heir, time to come "downe," "time to be "slayne," in order to prepare for "Sabaaths endless rest" (l. 8). And finally, time to "digest"—what?—"this wholsome meditation."

Love

Now is time to consider how the concept of Love fits into the final correspondents of this Revised sequence. Luther's list of Dignities does not include "Love." Llull, however, includes "Love/Hate" as Dignities in at least one of his diagrams (Figure 2 below). Donne implements the same.

We first find the word "loue" in line 9 of Sonnet 7 (*HSSpit*): "Oh lett mee then his strange Ioue admire." When Llull includes "Love," he always connects Love with *Voluntas*. For Llull, Will is the Agent

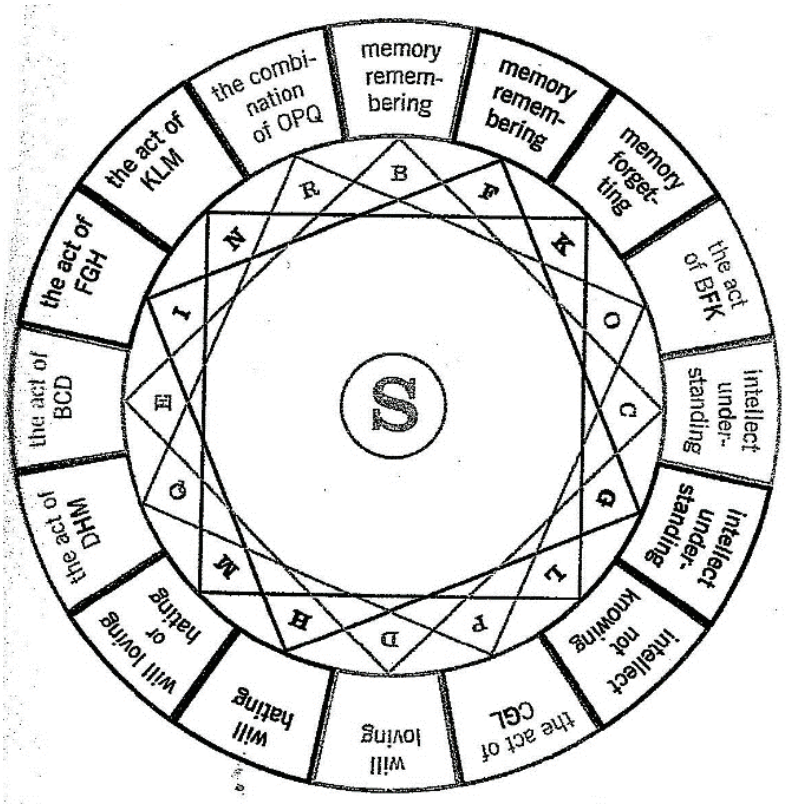

Fig. 2. Ramon Llull, "Powers of the Soul"[98]
Permission to reproduce "S" granted by Brill.

determining whether or not to love. Now is a good time to study how Will and Love, as Dignities, knit this last set of correspondents.

For Llull, the concept of Love is attached to the faculties of the human soul: the Intellect, the Will, and the Memory. The primary task of each faculty respectively is to know/Intellect, to love/Will, and to recall/Memory. The direct objects of these verbs are both God and the human soul, that is, the human soul knowing, loving, and recalling but

[98] Figure "S" from Anthony Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull: A User's Guide* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2007), n.p.

also God knowing, loving, and recalling His creature. Happily, in Sonnet 11 (*HSWilt*), "Wilt" (*Volentas*) and "loue" are already married.

Illustrating this phenomenon is Llull's device, "The Soul as a Model of the Trinity," designed for this purpose. This mechanism demonstrates how the Will assists in comprehending "Love" in both the positive and negative sense, that is, loving / hating. As mentioned above, Llull's primary missionary endeavors were to the Muslims situated in North Africa, and one of his "machines" was designed to elicit their attention.[99] This same concept is pertinent to the last set of sonnets in the Revised sequence and should not be overlooked.

It is important to respect Llull's distinction between *Volentas* (as one of God's Dignities) on the human level, which is active, and the same Dignity as it is represented on the divine level, which is *also* active but not the same. As in the concentric circles of Llull's volvelle (Figure 3 below), *Volentas* moves throughout the various levels (animal, mineral, vegetable) of Creation. On the Divine level, *Æternitas* also moves, for it must not stand still. That is how God demonstrates perfection, which exceeds the perfection of any other being.

Josep Rubio stresses this need when he writes of Llull's spiritual logic, "God, supreme being and absolute perfection, is always active, and this activity is manifested in His dignities."[100] Rubio insists that "the perfection of a being necessarily implies its action, for inaction (*otiositas*) is identified with non-being and hence, imperfection."[101] This activity, Numa Ulisses Gomez explains, marks the difference between God's Love and the creature's love, which fluctuates, as that of the superior over the inferior, "as a superior, incarnate love that overshadows a carnal love."[102] *Will*, as one of the three faculties of the soul, is inextricably bound with both the Trinity and Love.

Figure 2 (above) represents Llull's version of Augustine's three powers of the rational soul: memory, intellect, and will. It demonstrates

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[99] See Numa Ulisses Gomez, "The Crusades of Ramon Llull: Apologetics and Evangelism to Muslims during the Thirteenth Century," diss. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (2018), p. 63. Gomez's Figure 4 depicts Will (*Voluntas*) as a negative/positive logical construct: "Will Loving" and "Will Hating." p. 93.

[100] Rubio, p. 90.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Gomez, p. 65.

how these three powers act in combination. Llull fashioned it after a model for the Trinity. It shows visually how these powers combine. The combined action of E and I, for example, would place someone in the position of either acceptance or rejection. This aspect of Llull's combinatory Art, albeit unknown to some or indeed many of Donne's readers, nevertheless lurks as underpinning to the last set in the revised sequence.

The God of the Trinity was defined as "three person'd God" in Sonnet 10 (*HSBatter*). Linked with this Trinity is Love: "Yet dearly I loue you, and would bee loued faine" (l. 9). It seems not insignificant that Sonnet 11 opens with Love, "Wilt thou loue God" (*HSWilt*) and then moves directly to this Trinity: "God the Spirit," God "The Father," and finally God the "Sonne." The reference to "God the Spirit" (l.3) includes His having made "his Temple in thy breast" (l. 4). The next reference to God "The Father" (l. 5) includes His having begotten "a Sonne most blest," (l. 5) who is "still begetting" (l. 6). And finally to "that man [who] was made like God before / But that God should bee made like man." Thus is the Trinity defined. Moreover, this Trinity is bound with Will ("Wilt thou"). The implications of Will (Llull's *Voluntas*) interconnected with Love is explored in the last set.

SONNETS 1 (HSDue) AND 12 (HSPart) of SEQUENCE (DT1)
Blessedness/Despair Luther's *Seligkeit/Verzweiflung)*
Love/Acceptance Will Hate/Rejection
Finitude — Time — Eternity

As due by many titles I resigne
My self to thee ô God; first I was made
By thee, and for thee, and when I was decay'de
Thy bloud bought that the which before was thine.
I am thy Sun, made with thy self to shine,
Thy seruant, whose paines thou hast still repaid
Thy sheepe, thine Image, And till I betray'd
My self a Temple of thy spiritt Divine.
Why doth the Deuill then vsurpe in mee?
Why doth hee steale, nay ravish that's thy right?
Except thou rise, and for thine owne worke fight
Oh I shall soone depaire, when I doe see
That thou lou'st Mankind well, yet wilt not chuse mee

And Satan hates mee, yet is loath to loose mee.[103]

As mentioned above, Luther begins his list of Divine Names with Death/Life. Donne's final set of correspondents in the DT1 sequence evidences the same. The conceptual metaphor shared throughout both Sonnet 1 and Sonnet 12 is the concept of property and all that is associated with it: legal documents, wills, money, interest accrued and/or payments due. The determining factor among these various documents is whether or not the human soul will survive as a solvent entity or be consigned to debtors' prison.

As conceptual metaphor, this network of imagery represents one of many examples of Donne's using currency to express the condition of the soul (which is necessarily linked with Death/Life). One early example of coin imagery, familiar to many students of Donne, is found in his letter to Sir Henry Goodyer (1610?). Donne warns of the danger of switching sides, from the Reformed to the Roman Church. Newly minted coins, he says, can be trusted as God's image, but those that are remade cannot: "You shall seldom see a coin, upon which the stamp were removed, though to imprint it better, but it looks awry and squint. And so, for the most part, do minds which have received divers impressions….I will not, nor need to you, compare the religions."[104]

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[103] *Variorum*, p. 21.

[104] Donne, "A Letter to Sir Henry Goodyer (1610?)," *John Donne: The Oxford Authors*, ed. John Carey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 196-198. Carey elsewhere explains the general bent of Donne's mind as he compares Donne's "switch-rounds" with re-stamped coins. See also John Carey, "Donne and Coins," *English Renaissance Studies: Presented to Dame Helen Gardner in honour of her Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1980), pp. 151-68. Carey likens re-stamped coins to Donne's brainwork: "Whether fat or thin, whether re-stamped clearly or askew, such coins bear the markings of 'various matrices.' His [Donne's] mind advances not forward but sideways, spreading out through parallels which are never quite parallel, and analogies which alter what they illustrate," p. 157. See also Albrecht, *Virgin Mary*. Here I remark Donne's use of coin imagery in the sermons and poems. In a sermon reference to the Virgin Mary, Donne explains that Mary becomes God's Mint. The Exchequer is the Church. The Church is simply the treasury housing this coin. Just as parents imprint themselves upon the characters of their children, mankind's debts must be paid by Christ, the second person in the Trinity. (See Christmas Day sermon that follows below.) Other references to currency occur

A later example of Donne's use of money as metaphor derives from a Christmas Day sermon preached at St. Paul's in 1622. Donne's text was from Colossians 1: 19-20: "For it pleased the Father, that in Him should all fulnesse dwell; and, having made peace through the bloud of His crosse, by Him, to reconcile all things to Himselfe, by Him, whether they be things in Earth, or things in Heaven." In this Christmas Day sermon, Donne remarks:

> I should think my selfe more beholden to that man, who would be content to pay my debt for me, then to him that should entreat my creditor to forgive me my debt . . . .First, he [Christ] must pay it in such money as was lent . . . for man had sinned, and man must pay. And then it was lent in such money as was coyned even with the Image of God . . . . The Image of the invisible God, the second person in the Trinity, was imprinted into the humane nature. And then, that there might bee *omnis plenitudo*, all fulnesse, as God, for the paiment of this debt, sent downe the Bullion, and the stamp, that is, God.[105]

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in *The Anniversaries*: "And that rich Indie which doth gold interre, / Is but a single money, coyn'd from her" (ll. 233-4), *The First Anniversarie*. Later, in 1612, he writes:"[S]hee whose rich beauty lent / Mintage to others beauties, for they went / But for so much, as they were like to her," (ll. 223-25), *The Second Anniversary*. I have suggested that Hugh of St. Victor (1096?-1141) may have been among Donne's sources: "Hugh…thought of memory as images stored, like coins, in the various compartments of a purse. As one needs or wants these coins, they are pulled out of their respective pockets….[I]t is tempting to think of Donne writing his own palimpsest, a metaphor of a metaphor, suggesting numerous layers of memory, some almost gone," *Virgin Mary*, p. 124. Also see *Sermons* 10, "Appendix B: List of Medieval and Renaissance Commentators and Controversialists Quoted by Donne in the Sermons and Other Main Prose Works," pp. 387-401. Potter and Simpson identify "Hugo de S. Victor (ca. 1096-1141)" as "Theologian and mystic, influenced by Dionysius," p. 394.

[105] Donne, *Sermons*, 4: 288. In this manner of proceeding, Donne draws from precedents such as Peter Comester. See Michael G.L. Church's commentary on Comester's exegesis: "[I]n the building of the heavenly Jerusalem three phases are to be distinguished: the separation, the cleansing, and the setting. The reparation is violent, the cleansing purgatorial, and the setting eternal. In the first phase man is in anguish and affliction; in the second he is patient and

Sometimes Donne's use of coin imagery in the sermons employs the language of alchemy, which likens redeemed individuals to coins in God's treasury:

> Therefore David who was metall tried seven times in the fire, and desired to be such gold as might be laid up in Gods Treasury, might consider, that in transmutation of metals, it is not enough to come to a calcination, or a liquefaction of the metall, (that must be done) nor to an Ablution, to sever drosse from pure, nor to a Transmutation, to make it a better metall, but there must be a Fixion, a settling thereof, so that it shall not evaporate into nothing.[106]

The alchemical references to gold reinforce Donne's coin imagery. Altogether, these examples represent some of the many times Donne used coin imagery throughout his career as poet and priest.

Sonnet 1 (*HSDue*) and Sonnet 12 (*HSWilt*) in the Revised sequence indicate what is probably an early use of the same conceptual metaphor. In Sonnet 1 we see some references to money or what might otherwise be considered legal terms ("titles," "bought," "repaid," "steale," and "right"). Patrick O'Connell interprets the titles listed ("Sun," "seruant," "sheepe," "Image," and "Temple") as "a collection of external, legalistic bonds."[107] Sonnet 12 is even more explicit in its references to property changing hands, payment of debts, investments, agents overseeing interest on capital, legacy, statutes, and law ("lawe and letter"):

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expectant; in the third, he is in glory and exultation. In the first phase man is sifted like grain, in the third, he is placed in the treasury." See Church, "The Poetics of Purgatory: Redeeming the Middle Place," *Ars Ecclesia: A Journal of Catholic and Evangelical Theology* 13.4 (Fall 2004): 424-50. The citation is from p. 433.

[106] Ibid., 5:314.

[107] Patrick Francis O'Connell, "Both Adams Met in Me: A Reading of the 'Divine Poems' of John Donne," diss. Yale University (1978), p. 177. Of some interest is the fact that Louis L. Martz co-directed this work. O'Connell remarks, "Martz's careful reading of the first draft of this dissertation, his generosity in spending time discussing it with me, and especially his frequent challenges to my acceptance of conventional wisdom," p. iii.

Father, part of his double interest
  Vnto thy kingdome, thy Sonne giues to mee,
His Ioincture in the knotty Trinity
  Hee keeps, and giues mee his Deaths Conquest.
This Lambe, whose Death with Life the world hath blest
  Was from the worlds beginning slayne: and hee
Hath made twoe wills, which with the Legacie
  Of his, and thy kingdome, doth thy sonnes invest.
Yet such are those lawes, that men argue yet
  Whether a man those statutes can fulfill;
None doth; but all healing grace, and spiritt
  Reviue againe, what lawe and letter kill.
Thy Lawes Abridgment, and thy last command
  Is all but Loue, Oh lett that last will stand.
                Finis.[108]

The final prayer (colloquy) references the Lullian logical construct, "will to love," but it also necessarily references the negative dignity, "will to hate." In this set of sonnets, "Will to Love" becomes the binding agent (Agent/Patient/Act).

In another poem, "The Will," Donne's speaker bequeaths to Love "some Legacies" (ll. 1-2).[109] He gives his blind eyes to Love. He gives to fame his tongue, to women (or to the sea) he gives his tears, to the Jesuits his ingenuity, to the living he gives his antique medals, etc. Finally, he gives no more. Instead, he tells Love, "And all your graces no more use shall have / Then a Sun dyall in a grave" (ll. 50-51). The last corresponding sonnets in this Revised sequence bring together some of these same issues, e.g. legal documents, including Will (in several senses), Love, and time.

The quasi-legal term binding Sonnet 1 and Sonnet 12 is the concept of Will in the double sense (God's "double interest"): *Voluntas* is both a legal document (a thing), and an intent to act (a verb). Love (as in Despair and Will) also serves as both noun and verb. As the Lullian Agent, Love binds the legatee to his/her inheritance. God's Love exercises His or Her right to knit Law with personal attachment, that is, the willingness to Love. On the other hand, as a Dignity, the will to Love necessarily includes the alternative, the will to Hate.

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[108] *Variorum*, p. 26. The *Variorum* editors note the "Subscription: Finis] ffnis."
[109] Shawcross, *Complete Poetry*, pp. 136-38.

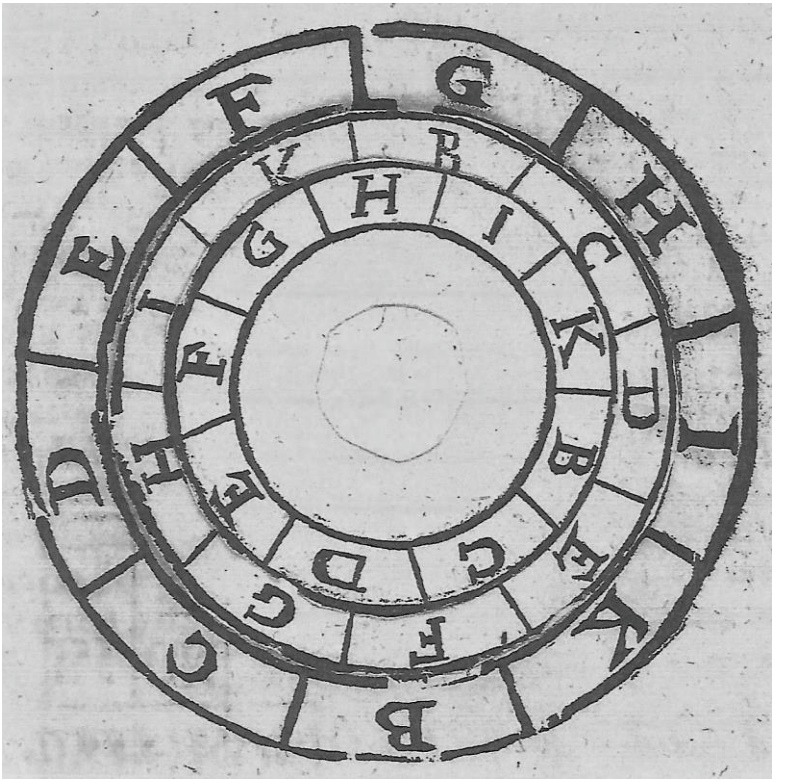

Fig. 3: Volvelle device from Ramon Llull's , *ars brevis (Opera*, Strasburg, 1617). Permission to reproduce by The New York

I have elsewhere remarked Donne's use of clocks as conceptual metaphor for finite time as opposed to eternity.[110] Donne's own striking clock, which he bequeathed to Sir Thomas Grymes, the executor of his will, represents finite time, which, in itself, indicates imperfection. Josep Rubio refers to Llull's version of the same, distinguishing "infinity" (*infinitat)* from "eternity" (*eternitat*). Rubio observes that Llull included the negative *otiositas* (inaction) as indicative of "non-being and hence, imperfection."[111] The logic embedded in Llull's volvelle device

[110] See Albrecht, *Using Alchemical Memory Techniques for the Interpretation of Literature*, "Clocks," pp. 46-48. See also "Tears and Time," pp. 48-49.
[111] Rubio, p. 90.

(above) argues that activity, whether human or divine, is essential to the concept of *being*. Obviously, *otiositas* has no meaning in terms of Llull's schema unless it implies "dead."

Llull created this volvelle device as a way to understand two levels of time, two ways of being. It consists of a series of circles showing how activity human connects with activity divine. The inner circles indicate human movement. These inner circles connect with an outer circle which encompasses them but does not itself move except as an agent that binds. Llull's readers were able to make combinations of Dignities by moving the circles. That is because a paper dot covers the thread of the volvelle. Although constructing this device may seem like a great deal of effort, the apprentice, already sewing the pages by hand, thought little of attending to this detail at the same time.[112]

The letters on all three levels indicate God's *Dignities* (Glory, Wisdom, Power, Truth, etc.) At this point, the most important Dignity to be considered is that of Eternity (the outer circle) and Time finite (the two inner circles).

Donne himself provided an explanation for this volvelle when he preached on the death of martyrs in an Easter sermon (year undetermined). Here he is careful to distinguish between human activity and divine activity:

> Their death was a birth to them into another life, into the glory of God; It ended one Circle, and created another; for immortality, and eternity is a Circle too; not a Circle where two points meet, but a Circle made at once. This life is a Circle made with a Compasse, that passes from point to point; That life is a Circle stamped with a print, an endless, and perfect Circle as soone as it begins. Of this Circle, the Mathematician is our great and good God. The other Circle we make up ourselves.[113]

The final correspondents in this Revised sequence represent, in the Lullian sense, divine activity linked with mankind. The divine name *Aeternitas* joins other divine names linking mankind with God. The

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[112] I thank John Rathe at the Rare Books Division of the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Branch of the New York Public Library for this information.
[113] *Sermons*, 2:200.

agent that is most active in the final two correspondents, Sonnet 1 and Sonnet 12, is Love. Donne employs Love as a way to justify God's way to mankind. Now let us study these correspondents more carefully.

The speaker's "despaire" (l. 12) in Sonnet I is, according to O'Connell, occasioned by his attachment to "the Calvinist theology of predestination: 'thou lov'st mankind well, yet wilt not chuse me' (l. 13)."[114] Such a perspective renders God's Love static (*otiositas*): Can Love be Love when it stubbornly sits, refusing to move? Llull's spiritual logic rejects such a conclusion. A more acceptable conclusion, in terms of Llull's Art, would be *Voluntas* choosing either to hate or to love. [115] Such a position is close to predestinarianism, to radical Calvinism. However, Donne provides a different response to this spiritual dilemma in Sonnet 12. The opening octave demands that Love move, that Old Testament law be answered by New Testament love. As the agent of life, Christ, who was both God and Man (double interest), moved ("thy Sonne giues to mee") so that mankind might have "His Ioincture in the knotty Trinity" (l. 3).

The sense of damages or loss associated with *interest* infiltrated the English language via Old French in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. How this happened is not clear. The result, however, was that *interest* from then on bore the double sense of having a share in something, whether profit or loss. *Interest* in the modern sense seems to have emerged in England around 1545, when it was first sanctioned by law, repealed in 1552, and finally re-enacted in 1571. *Compound interest*, interest upon interest, formerly called *usury*, followed suit as a term denoting interest eventually paid on a principal periodically increased by the addition of each fresh amount of interest as it becomes due and remains unpaid.[116] It need not be added that the very concept of *interest* is knit to the concept of time.

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[114] O'Connell, diss, p. 175.

[115] Gomez, pp. 62-63. He explains that the figure representing "Powers of the soul" derives from Llull's *Arte Breve*. It represents the activity of memory, intellect and will as they combine. This teaching device includes concepts of "will loving," "will hating," and "will loving or hating."

[116] OED, 2nd edn. One reference to compound interest, dated 1590, will illustrate: "Interest is the summe reckoned for the lending or forbearance of the Principall for any termes or time. Interest simple is that which is counted

Donne's interest in *interest* derives from the Old and New Testaments. The final couplet of Sonnet 12—"Thy Lawes abridgement, and thy last command / Is all but love: Oh let that last Will stand."—O'Connell observes, announces "the essence of both Testaments."[117] In the context of Llull's spiritual philosophy, this Essence is Unity. As O'Connell puts it: "Here the differentiation between the 'two Wills' is resolved in favor of a more fundamental unity."[118] Before leaving this sonnet, we should note that this "unity" is distinguished as three persons in one: The Father determines the Will, choosing the Son as executor, and the "spirit" (l. 11) reverses harsh judgment to Love or Power, for only the powerful are in a position to forgive sin. Before leaving this sonnet, we should also note the importance of *time* as it pertains to interest and as it pertains to Llull's concept of eternity.

The Latin noun *aeuum* may be defined as the medium in which events occur, as an indefinite continuous duration. The Latin noun *aeternitas* may be defined as infinite time or eternity. The Latin adjective *aeternus* may be defined as having no beginning or end, as eternally present or active.[119] The evidence implies that there is no room for inactivity whether it be human or divine.

Conclusions

This study has recognized interactivity among the Lullian Dignities as they crop up in the Revised sequence, especially as they are viewed as pairs. If, as has been suggested, the final set of correspondents employs the conceptual metaphor of money as a way to connect the soul with such matters as property, wills, interest and, of necessity, time, then *Aeternitas* becomes the wrapping that envelops the whole, which means that we should take a closer look at it.

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from the Principall onely. Interest compound is that which is counted for the Principall, together with the Arrerage."

[117] O'Connell, diss., p. 223.

[118] Ibid.

[119] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Ed. P.G.W. Glare (Oxford, Clarendon, 1982. Reprinted with corrections, 1996.) All three definitions (*aeuum*, *aeternitas*, and *aeternus*) are from this work.

We begin with Josep E. Rubio's remarks about *Aeternitas*: As far as the Dignity of Eternity is concerned, "[T]here is no Beginning, Middle, or End."[120] Other dignities can be viewed by means of their logical constructs: for example, (majority/*maioritas*, equality/*aequalitas*, and minority/*minoritas*) or (concordance/*concordantia*, contrariety/*contrarietas*), etc. But *Aeternitas* has no beginning/*principium*, middle/*medium*, or end/*finis*. Were there an end, God would be limited in the gifts He can give. Thus Llull created the category "Eternity Generosity."[121] That is how the revised sequence ends or rather does not end: "As due by many titles I resign / Myself to thee" (Sonnet 1) and "thy last command / Is all but Loue, Oh lett that last will stand" (Sonnet 12). The subscription "Finis" at the end of Sonnet 12 is also the subscription "Finis" to the entire sequence. Were we able to read Donne's mind, we might discover in this final word a pun pointing the way to *Aeternitas*.

Clocks

Throughout the entire revised sequence, we have seen Time (*Finitudo*) serving as Agent. We have seen, for example, Sonnet 4 (*HSRound*) as a case of *otiositas*, the speaker's plea that God stop the clock (a sign of imperfection). Or, for example, Sonnet 9 (*HSWhat*), the speaker turning back the clock by contemplating his "Prophane Mistresses." Now let us conclude this study by asking a question: Why did Donne determine the number *twelve* for his sonnet sequence? And why did Luther determine the same number (doubled) for his list of dignities (*concordantia*) and (*contrarietas*)?

Were we able to read their respective minds, we might discover that they were thinking alike. Donne's interest in Luther's thought is a matter of record. Potter and Simpson cite references to Luther is all ten volumes of the Sermons.[122] Besides overt references, the editors cite

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[120] Rubio, p. 102.

[121] Ibid., See Rubio, "The Art's Interactivity," p. 102.

[122] *Sermons*, 10: 470. Here is Potter and Simpson's list: 1: 230; 2: 111, 205, 206; 3: 123, 143-144, 315, 317; 4: 137, 370, 373; 5: 139, 206 mg., 303, 321; 6:137, 183, 187-188, 190; 7: 101, 181, 186, 206,207, 208,295, 308, 320, 397; 8: 67, 182, 233, 236, 319; 9: 53, 199, 219, 246, 343, 363; 10: 17-18, 170, 172, 178, 184, 330n., 367, 374n., 375, 390, 394, 395, 396, 399.

numerous times Donne spoke of Lutheranism and Lutherans.[123] Obviously, the number *twelve*, which number neatly corresponds with chronometers, beckons the clock as conceptual metaphor for time both temporal and eternal. Both Luther and Donne seem to have grasped the correspondences between human activity and divine activity.

The *Variorum* editors have observed Patrick F. O'Connell's preference for the number *twelve*: "Donne's inclusion of 12 poems in both the original and the reconstituted sequences suggests that he attached some significance to this number."[124] Exactly what that "significance" is cannot yet be determined with any degree of certitude. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, John Shawcross has demanded that the configuration of the various sequences is important, that we must "make meaning" of at least one of the authorial sequences. This challenge is echoed by Gary A. Stringer, who urges that one purpose of the *Variorum* edition is to provide scholars with "a systematic, if not quite scientific, footing,"[125] whereby subjectivity, the boon and the bane of all scholarship, gives way to facts. This study has been an attempt to answer both.

Stringer has rightly noted that this challenge is to those of us who seek to find the proverbial needle in a haystack. I have found at least TWELVE needles in this particular haystack. I thank Donne himself for creating a clock-oriented version of his Revised sequence which has allowed this 21st century reader to make some sense of the numerous Lullian references she has found over the years, in his essays, meditations, sermons, and poems: "*Finis.*"[126]

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[123] Ibid. 10: 471.
[124] *Variorum*, LX111n.1.
[125] Stringer, *Variorum*, "A Note on Identifying Authorial Revisions Among Manuscript Variants," 7: 112.
[126] Donne, *Variorum*, "Revised Sequence," "Subscription: Finis] ffinis," p. 30.