John Donne Journal
Vol. 3, No. 1 (1984)

Donne's Anatomy Lesson: Vesalian or Paracelsian?

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Readers of John Donne's *Anniversaries* are faced with the question of what exactly is meant in the titles of the poems. What is "an anatomy of the world" or "the progress of the soul"? How do they relate to each other or to the young woman whose death is commemorated in *An Anatomy of the World* and *The Progress of the Soul*? The answers are complicated because the terms are used literally and figuratively. The anatomy is a medical procedure as well as a structural feature, the progress a royal journey as well as a movement to higher states.[1] When we ask how the world is anatomized or how the soul progresses, we may sense a difference in method between the two poems, reflected in the last words on the two title pages. The world is "represented" in *The First Anniversary*, whereas the soul is "contemplated" in *The Second Anniversary*. The first is a mimesis, an imitation of the world that is passing; the second is a noesis, an insight into the life of the world to come.

This suggests that the figurative anatomy is representative, the figurative progress contemplative; and indeed several critics have made the point already. Northrop Frye has called the poems a "general satire or 'anatomy,'" placing them in the same tradition as Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*.[2] Louis Martz has shown that they each progress through formal meditations in the manner of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*.[3] These two readings are complementary and point to the balanced oppositions that Rosalie Colie, for one, finds throughout the *Anniversaries*.[4] But when we pursue the literal meanings the balance becomes precarious. Majorie Hope Nicolson has identified the soul which "ended here her progresse time" with Queen Elizabeth, beyond the surface identification with Elizabeth Drury.[5] More recently, Barbara Kiefer Lewalski

has considered Donne in the guise of a medical anatomist, showing how widespread the anatomy genre was in Renaissance literature and how easily it could combine the elements of satire and meditation.[6] But she encounters two complications when she takes Donne literally. The anatomist does not know whether he is performing a vivesection or an autopsy, for the world is said to be wounded, feverish, and lethargic at one moment and dead and rotting at the next: it is a "Sicke world, yea dead, yea putrified" (l. 56). And he appears to be anatomizing two different bodies, shifting his attention from the great world of nature to the little world of man and back and forth again. Such uncertainty and distraction seems inappropriate in any anatomy theater, even in the Renaissance.

Joseph Hall's solution, in commendatory poem "To the Praise of the Dead, and the Anatomy," is to pronounce the world dead on arrival. He begins:

> Wel dy'de the world, that we might liue to see
> This world of wit, in his Anatomee.

But his second line allows several paraphrases, depending on how we construe the last two words: most likely "the world of learning reduced to a skeleton," but also "the witty John Donne in this poem of his" or "Donne dissecting the world." The "world of wit" can be Donne's satiric conception or Donne himself; "Anatomee" can be a corpse, a procedure, or a poem with that title. In any case, we have a mimetic substitution: a corpse in place of a living body, a poem in place of the world. Hall's other poem, "The Harbinger to the Progress," offers the same kind of word play. Hall is the herald announcing a royal poem, but also the forerunner of all other readers—a distant third behind the "Rich soule" of the departed and the "Great spirit" of the poet, "which her's follow'd hast / So fast, as none can follow thine so fast."

What has not been noticed so far is that "anatomy of the world" is a technical term in Paracelsian medicine, referring to a specific diagnostic procedure. Donne may have known this, as we shall see, and may have used the concept in *The First Anniversary*. But this procedure does not provide a simple solution to the poem, with all its mortuary images. There are two concepts of anatomy at work, if not at cross purposes. So it seems helpful to understand how the imagery serves the rhetorical function of praising Elizabeth Drury, and how any problem stated in the *Anatomy* is resolved in the *Progress*. Consequently, this essay moves from a

specialized interpretation of *The First Anniversary* as an anatomy to a rhetorical study of that poem and a brief commentary on *The Second Anniversary* as a progress. It suggests that these poems about the world and soul are connected in the identification of the dead girl with the *anima mundi* or world soul. But it does not claim to clear up all the problems, and may well create some new ones given the notorious difficulty of Paracelsian doctrine. No critic can be quite so cavalier as Donne, who writes: "Nor could incomprehensibleness deterre / Me" (l. 469-70). But if we are to make the *Anniversaries* any more comprehensible, or understand why they risk obscurity, we must take some risks ourselves.

I

Etymologically, "anatomy" is a cutting up or dissection. Donne refers to the *Anatomy* as a "dissectione" (66) and compares it to "cvtting up a man that's dead" (435). He thus sets himself beside medical anatomists like Vesalius, whose works he studied.[7] But he also mentions the "new phisicke" (160), generally glossed as being that of Paracelsus. He calls the new medicine "a worse Engin farre" than the new diseases it is supposed to treat, suggesting that Paracelsus has broken the Hippocratic oath to do no harm. This view is consistent with the portrait of Paracelsus as a "cadaverous vulture" in *Ignatius His Conclave*.[8] Still, Donne makes use of Paracelsian doctrines—for example, he likens the dead lady to the "Balme" (57), as critics have noted.[9] So it seems possible that he may have taken interest in the Paracelsian concept of anatomy.

Donne owned copy of Paracelsus' *Chyrurgia Magna*, a translation of *Die Große Wundarznei* and several shorter tracts on medicine.[10] He cited it twice in the conclusion to *Biathanatos*, published three years before *The First Anniversary* appeared in 1611. The citations may be ironic, for they call Paracelsus an "excellent Chirurgian."[11] They support the view that disease is a divine retribution, especially syphilis, and the popular belief in magical healing through charms and touch.[12] But the argument is pertinent to the *Anatomy*. The world is so much in decay, Donne argues, and wonder cures have become so rare that we may as well die now by our own hands as die soon from the general malady. Since Donne also discusses charms in *The First Anniversary* (394), we might well follow out his reference. But first we should take account of his source.

Specialists regard *Die Große Wundarznei* as "one of the most accessible Paracelsian books."[13] For it has the order and symmetry

of a textbook. Book One treats wounds (*Wunden*): what a physician should know about them; how he should treat pulled muscles, arrow shots, and the like; and which treatments to apply for venoms, burns, and frostbite. Book Two discusses the origins, signs, and nature of ulcers (*Schaden*): how the first physicians dealt with them, properly and improperly; where and how they originate; and how they can be healed. A third book is added in some editions, including the one Donne used, and gives treatments for specific ailments like the "French disease." The distinction between *Wunden* and *Schaden* is obscure in German (I follow the Latin and English translations). Paracelsus seems to distinguish external and internal ailments, the latter being caused by an upset in the salts from which bodies are made.

Donne makes only one explicit reference, by tract and chapter number, to a section on astral talismans.[14] His other citations are general, but may refer to the whole second book and especially to the second tract on the origins of disease, where Paracelsus is most theological. This tract discusses the balm or balsam, the essential salt which gets disrupted by changes in the weather or the planets or the "chaos" inside man. It also discusses the "anatomy of the world":

> The physician is born of two things, sickness and medicine. From sickness he must learn to recognize disease; and from medicine, medicine. Other than these two, no instruction is given him. But to see the sickness in the right mind, as the smith sees the iron in the fire, he must first recognize the anatomy of the whole world, which gives him an open man and lays before his eyes the *corpus physicum* from limb to limb, from piece to piece. And when he has learned this open *corpus physicum*, then he is a medical philosopher.[15]

The physician becomes a medical philosopher (*arzneischer philosophus*) when he learns how to see man in nature, the physical body or *corpus physicum* in the *anatomia mundi* or *anatomia der ganzen welt*. To understand how Paracelsus looked into the mirror of nature, we must learn more about his concept of anatomy.

"Paracelsus was not much concerned with 'anatomy' in the modern sense," says Jolande Jacobi, an editor of his writings.[16] For him, the anatomy was not the skeletal frame but the total form of a being or, alternately, the totalizing principle. With his

interest in living form, he had little use for what he probably learned in the famous anatomy theater at Ferrara. Like Vesalius, he attacked the orthodox Galenism and disputed the method of Galen himself, who had drawn inferences about human anatomy from the dissection of monkeys.[17] Like Vesalius, he called for a new interpretation of the book of the body, a term from medieval theology, which would revive the ancient knowledge of man. But while Vesalius associated such knowledge with the sages of Greece and Alexandria, Paracelsus looked to the mages of Persia. And here they parted ways, Vesalius concentrating on corpses, Paracelsus on cosmology. They pointed the two directions that the "new phisicke" would travel and the new science as well: Vesalius worked by analysis and studied the body as a mechanism, while Paracelsus proceeded by analogy and sought magical correspondences. Rejecting Galen's analogy with other animals, Paracelsus substituted an analogy with the whole world. Walter Pagel explains:

> Anatomy to Paracelsus is above all *chemical* anatomy: the examination of the composition of various parts of the body in order to discover the affinity of individual parts with individual substances in the outside world. Paracelsus believed that man was the epitome of creation. All that exists outside man can be found in him. It is the task of the physician to unravel the correspondencies, for it is the behaviour of natural objects which will teach him how the organs work in health and disease. In other words, Paracelsian anatomy is the study of the parallelism between the greater and the lesser world, the macrocosm and the microcosm.[18]

The "above all" does not rule out surgical procedures. Paracelsus wanted physicians to take over the work of barbers as well as the work of apothecaries. But he thought it was possible to see into the body without cutting, and to see more in living bodies than in corpses. So much did he slight the practice of morbid anatomy that the great biologist Conrad Gessner hoped no one would publish Paracelsus' work on human anatomy.[19]

But Paracelsus does not stop with philosophy. The passage from *Die Große Wundarznei* continues:

> Now it follows that where the philosopher ends there he sees, in medicine, the entrance to healing. Insofar as a physician recognizes sickness,

> he is a philosopher of medicine; but when he can cure the sickness he is a working physician. Now in both of these is a complete physician to be found. To the first (to be seen in the disposition and schooling and in the book of nature which is the open physical body) belong also the anatomy of the world and astronomy; to the second part belong the natural virtues and alchemy. Now in these four the physician may set his foundation firmly and be found unswerving.[20]

The book of nature tells a physician about the body through the analogies which Paracelsus terms astronomy and anatomy. The body must then be treated through the applications called alchemy and the virtues. By astronomy is meant the study of heavenly influences—astrology without the vulgar and fatalistic aspect of fortune telling. By alchemy is meant the study of chemical affinities, including the preparation of medicaments. The other terms are contradistinctions, which Paracelsus develops at length in another book.[21] The "world" refers to the elemental or sublunary world of which man is part; the virutes are the powers of body and mind which result from the four cardinal virtues.

Paracelsus used the anatomies of nature and man to advance a new theory of disease.[22] Galen had taught that disease sprang from an imbalance in the bodily humors and thus had its seat in the blood, choler, bile, or phlegm. But Paracelsus regarded disease as a parasite and thought there could be as many types of disease as there are parts in the body. He is distinctly modern at this point, in line with current germ theory, though we should note that he advocated what would now be called naturopathic or homeopathic medicine. Like Galen, he sought to restore the body's natural balance. But instead of offsetting a surfeit of cold and dry humors, say, with a hot and moist diet, he strengthened the besieged organ with compatible substances. To accomplish this he had to locate the seat of disease and determine the chemical structure; he had to perform what Paracelsus called an anatomy of the disease (*anatomia essata*) and an anatomy of the remedy (*anatomia elementata*). These elementata were the constituents of elements, identified as mercury, sulphur, and salt.

Paracelsian anatomy found many followers. His first defender in England, Robert Bostocke, claimed: "the right *Anatomy* consisteth not in cutting of the body, but in the knowledge of the

Amitie, concord and nature of all naturall externe things, with man." In Galenic medicine one studied "dead accidents" and tended to the symptom rather than the cause; in the chemical medicine, by contrast, "man is taught of the great world and not of man. This Anatomy maketh a perfect Phisition when he knoweth the disease in man, by the disease of externe things."[23] Severinus in Denmark, Quercitanus in France, Crollius in Germany,[24] all discussed Paracelsian anatomy as a study of correspondences. Croll's *Basilica Chymica*, a handbook of Paracelsian medicine, included "A Treatise . . . of Signatures of Internal Things; or, a True and Lively Anatomy of the Greater and Lesser World."[25] Here Croll explained the doctrine of signatures, Paracelsus' alternative to Galen's *semeiotike* or symptomatology.[26] And in a chapter "Of the True Physick" he showed how marks on the macrocosm could be inferred in the microcosm.

Croll began by saying that physicians should study the macrocosm and microcosm, and "duly compare the Anotomy [sic] of the World with the Anotomy of Man":

> The outward World is a speculative Anotomy, wherein we may see, as in a glasse, the lesser World Man; for so much of his wonderfull and excellent fabrick and creation as is necessary for a Physitian to know cannot be understood from man himselfe: . . . This is most evident from the Light of Nature, which is nothing else but a divine Analogy of this visible world with the body of man; For whatsoever lieth hid and unseen in Man, is made manifest in the visible Anotomy of the whole Universe, for the Microcosmicall Nature in Man is invisible and incomprehensible: Therefore in the visible and comprehensible Anotomy of the great World, all things are manifest as in their Parent: Heaven and Earth are Man's Parents, out of which Man last of all was created; He that knowes the parents, and can Anotomize them, hath attained the true knowledge of their child Man, the most perfect creature in all his properties; because all things of the whole Universe meet in him as in the Centre, and the Anotomy of him in his Nature is the Anotomy of the whole world.[27]

Like Paracelsus, Croll did not teach "the Local Anotomy of a man and dead corpses, but the Essentiated and Elemented Anotomy of the World."[28] The physician should first study the essence of the illness and locate its seat in the body (*anatomia essata*). Next he would study the arrangement of elements in nature (actually the elementata) and compare it to the disposition of the sick person (*anatomia elementata*). After that he was ready to prescribe and prepare a remedy. Croll's next chapter likened the true medicine to the Word of God and said it was to be sought through prayer and imagination.[29]

Paracelsian medicine was occult in the true sense of treating an invisible body, known as the microcosm. Galenists spoke of occult qualities, and physicians still speak of occult bleeding. But Paracelsians treated the microcosm as a spiritual body, connected to the physical body through the blood and studied through signatures. Paracelsian terminology is sufficiently homologous that the *anatomia mundi* could be the macrocosm or microcosm or a procedure touching on both.[30] But the important point was the juncture of the individual and the universe, where the physical soul unites the mortal body and immortal spirit. Paracelsus called it the astrum or sidereal body, for it received the impressions of the stars. Students of English literature are most likely to know of it from Swift's *Battle of the Books*,[31] where the souls of the ancients and moderns fight for supremacy. But only the name is new with Paracelsus; the idea is much older, its genealogy too complex to allow more than a summary account.

The sidereal body of Paracelsus is for all purposes the same as the physical soul of Christian Neoplatonism as discussed in Ficino's *Liber de Vita*.[32] On the Christian side it comes from the "spiritual man" in St. Paul's epistles, which descends in turn from the *pneuma* of Stoic philosophy. On the Neoplatonic side it descends from a union of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. Plato said there could be a soul without a body; Aristotle said there could not; so it was necessary to invent a soul-body based Plato's fiction that the stars serve as chariots for souls.[33] From Christianity comes the notion that the "natural man" is fallen, victim of all the suffering that flesh is heir to; from Platonism comes the notion that the soul is all knowing, endowed at birth with the knowledge of the universe; and from Neoplatonism comes the notion that man can perform magic through his powers of image-making. These notions converged in the rather paradoxical notion of the sidereal body. It shapes a man's character, for it bears the imprint of the stars at his

nativity; it also allows him to chart his destiny, insofar as he uses his memory and imagination. It leaves him vulnerable to disease, but able to find a cure, even to defeat death by becoming a spiritual body like Enoch and Elijah. So Paracelsus claims in *De Vita Longa*, where he is closest to Ficino. It is interesting to note that Jung dwelt on this text, for the astrum or "inner anatomy" survives as the collective unconscious. Jung regards the Paracelsian anatomy as a "re-membering of the original knowledge inborn in man, which is revealed to him by the *lumen naturae*."[34]

The methods of Paracelsus were not irreconcilable with those of Vesalius. The Rosicrucian apologist Robert Fludd wrote a book of anatomy which borrowed equally from Vesalius and Paracelsus. Fludd devoted one section to "the external image of man's mystic anatomy" and another to "the living effigy of common anatomy," the first based on Paracelsus and related lore, the second based on Vesalius and adapting his famous illustrations.[35] One educational reformer urged universities to teach both "vulgar *Anatomy*" and "*Mystical Anatomy*," citing the work of Fludd.[36] But the English were inclined to accept only the chemical remedies of Paracelsus, not the chemical anatomy with its strange cosmology: such was the "Elizabethan compromise."[37] The curious terminology was heard most from unlicensed practitioners, and probably made no more sense in Donne's day than in ours. One physician complained of those who "observed the *signatures*, as it were a kind of *Palmistry* in *Herbs*; . . . And by means of this chiefly have they introduc'd *scientia signata*, or *Anatomia essata*; that is, new-fangl'd names, and swelling titles, to gloze their fopperies."[38]

Donne may have heard similar grumblings from his step-father, John Syminges, who belonged to the Royal College of Physicians at the time when Paracelsian ideas were making their first inroads.[39] The Paracelsian anatomist must have seemed rather like the early chiropractor whom Emerson called a "poetic anatomist" or the early dream analyst whom Alexander Smith called a "spiritual anatomist."[40] There is no reason to think that Donne took Paracelsus seriously, or that he intended his title to be construed narrowly in Paracelsian terms, with no Vesalian overtones. The scholarship on Donne and the new learning has confirmed, quite the contrary, that he revelled in shifting positions.[41] But it seems worth asking what a thoroughly Paracelsian reading of *The Anatomy of the World* would discover. The next section ventures an answer.

II

On the title page of the *Anatomy*, Donne explains that the death of Elizabeth Drury has given him "Occasion" to write about "the Frailty and the Decay of this Whole World." He uses a common stratagem of funeral speakers, to say that we die a little with the death of a person we love. However, he extends the family of mourners to include the whole family of man, so that the death affects everyone; and he exaggerates the effect, so that mankind is not simply diminished but destroyed. Hence the world in question is not only the world of the Drurys or of Donne but the "Whole World." As a precedent for this hyperbole, he uses the body politic metaphor and its religious equivalent, the body of Christ (1 Corinthians 12). If individuals are to society as the body's parts are to the whole, the dead lady represents the "vitall spirits" (13) without which the world cannot live. The same theme is sounded in "A Funerall Elegie," which follows *The First Anniversary*. Donne remarks there that with the loss of her "fine spirits . . . the world must needes decrepit bee" (27, 30).

Donne is able to escape the old world, however, because he abandons the "vitall spirits" of Galen for the "[i]ntrinsique Balme" and "preseruatiue" of Paracelsus (57). This balm has two aspects: "The life preserving principle in all living beings; a remedy that can be extracted by alchemistic methods."[42] As the life preserving principle, it closely resembles the vital spirits, where the soul was said to lodge. It serves as a cohesive force:

> The Cyment which did faithfully compact
> And glue all vertues. (49-50)

The loss of this glue puts the world in danger of its life, even though it appears to have recovered. But because the balm is also a restorative, the lady may in some way preserve her survivors. Donne hints at this when he first mentions "a new world":

> The matter and the stuffe of this,
> Her vertue, and the forme our practise is. (77-78)

By metaphorically identifying her as the balm, he makes her at once the cause of decay and the cure for it. But to prepare the cure for the reader, he must play the role of a Paracelsian anatomist.

Having made "The entrie into the worke," as a marginal note says, Donne explains "What life the world hath still." He distinguishes between "the old world," which is now a "carcasse" (75), and "a new world" that is being born (76). He anatomizes the old world for the benefit of the new, assuming:

> This new world may be safer, being told
> The dangers and diseases of the old. (87-88)

He writes for the people who will inhabit the new world and punctuates his poem with the recurring admonition "learnst thus much by our Anatomee" (185; see 239, 327, 371, 429). Martz has shown that the *Anatomy* has five sections, each subdivided by the recurring reference to "our Anatomee." Each section has a meditation that leads up to the refrain and a moral that follows it. O. B. Hardison has noted three larger parts, the first two sections forming one partition on physical themes and the next two sections forming a partition on aesthetic themes.[43] The three partitions may be read as steps in a Paracelsian procedure.

The first step is the *anatomia essata* or anatomy of the disease. Donne discovers the seat of illness in man, whose heart is "perish'd" (186), and identifies a corresponding weakness in nature, which is "rotten at the hart" (242). He means at the sun (207), there being a direct correspondence between the sun and the heart in Paracelsian sign lore. The problem lies in the blood, where the Paracelsian microcosm has its seat, and is expressed as a fever. The results are discouraging, even for a Paracelsian. Not only is the patient far gone; nature has no model of health to offer. The pessimism increases in the next step, the *anatomia elementata* or anatomy of the remedy. Donne finds that two constituents of nature, color and proportion, are in disarray (250). This confirms that the disease is sulphurous, sulphur being responsible for a body's color as well as its heat. The anatomist has reached the point where the Paracelsian would normally make the third step: the preparation of the remedy, sometimes referred to as the anatomy of mercury or another chemical. But he fails in the search for a medicine which will capture the right planetary influences. "Weaknesse in the want of correspondence of heauen and earth," reads the marginal explanation. We may return to *Biathanatos* for a gloss.

Donne cited Paracelsus and Pompanazzi on the possibility that the physician could draw down the heavenly forces into his touch or words—his "charmes," Donne called them. But he hastened to add that this was a royal prerogative—the king's touch—and was not for such as him to attempt. Hence the force of his statement in the *Anatomy* that no "Artist now dares" the solar cures that Paracelsus and Ficino described.[44] He asks gloomily:

> What Artist now dares boast that he can bring
> Heauen hither, or constellate any thing,

> So as the influence of those starres may bee
> Imprisoned in an Herbe, or Charme, or Tree,
> And doe by touch, all which those starres could do?
> The art is lost, and correspondence too. (391-96)

This does not mean that the stars have no more "influence" on man; it means that man has lost control of his fate. Not only Paracelsism but Neoplatonism is dead.

Meanwhile, the several morals have become increasingly grave. The readers, addressed in the second person, are treated in a manner appropriate to a relative's death bed, not to the anatomy theater. They must learn that the old world offers no freedom (186) and leaves only one choice: "to be none of it" (246). The dying world has "nothing to enamor thee" (328) and indeed "should more affright, then pleasure thee" (372). In short, it is past help (430-31). Readers must learn contempt for the world's "Frailty" and "Decay." But although he has lost the patient, Donne manages at least to save the readers.

The "Conclusion" directs the readers' attention back to Elizabeth Drury, saying that they will get their "best concoction / From her example, and her vertue" (456-57). The word "concoction" may refer to a medicine or to the recovery it effects. One editor thinks it indicates "progress toward purity and perfection, under pressure of alchemistic forces."[45] Donne uses the word this way in two early sermons, when he suggests that God perfects man much as the sun concocts gold.[46] The word may also refer to the act of assimilation, which in this case is the act of reading. The Paracelsian Thomas Vaughan advises readers to "concoct what you read,"[47] and Donne seems to imply as much. If readers digest his poem, and assimilate it to their lives, they will make the soul that is mourned a "patterne" for their lives and deaths, as *The Second Anniversary* concludes (524).

"The Extasie" provides a useful gloss on this concoction, suggesting how the meanings of medicine and reading may be combined. The poet tells his mistress that any observer who recognizes their attraction for what it is, who can see their hands "cimented / With a fast balme" and not just think they lust after each other, will find a purifying "concoction." But the observer must be a competent reader, skilled in "soules language." This language is Christian love, which moves the planets and without which words are mere noise; the binding force behind the affinities that Paracelsians study, the refining power that they seek. A person "so by love refined" as to understand Donne's ecstasy will be able to

read the book of the body, referred to at the end of the poem. Similarly in the *Anatomy*: the person who understands what it means to be the "Microcosme of her" (236) has a remedy for the fragmentation that Donne describes in the old macrocosm.[48] Such a reader will know what Donne has tried to "emprison" in the poem and in the memory of mankind (470; see 466).

Some readers assumed that Donne simply praised one fifteen-year-old to the sky, and accused him of poor taste or even blasphemy. His response is on record. He voiced a desire to reform the reader, along with a broad hint that some could badly use it, when he advised a friend: "If any of those Ladies think that Mistris *Drewry* was not so, let that Lady make her self fit for all those praises in the book and they shall be hers."[49] But he showed the impossibility of earning such praise when he told Ben Jonson "that he described the Idea of Woman," in the Platonic sense of the ideal conception.[50] He substituted the pattern for the print, as Platonists would say, and he set the perfect "Idea of Woman" against the more or less harebrained ideas of men. This allowed a whole network of metaphoric substitutions, where the mysterious "shee" gets identified with a world of learning. The ambiguity of Donne's subject is announced in the early statement:

> But long shee'ath beene away, long, long, yet none
> Offers to tell vs who it is that's gone. (41-42)

The ambiguity persists until we realize, well into *The Second Anniversary*, that the soul has entered the state of being all in all with God (1 Corinthians 15:28).

Perhaps we must not try to name her precisely, given this ambiguity and Donne's insistence that the world has forgotten the name (l. 37-38). But we are given a good many hints. With typical hyperbole, Donne turns a single soul into a "rich soule" (1) of great consequence for the cosmos. Hegel called Napoleon the soul of the world because he embodied a supreme force; Donne seems to suggest that Elizabeth Drury has become an ultimate concern for those who love her. She is the medium of the Logos, or even the embodiment, and is likened later to the Church (2.101).[51] This would explain the world's amnesia (1.28, 2.26-27), since the soul is the seat of memory, and the world soul contains a cosmic memory.[52] Donne offers further images of her, including the Pythagorean cosmic harmony (1.311-15) and the Platonic magnet (1.221) or chain of being (2.143)—all of which Paracelsians likened the "sympathy of things," the enabling principle of macrocosmic medicine.[53] A Paracelsian reading might suggest that "shee" is

the anatomy of the world, the macrocosm where we may study man. Her loss makes the Paracelsian system doubly obsolete: first because there are no correspondences, which depend on an order in nature, then because there is no one way to remember what they were. The means of re-membering nature have been lost, leaving the world dismembered, "crumbled out againe to his Atomis" (212).

But if "shee" is the world's soul or anatomy, whose loss will cause the world to die, she is also a simple young woman who has done the world no harm. From one perspective, her death is tantamount to the death of nature.[54] By the false logic of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, her death condemns the world to die. But from another perspective her death is merely an effect of that decay. Were he writing today, Donne might say that Elizabeth Drury died because the life support systems had been turned off. The double perspective of cause and effect, which one critic has likened to the theme and counter-theme of a double fugue,[55] puts a limit on the hyperbole. Elizabeth Drury may have embodied a noble ideal, but she was also a helpless victim, like the fated children who must live their short lives inside glass bubbles because they have no immune system.

The identity of that mysterious "shee" is finally unimportant, for Donne is not praising her but Christ in her. She provides a pattern for others insofar as she is made in God's image and is true to that image. As a Christian, Donne would no doubt agree with theologians who said the world soul was only an image of divine providence. But poets need images to express abstractions like that of order in chaos; Paracelsian medicine provides Donne with a set of images as well as a procedure for treating them. The procedure known as the anatomy of the world allows him to move away from the occasion to the world's frailty. It also encourages him to invoke favorite subjects like astronomy, for the anatomy of the world is a lesson in cosmology. Meanwhile, the concept of anatomy as the ideal form rather than the physical structure lets him view his subject in a new light: Elizabeth Drury becomes the idea of woman because she is the anatomy of the world. Finally, the act of imagining the world in a new order, on a higher plane, provides a model for the activity of writing and makes Donne's poems a work almost of magic. This is his representation. If the results seem curiously inconsequential, we are faced all the more squarely with Donne's insistence that the world cannot live.

III

Our reading of the *Anatomy* has ignored two Vesalian images in the poem, the "dissectione" (66) and "cutting vp" (435). For we have been concerned with reading the sections of the poem as steps in the Paracelsian procedure. It is in the framing lines of the *Anatomy* that Donne is most Vesalian. In the "entrie" he tells the old world that he will perform the anatomy "since no man can make thee liue" (59); in the "Conclusion" he warns that one can learn only so much from a single autopsy before the corpse rots:

> So the worlds carcasse would not last, if I
> Were punctuall in this Anatomy. (439-40)

He is saying that the poem is long enough already; he has taken the meditation about as far as it can go. There may be an ironic twist in this, however. "Punctual" may mean not only "punctilious" or "point by point," as most editors suggest, but "sharp-pointed as a cautery or other surgical instrument."[56] This last meaning was standard in Donne's time, and would throw a different interpretation on the lines. They would become a reminder that he has not written cutting satire, a reminder which takes the format of a standard Paracelsian complaint. Most anatomists or satirists kill the thing under scrutiny, the complaint runs, and so fail to understand its essence. But Donne has not killed the world; he simply got to it too late. Both possible meanings of "punctuall" seem to function, in the phrase and in the poem. The word "anatomy" may also have more than one meaning.

For illustration we may turn to Donne's poetry and prose. In "Loves Exchange" the poet donates his body for research, in the hope that Cupid will put him out of his misery:

> If th'unborne
> Must learne, by my being cut up, and torne:
> Kill, and dissect me, Love; for this
> Torture against thine owne end is,
> Rack't carcasses make ill Anatomies.

The last word refers to the dissected corpse, "cut up into an *Anatomy*," as Donne says elsewhere.[57] By contrast, the "ruinous Anatomy" in "A Valediction: Of My Name" is only a figurative corpse, the body of a distraught lover whose soul is "Emparadis'd" in the lady he loves. The literal and figurative meanings of "anatomy" are combined in Devotion IX when Donne says, "I have cut up mine own *Anatomy*, dissected my selfe"[58] and in a late sermon on the Book of Job. "Can this Anatomy, this Sceleton,

these ruines, this rubbidge of *Iob* speake?" Donne asks rhetorically. The answer is "Yes" because God tears down in order to build up: "Gods first intention even when he destroyes is to preserve, as a Physitians first intention, in the most distastfull physick, is health; even Gods demolitions are superedifications, his Anatomies, his dissections are so many re-compactings, so many resurrections."[59] The word "anatomy" has one meaning when applied to Job, another when applied to God. The pattern of tearing down and building up is so recurrent in the prophetic tradition as to seem the Bible's central myth. It underlies the new world theme in *The First Anniversary*.

Donne uses the word "anatomy" in contrary ways. It describes a procedure and a body, apparently alive but feared to be dead. The Paracelsian doctrine is there, at least in the balm and perhaps in the related virtues, but Paracelsian medicine saves no one. No physician can draw down the heavenly influences to generate a perfect remedy, herbal or mineral. For the correspondences of heaven and earth have disappeared. What began as a Paracelsian anatomy of a world sufficiently dead for a Vesalian autopsy becomes, it seems, a Vesalian dissection of the Paracelsian world of correspondences. But even the Vesalian approach fails, for it does not clarify the functions or relationships of things, as Vesalians attempted. Quite the contrary, it points out that functions are arbitrary and relationships have been forgotten.

The world remains a heap of "fragmentary rubbidge," as *The Second Anniversary* says (82). The new meridians and parallels that man has cast over the heavens like a net turn out to be just as much his own fancy as the Platonic circles and Pythagorean solids they replaced in cosmological speculation (278-80). Similarly, the true meaning of virtue, indeed of words, has been lost: "Reward and punishment are bent awrie" (304). This is not the place for a Derridian or Girardian reading, which might explain, respectively, why Donne's cosmology remains "logocentric" and how Elizabeth Drury serves as an "absent signifier" or a "sacrificial victim."[60] The important point for us is that either approach would show the breakdown of formal systems, Paracelsian or Vesalian.[61]

Without attempting an anatomy of Donne's psyche, we may note that his indecision reflects a widespread intellectual malaise. He is attracted to the occult physiology of Ficino and Paracelsus, which promises to heal the spirit. But he is unable to accept it on religious or scientific grounds. He is thrown back on his power of

reasoning, which is all the weaker, given his grief. The immortality that he offers, through his verse, seems hollow amid the prospect of universal decay. And of course the anatomy must fail because it belongs to the failing order of existence that Christians call "the world."

The failure invites several questions regarding our inquiry. Have we witnessed a Paracelsian anatomy, performed by a professor of *scientia signatura*, or an eclectic anatomy by an empiric who draws uncertainly from two modern schools? How seriously are we to take the anatomy lesson, given Donne's well-known skepticism about Paracelsus? Indeed, may we call it an anatomy lesson? These questions are best answered with reference to the rhetorical occasion, that is, the praise of Elizabeth Drury. Donne's relation to the poetry of praise is already well established,[62] so we can concentrate on the appropriateness of his anatomical imagery.

IV

The *Anniversaries* belong to the ancient form of epideictic oratory. Originally used at funerals and other civic occasions, this form came to dominate preaching and teaching. Augustine recognized that eloquence had the potential for instruction, and so could reach past persuasion to include exposition.[63] And the advocates of a "new rhetoric," notably Ramus and Bacon, tried to develop a rhetoric of exposition in the epideictic mode. Thus the funerary oration is suited to a lesson, especially one which teaches us that all things pass. The funerary verse is a sort of vessel for the dead lady (474), but the fame is useful only as an example or proclamation to those with ears to hear (2.527). Elizabeth Drury will never be so famous as the muffin man in the lane outside her parents' house, but Donne has given her the power to "worke on future wits" (2.37).

Aristotle says the funeral orator speaks to the present, whereas the forensic orator disputes the past and the deliberative orator tries to shape the future.[64] The statement has occasioned more fine distinctions than he could have intended: he meant simply that lawyers concentrate on what happened, politicians on what should happen. Ceremonial speakers are of course concerned with past accomplishments and try to influence the way listeners act in the future, primarily by holding up a model of behavior. But they concentrate on the occasion at hand. Pericles' funeral oration is the model of its kind: it praises the heroes who have made Athens great, and urges the young to emulate them, but dwells upon the Athenian way of life; that is, on the present.[65] Similarly, Donne

speaks to the present, realizing that his lady will find fame, and his new world will find inhabitants, only as his poem finds readers. By imitating the medical anatomist, he is able to speak a few words over a sick or dead body and thereby influence the future of all mankind. He reads a lesson from the world (436) and to the world.

The Renaissance anatomist looked for signs—of disease if he was a chemical anatomist, of death if he was a surgical anatomist. The orator also looked for signs in order to support his argument. Aristotle distinguishes infallible signs from fallible ones;[66] and the fact of Elizabeth Drury's death could be either kind, depending on the conclusion drawn from it. It is fallible if we conclude that she died of a box to the ears, for she could as easily have died of cough. It is infallible if we argue validly to a more general conclusion. If we say:

> Elizabeth Drury is dead
> The dead should be honored
> Therefore, Elizabeth Drury should be honored

her death is an infallible sign. But if we argue:

> Elizabeth Drury is dead
> Elizabeth Drury is the world's soul
> Therefore, the world's soul is dead

we have an invalid syllogism: the world's soul is not distributed, as a logician would say, not used in the fullest sense. The strategem here—"to use a 'Sign,' or single instance, as certain evidence"—is a common device in refutation, says Aristotle.[67] But it requires a clever debater, for it has no more strength of logic than the assertion that one swallow makes a summer.

Rhetorically, the anatomy of the world is a refutation and confirmation: refutation of the world's claims to health and confirmation of its terminal illness. The entry and conclusion are the *narratio* and *peroratio* of classical oratory, or perhaps the *explicatio* and *applicatio* of sermon and homily. The entry shows how the death provides occasion for the poem, while the conclusion explains how we are to make use of the occasion and the poem itself. Donne uses the common rhetorical topic of definition by degree, showing that the present world is the lesser good and the world to come is by far the greater good. He does this through the special topics of epideictic, praise and blame, and mounts his eulogy of Elizabeth Drury and his contempt of the world by using the figures of speech which, Aristotle says, are best suited to epidictic. He amplifies what is to be praised and minimizes anything that blocks

the way. Again, there is a double movement, as he exaggerates the young woman's virtue and the old world's corruption, praising as vehemently as he blames. Without this double movement, he would violate the good advice of Pericles, never to praise the dead so lavishly that the living feel unequal to the example. With it, he can shift the reader's interest to a coming world where true equality is possible. The logic is shaky; the proofs are entirely verbal or "artistic"; the reader is not asked to decide about the past or future, which are the province of judicial and political debate, but to assess the skill of the argument.

If the terms of dispute seem ill suited to medical study, a look at the standard curriculum in Donne's age shows that medical students did very little but debate.[68] The only practical study was in the anatomy theater, where the lesson took its structure from the anatomical form. Here we return to the question of representation, and find that it is indeed connected to the question of the anatomy. The anatomist must work on the assumption that he is studying a representative body, and this holds true whether he is a Vesalian or Paracelsian or indeed a Galenist or acupuncturist. Each item under the Vesalian's knife represents a portion of the form, as each microcosm in the Paracelsian's consulting room represents the macrocosm. The satirist also depends on his portraits in spleen to be representative of some human type. If Lord Bacon had written his projected chapter on "Serious Satire: or the Inner Natures of Things,"[69] he would have sought the human types in literature and so would have played the anatomist.

The Second Anniversary does not lend itself so readily to rhetorical analysis, as it makes fewer appeals to reason and needs no formal proof structure. By now Elizabeth Drury has become what Plato (and more recently T. S. Eliot) called an objective correlative.[70] We are ready to move beyond sense impression to intellection, realizing that no one can fear death who contemplates the universals of time and being.[71] The *Progress* seems to resolve the crisis of the *Anatomy*, so we may well look there to see how the world's anatomy is understood. At the same time we may ask what is meant by the soul's progress.

V

Written after the official mourning period was over, *The Second Anniversary* shows greater acceptance of the young woman's death. Thus the unambiguous condition of the world: "dead" (21) and "rotten" (49), a "Carkas" (55) beyond revival. The world may seem everlasting (2), but its motion is a sign of corruption, not a

sign of life (22). The poet is no longer an anatomist, of living or dead bodies, but has become a mortician. His job is to embalm the world's body in order to arrest the process of corruption and prevent putrefaction (39-40). The curious learning remains, but is now strangely irrelevant, so many products of the benighted "Fantasy" (292). In speaking of medicine, for example, Donne stresses what is not known, asking:

> What hope haue we to know our selues, when wee
> Know not the least things, which for our vse bee?
> (279-80)

The dramatic interest lies in all that the departed soul has overlooked, all that we are advised to ignore with the pointed remark: "Forget this rotten world" (49).

The poet makes a mental note to forget it all—actually a soulful note, the poem being organized by the repeated invocation of his soul (45, 85, 157, 254, 321, 383, 474). He describes the "long-short Progresse" that his soul will take after death (219), the same as the girl's soul has already taken. The progress is long because it covers the distance from earth to heaven—past the planets at which souls stopped in their migrations, according to Plato's *Timaeus*.[72] It is short, however, because the ancient ladder of correspondences has disappeared. The soul travels from earth to heaven "in a minute" (188), for it has no need or desire to know the mysteries of elements and planets. As in *The First Anniversary*, the old system turns out to be a system of mythology rather than a genuine system of science or religion. Many religions offer maps of the other-world, the most famous being the Egyptian and Tibetan books of the dead. But Christianity has no need for them, having united God with man through the mystery of the Incarnation. In *The Four Quartets*, T. S. Eliot refers to the Incarnation as "the hint half guessed" in occult systems like the correspondences of Paracelsus.[73] He nevertheless finds it helpful to explain the Christian scheme in esoteric metaphors, even as he discredits them. Donne makes similar use of esoterica.

The Paracelsian concept of anatomy provides a link between the two *Anniversaries*, for the microcosm is said to contain the planets. This is the "heaven of man" or *coelum* of Paracelsian texts, the astral body as it stands under the shower of heavenly influence.[74] The *Anatomy* has shown the planets disrupted at the death of Elizabeth Drury; the *Progress* now shows her ascent through the

planetary spheres. Insofar as it follows the progress of Elizabeth Drury's soul, *The Second Anniversary* belongs to the handful of mini-epics that occur in an instant, like Blake's *Jerusalem*. What makes such motion possible is the new mode of perception which death brings. The world is no longer experienced by the sensual soul, no longer seen through the lattices or eyes or heard through the labyrinths of ears (296-97). The departed soul has achieved a "straight" or direct perception (299), confronting the cosmos face to face, as St. Paul says (1 Corinthians 13:12). But insofar as it concerns the survivors to whom elegies are addressed, the poem has a context in the world's time as one in a series of memorials.

Which soul is being followed through its progress? Elizabeth Drury's is followed on its slow-fast ascent to God. But the poem is organized about exhortations of the poet's own soul, mentioned earlier. By extension they are exhortations of the reader: that is why Hall begins his commendatory verse by saying, "Two soules moue here, and mine (a third) must moue." We are reminded that life itself is a progress, and here again Thomas Vaughan supplies a helpful gloss, this time Platonic: "I look on this life as the progress of an essence royal: the soul but quits her court to see the country."[75] Elizabeth Drury's life has been, like all virtuous lives, a royal progress; it ends with the return to the courts of the Lord. There may be a gnostic implication here, of the soul entering the body as a bather steps gingerly into a cold and possibly polluted stream (see 169-72). But the dualism is easily exaggerated, the main interest being the restoration of the soul to its original state of perfection.

What enables Donne to follow the soul into death is nothing other than memory, which the world is said to have lost. The stupor of mourning has one advantage: "Men thus lethargique haue best Memory" (64). Donne's soul thinks by remembering (122, 220). For the poet follows the Augustinian dictum that the memory contains all things,[76] and he is therefore able to know the essence of an Elizabeth Drury. He out-Dantes Dante in taking as his guide a woman he never set eyes on. But this does not mean that his praise was cold and impersonal as a result.

There is a reading of the *Anniversaries* which sees them as a negative epithalamion, and attributes any coldness to the lack of a feminine side in the poet's persona. Northrop Frye speaks of a Blakean "emanation" whose death "transforms the world into an 'anatomy' or skeleton for the hyena of reason to crunch."[77] There is another reading, suggested by Frank Manley and developed by

Robert Jackson, which sees a "psychic marriage" in the *Anniversaries*, the poet being united with a Jungian "anima."[78] The two readings are complementary, as are the two *Anniversaries*. The ideal is lost in *The First Anniversary*, when worldly beauty dies. It is regained in *The Second Anniversary* as a personal pattern, the eternal feminine of Goethe and Teilhard de Chardin.[79] The pattern of separation and restoration is central to the story of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius' *Golden Ass* and figures in legends of the androgyne from Plato's *Symposium* onward. If "shee" is Psyche, the *Anniversaries* are highly personal, the record of a mid-life crisis. But they also respond to a family's crisis and the world's ills.

The *Anatomy* treats life as a long disease, much as Pope does.[80] It offers no wonder cures, no "religious Alchimy" to make impure matter pure (182); it only holds out vertue, a tough pill to swallow. The *Progress* demonstrates the point of Milton's spirit, that virtue can teach us how to climb higher than the stars. It follows the progress of a terminal patient, but also of a regenerate soul (215). It serves as a prophetic trumpet gathering other souls (528). The *Anatomy* is then more of a diagnosis, the *Progress* more of a prognosis. The first focues on the material world which is dying, the second on the spiritual world which is being born. The anatomical representation no longer holds, as the body is ready to be embalmed like Israel in Genesis; the cosmological representation will not hold either, as the very shape and order is now in question. We have only the representative soul, the dead lady's, the poet's, the reader's, joined in contemplation of the life to come. Here man is no longer the pattern of creation, a microcosm where nature is contained for contemplation. Humanity is assimilated to the pattern of virtue, the true macrocosm (1.236).

Some writers on Donne regard criticism of the *Anniversaries* very much as Ben Jonson seems to have regarded the poems themselves: as a strangely misdirected effort. The most recent of these, John Carey, accuses critics of a lamentable flaw in logic. Because Donne's language is extravagant, they assume that his subject must be extravagant also. The reasoning is fallacious, of course, because it assumes that two wrongs make a right, that unusual diction is decorous when necessitated by unusual content. Carey would have us believe that Donne treated a simple subject—the idea of woman—in extravagant language. "Cut loose from any semblance of sense," he says, "the poems float upwards in aerobatic extravagance."[81]

One thinks of Coleridge, who considered the *Anniversaries* "the greatest caprice of genius on record."[82]

When we look closely, however, we find that the extravagant language contains extravagant concepts. The "anatomy of the world" is a case in point. Either we assume the simple meaning of anatomy to be operative, and overlook any contradictions or write them off as shifting viewpoints, or we explore the implications of the phrase and, in doing so, look into a most extravagant subject. Carey's reading of the *Anniversaries* is neither mistaken nor uninteresting, but leaves no room for the ambiguities that Empson and others have taught us to prize. It does not seem perverse to suggest that Donne is trying to be what Eliot suggested—difficult—even at the risk of "incomprehensibleness." The quirks of reason seem important; the failure of the "anatomy" is tantamount to the failure of human reasoning, and any subsequent "progress" is guided by a divine reason. The *Anniversaries* are the greatest hieratic poems in Donne's corpus, if not in all of English literature. But this does not mean that Donne is a poet of utmost difficulty, accessible only to scholars.

As a Christian, Donne knew that truth tends to be simple. As a poet who would become a great preacher, he knew that subtleties of mind, if not necessary to salvation, make life in the present world more interesting. He worked by a kind of negative analogy, akin to the negative theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, approaching the truth through a great deal of learned ignorance. It would be naive to say that Milton's *Paradise Regained* is a simple poem because its argument may be summarized simply: No, no, no. What makes Christ's rejection powerful is the all too human subtlety that Satan brings to the temptations. It would be just as foolish to say that the *Anniversaries* have a simple message because they simply tell us, in the words on the two title pages, that an "untimely death" can become a "religious death" if it is properly considered. They are attractive because they show just how little we know in the present world and how much is yet to be discovered.

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Notes

1 *OED* anatomy 1, 2, 4, 5; progress *sb.* 1, 2, 3, 7. The royal progress is announced in 1.7. The *Anniversaries* are quoted, by poem and line number, in the edition prepared by Frank Manley (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1963). I have regularized the titles but not the texts.

2 *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957), p. 298. For elaboration see Rosalie L. Colie, "'All in Peeces,'" in *Just So Much Honor*, ed. Peter Amadeus Fiore (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 189-218.

3 *The Poetry of Meditation*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 219-48.

4 See Rosalie L. Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), Ch. 13.

5 *The Breaking of the Circle* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1960), Ch. 3.

6 *Donne's* Anniversaries *and the Poetry of Praise* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1973), Ch. 7. Lewalski cites one precedent for her reading, Ralph Maud, "Donne's *First Anniversary*," *Boston University Studies in English*, 2 (1956), 218-25.

7 See Don Cameron Allen, "John Donne's Knowledge of Renaissance Medicine," *JEGP*, 42 (1943), 328-29.

8 *Ignatius His Conclave*, ed. T. S. Healy, Jr. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), p. 27.

9 Allen, p. 326, notes Donne's use of this doctrine and suggests sources in Paracelsus. For other studies of his Paracelsian and alchemical lore see Mary Paton Ramsay, *Les Doctrines médiévales chez Donne*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1924), pp. 246-57; Milton Allan Rugoff, *Donne's Imagery* (1939; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), Ch. 4; E. H. Duncan, "Donne's Alchemical Figures," *ELH*, 9 (1942), 257-85; W. A. Murray, "Donne and Paracelsus," *RES*, 25 (1949), 115-23; Joseph A. Mazzeo, *Renaissance and Seventeenth-Century Studies* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1969), Ch. 4; Eluned Crawshaw, "Hermetic Elements in Donne's Poetic Vision," in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. A. J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972), pp. 324-48; Charles Nicholl, *The Chemical Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1980), pp. 119-35.

10 Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1973), p. 273. This book (Basel, 1573) includes translations by Josquin d'Alhem and Gerard Dorn. Excerpts from *Der Große Wundarznei* are translated by W[illiam] D[ugard] in *Paracelsus his Dispensatory and Chirurgery* (London, 1656). For details see the catalogs of the British Library, the Welcome Institute (London), and the New York Academy of Medicine.

11 *Biathanatos* (London, 1647), pp. 215-16. Allen, pp. 324-25, tries to trace the several references.

12 See Keigh Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), Chs. 7, 9.

13 Will-Erich Peuckert, *Theophrastus Paracelsus* (1944; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1976), p. 358; see pp. 350-63 for a discussion of the text.

14 *Biathanatos Ve* (London, 1647), pp. 215-17. Paracelsus calls these talismans "cameos" (*gamahi*): *Sämliche Werke*, ed. Karl Sudhoff, Pt. 1, X (München: Oldenbourg, 1928), 124-48 (Bk. 1, Tr. 2, Ch. 8); on the same subject, see Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, Bk. 37, Ch. 40. For an attempt to place the astral medicine of Paracelsus in a larger tradition see Frederick Sargent III, *Hippocratic Heritage* (New York: Pergamon, 1982), pp. 103-16.

15 *Sämtliche Werke*, X, 291. I am grateful to Professor Pack Carnes for help with the translation. *

16 *Paracelsus: Selected Writings*, tr. Norbert Guterman, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1958), pp. 245-46.

17 Walter Pagel and Pyarali Rattansi, "Vesalius and Paracelsus," *Medical History*, 8 (1964), 309-28. Pagel identifies five sorts of anatomy in Paracelsus in addition to the surgical and chemical (310-15). Also see Pagel's *Paracelsus* (Basel: Karger, 1958), pp. 134-39, and rev. ed. (Basel: Karger, 1982), pp. 362-63. This paragraph depends largely on Pagel's account.

18 "Vesalius and Paracelsus," p. 312.

19 Quoted in C. G. Jung, *Collected Works*, tr. R. F. C. Hull, XV (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), 16. Jung suggests that anatomy for Paracelsus "meant something like [psycho-] analysis" (25).

20 *Sämtliche Werke*, X, 291; the first sentence paraphrases an aphorism attributed to Hippocrates in the Renaissance: *Ubi desinit philosophus, ibi incipit medicus.* Hippocrates makes similar remarks in *Ancient Medicine*, Ch. 20.

21 *Das Buch Paragranum* in *Sämtliche Werke*, VIII.

22 "Vesalius and Paracelsus," p. 314.

23 *The difference betwene the auncient Phisicke . . . and the latter Physicke* (London, 1585), sigs. C6v, C7r, E5v. Unlike Donne, Bostocke regards the "new" physic as Galenic; "the great Surgery of *Paracelsus*" is a landmark book, but simply revives a knowledge passed down from Adam through Hermes to Pythagoras and Plato (sig. G3r and Chs. 10-19).

24 For the Petrus Severinus see *Idea Medicinae Philosophiae* (Basel, 1571); for Quercitanus (the pseudonym of Joseph DuChesne) see Thomas Timme, tr. *The Practise of Chymicall, and Hermeticall Physicke* (London, 1605), Ch. 15. For the Paracelsian movement see Lynn Thorndyke, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, V (New York: Columbia Univ. Press), Ch. 29, and Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophers* (New York: Science History, 1977), Chs. 2-3.

25 Quoted from the title page in *Bazilica Chymica & Praxis Chymicatricae*, English tr. (London, 1670). Further quotations from Croll's *Basilica* are taken from the translation in H[enry] Pinnel's *Philosophy Reformed & Improved* (London, 1656). On Croll and his concept of anatomy see Owen Hannaway, *The Chemists and the Word* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1975), Ch. 2.

26 For Paracelsus' major statements on this doctrine see *Of the Nature of Things*, tr. J[ohn] F[rench] (London, 1650), Bk. 9. Life is defined in the same work as "an astrall balsome" (p. 31).

27 Croll, p. 24.

28 Croll, p. 43.

29 Croll, pp. 70-72. The chapter's title, "Concerning the Generation, Dignity, & Excellency of the Microcosm, or Little World Man," may well allude to Pico's famous oration on the dignity of man.

30 See, e.g., Michael Sendivogius, *A New Light of Alchymie*, tr. J[ohn] F[rench] (London, 1650), p. 102, and Michael Maier, *Themis Aurea*, English tr. (London, 1656), p. 22.

31 See *A Tale of a Tub*, ed. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nicol Smith, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), p. 222 and n. 5.

32 See Marsilio Ficino, *The Book of Life*, tr. Charles Boer (Irving, TX: Spring, 1980), and Thomas Moore, *The Planets Within: Marsilio Ficino's Astrological Psychology* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell Univ. Press, 1982).

33 I Corinthians 2; *Timaeus*, 41e. See E. R. Dodds, ed., *Proclus: The Elements of Theology*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), Appendix II, and George D. Economou, *The Goddess Natura in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1972), Ch. 1.

34 *Works*, XIII (Princeton, 1967), 134-40; XV, 25.

35 Title page from *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum Effigie Triplici* (Frankfurt, 1623), reproduced above; for a commentary see Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd* (Boulder, CO: Shambhala, 1979), p. 74. Many illustrations in Book 3 are taken from Vesalius' *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*. The work has a minor fame for announcing the circulation of blood some years before Harvey, though on the analogy of the heart and the sun, see Walter Pagel, *William Harvey's Biological Ideas* (New York: Hafner, 1967), pp. 113-19, and (for the suggestion that Harvey took his clue from Donne) F. N. L. Poynter, "John Donne and William Harvey," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 15 (1960), 233-46.

36 John Webster, *Academiarum Examen* (London, 1654), p. 74.

37 Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (New York: Watts, 1965), Ch. 2. Some prominent physicians drew on Paracelsian theory; see Hansruedi Isler, *Thomas Willis (1621-1675) Doctor and Scientist*, tr. by the author (New York: Hafner, 1968), pp. 57-

64, and Kenneth Dewhurst, *John Locke (1634-1704) Physician and Philosopher* (London: Welcome Historical Medical Library, 1963), p. 28.

38 Noah Biggs, *The Vanity of the Craft of Physick* (London, 1651), p. 33.

39 Sir George Clark, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, I (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 111.

40 "Swedenborg," in *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, IV (Boston: Riverside, 1903), 107; "On Dreams and Dreaming," in *Dreamthorp with Selections from 'Last Leaves'* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1914), p. 284.

41 Charles Monroe Coffin, *John Donne and the New Philosophy* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1937).

42 Jacobi, p. 249.

43 *The Enduring Monument* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1962), Ch. 7.

44 The third part of Ficino's book, "On Heavenly Life," tells the scholar what planets refresh the spirits (Ch. 11), how to acquire medicines from the heavens (Ch. 13), and why such medicines are more powerful than talismans (Ch. 14).

45 A. J. Smith, ed., *John Donne: The Complete English Poems* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p. 604.

46 See William E. Morris, "Donne's Early Use of the Word 'Concoction,'" *N&Q*, n.s. 10 (1963), 414-15.

47 *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, ed. A. E. Waite (London: Theosophical Publishing, 1919), p. 198.

48 See Leonard Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1975), p. 48.

49 *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (1651; rpt. Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles, 1977), p. 239.

50 *Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* in *Ben Jonson: Works*, ed. C. H. Hereford and Percy Simpson (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1925), I, 133.

51 See Robert S. Jackson, *John Donne's Christian Vocation* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 112-20, and William Empson, *English Pastoral Poetry* (New York: Norton, 1938), p. 84. Donne uses a similar strategy in "The Feaver," where he identifies his lover with "the worlds soule" and says the world will be at best a "carkasse" if she leaves him.

52 See Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, 1966), Chs. 1-3.

53 See Pinnell's marginal note to this effect in Croll, p. 31.

54 For a feminist perspective on Donne's *Anatomy* see Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1979), pp. 129-33.

55 Harold Love, "The Argument of Donne's *First Anniversary*," *MP*, 64 (1967), 125-31.

56 *OED*, punctual *a* I,1, II.6.

57 *Ignatius His Conclave*, pp. 75-77.

58 *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 45-46. Some editions lack the word "own."

59 *Sermons of John Donne*, IX, 214, 217. For the view that Donne draws his anatomical vocabulary from a well-established "field of imagery" see Winfried Schleiner, *The Imagery of John Donne's Sermons* (Providence, RI: Brown Univ. Press, 1970), p. 83.

60 Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, tr. Gayatri Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1976), Chs. 1-3; Rene Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, tr. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 49-52.

61 Even before talk of epistemological rupture, Donne's critics employed a sort of Foucaultian reading. For Foucault's re-creation of the Paracelsian cosmology, partly from Croll, see *The Order of Things*, tr. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1971), Ch. 2.

62 The most thorough treatment is Lewalski, *Donne's Anniversaries and the Poetry of Praise*, but also see those of Hardison, *The Enduring Monument*; Love, "The Argument

of Donne's *First Anniversary*"; and George Williamson, "The Design of Donne's *Anniversaries*," *MP*, 60 (1963), 183-91.

63 *De Doctrina Christiana*, Bk. 4, Ch. 2.

64 *Rhetorica*, 1358b (Bk. 1, Ch. 3); also see 1366a-1368a (Bk. 1, Ch. 9).

65 Thucydides, *The Peleponesian War*, Bk. 2, Ch. 4.

66 *Rhetorica*, 1357b (Bk. 1, Ch. 2).

67 *Rhetorica*, 1401b (Bk. 3, Ch. 24, tr. W. D. Ross).

68 Cornelius Agrippa's *De Vanitate Scientarum* divides physicians into sophists, who only debate (Ch. 81), and empirics who move outside academia (Ch. 82).

69 See the draft of this essay (*De Augmentiis Scientarum*, Bk. 7, Ch. 3) in *Works*, ed. James Spedding, V (London, 1859), 20-30. The College of Physicians in London received four corpses a year for public dissection (Clark, I, 122).

70 *Republic*, 534a (Bk. 7); *Selected Prose of T. S. Eliot*, ed. Frank Kermode (New York: Harcourt, 1975), p. 48.

71 *Republic*, 486a (Bk. 6).

72 *Timaeus*, 41e; in *Paradiso*, IV, Dante is told the doctrine means only that the influences return to the planets. Marcellus Palingenius refutes the doctrine of planetary intelligence in *The Zodiake of Life*, tr. Barnaby Googe (London, 1576), pp. 215-16.

73 "The Dry Salvages," V, *The Complete Poems and Plays* (New York: Harcourt, 1958), p. 136.

74 See Jacobi, p. 258, and Martin Rulandus, *A Lexicon of Alchemy*, tr. A. E. Waite (London, 1893), pp. 107-08.

75 Vaughan, p. 5.

76 *Confessions*, Ch. 10 (Secs. 8-17 in the Corpus Christianorum ed.). It could be argued that Augustine gives to the individual soul the universal memory of the world soul, which he dismissed from Christian doctrine in *The City of God*, Bk. 7, Chs. 5-6, 13.

77 *Fearful Symmetry* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1947), p. 351.

78 Manley, p. 18; Jackson, pp. 112-20.

79 See *The Prayer of the Universe*, tr. René Hague (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 143-53.

80 See Michael Macklem, *The Anatomy of the World* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1958).

81 *John Donne: Life, Mind & Art* (London: Faber, 1981), pp. 101-03.

82 *Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Roberta Florence Brinkley (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1955), p. 270.

* The author was unable to check the Latin translation before the essay was in production, but has done so subsequently and reports only one important difference in the passage cited in note 15: The apparent tautology is clarified to read "*Morbum per morbum, Medicamenta vero per Medicamenta (Opera Omnia* [Geneva, 1658], III, 53).