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Donne in Shadows: Pictures and Politics

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> Read over the short Book of Ecclesiastes, [where] . . . you will see a better Disposition of these Things, and the Vanity of all their Shadows, than is to be found in any Anagrams of Dr. Donne's, or any Designs of Vandike; so to the Lines there drawn I leave you.

So in May 1638 Archbishop Laud responded tartly to a suggestion he had received from the earl of Strafford as to how the two of them could most zealously pursue their business, which was Charles I's business.[1] Strafford's letter to Laud of April 10 had rather oddly paired Donne's second elegy, "The Anagram," with Van Dyck's portraiture as analagous metaphors for the uncertainties of political reputation:

> The Lady Astraea, the Poet tells us, is long since gone to Heaven; but under Favour I can yet find Reward and Punishment on Earth; indeed sometimes they are like Doctor Donn's Anagram of a good Face; . . . And seeing that all Beauties take not all Affections, one Man judging that a Deformity, which another considers as a Perfection or a Grace; this methinks convinceth the certain Incertainty of Rewards and Punishments: Howsoever he is the wisest commonly, the greatest, and happiest Man, and shall surely draw the fairest Table of his Life, that understands with Vandike, how to dispose of these Shadows best, to make up his own Comeliness and Advantage.[2]

This pairing, however fortuitous in Strafford's mental processes, was shrewder than either of the correspondents knew. Donne and Van Dyck belong together; though if Strafford had known as much about Donne's

theory of the visual arts and their relation to the Caroline state as he apparently did about his poetry (and Edmund Spenser's),[3] he need not have cited a scurrilous elegy to make his point. He could (and Laud might have responded differently) have cited a Caroline sermon.

This essay reconsiders John Donne's commitment to images of various kinds, including his own portraits, in terms especially of Caroline history, that part of the early modern era celebrated for its own celebration of the visual arts. It makes the perhaps surprising case that Donne not only anticipated but, under pressure, vindicated in advance the age of Van Dyck in England, which was also the period of Charles I's Personal Rule and Archbishop Laud's campaign for the rebeautification of the English church. When Van Dyck returned at Charles I's invitation early in 1632, Donne had been dead for a year. Yet the issues they faced were similar, and reciprocally enlightening. Donne had been born into a distinguished Roman Catholic family, but found his way intellectually and professionally into the Anglican church. Van Dyck was born into a Catholic family in Antwerp, enrolled as a member of Jesuit sodality in 1628, yet accepted employment by the monarch who was Head of that same Anglican church and leader of the most important Protestant country in Europe. Both Donne and Van Dyck had to come to terms with the stresses and strains that the Reformation had bequeathed to international relations, and with the fact of inherited and legalized iconoclasm in England. Donne's lifetime interest—and interest is a weak word for the psychological investment in question—in the visual arts was both *avant garde* in the reign of James and *mal apropos* for a leading churchman. This conflict, intimated in some of the early poems, became outspoken in the pictorial theory of his Caroline sermons, which constitute the threshold, as it were, of the turn to art of the second Stuart court. Of course I am not suggesting that Donne's pictorial theory *caused* that turn; but understanding what caused *him* finally to deliver a manifesto against iconoclasm will sharpen our sense of the sharp cultural shift that began in 1625 and by 1632 had brought Van Dyck to England.

No serious reader of Donne can be ignorant of the series of portraits of himself that he commissioned at various stages of his career.

Nevertheless, a review of the best known of these images is a necessary preliminary to my argument. The first (Figure 1), believed to derive from a lost miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, the most famous of the Elizabethan miniaturists, shows Donne in 1591 at age eighteen (*Anno domini* 1591 *Aetatis suae* 18) and very much the smart young man about town. Unfortunately the engraver, William Marshall, tended to butcher the portraits he copied, so some creative imagination is required to summon up what the Hilliard original might have looked like. The second, now known as the "Lothian" portrait (see frontispiece), dates probably from the late 1590s, when Donne was an Inns of Court man, that is, a hopeful

Figure 1

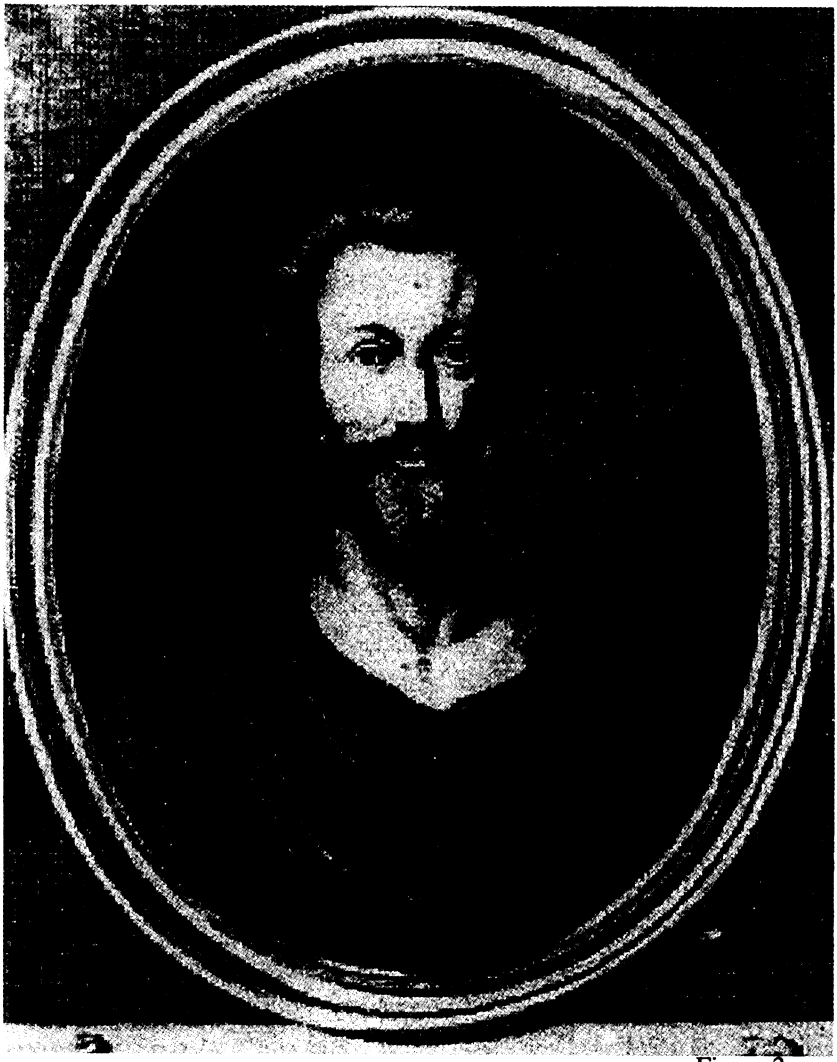

Figure 3

lawyer-politician in training. Donne was also painted "Quadragenarii Effigies vera," or so his son announced when publishing the portrait as an engraving for the posthumous *Letters to Several Persons of Honour* in 1651 (Figure 3). The original still hangs in the Deanery of St. Paul's, but it is inscribed "Aetatis suae 49 1620," that is, after Donne took orders but before he acquired this important ecclesiastical posi-

Figure 4

tion in November 1621. This portrait, then, represented Donne well before he became Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and one of the most famous preachers of his day. The last of the series (Figure 4) is a portrait that, according to Isaac Walton, Donne insisted be taken of him in his shroud during his last illness in the early 1630s, and thereafter, until his death, placed at the foot of his bed. The portrait itself has not survived,

and the figure shows the crudely-engraved version by Martin Droeshout for the 1632 edition of Donne's last sermon, "Death's Duel." This image is, and was intended to be, a *memento mori*, in which individuality has been burned away in the fires of age and the expectation of a Last Judgement.

These portraits mark, obviously enough, Donne's trajectory from rake to symbol of the Anglican church. Less obviously, they constitute an autobiographical narrative of multiple conversions: from defiant young Catholic gentleman, through radical skepticism, to professional commitment to the Established church, and ultimately to an asceticism, an emblematization of the self, which transcends confessional divisions. This more complex narrative has been somewhat obscured by Donne's handlers—those who felt themselves responsible for transmitting his image to the future. In adjusting it, I can only hope not to be exchanging one distortion for another. But the story the portraits tell, and were intended to convey, cannot properly be heard in isolation. The portraits should be read in the frame of Donne's explicit pictorial theory, which was both a response and a contribution to the politics of art and iconoclasm.

In the Marshall engraving, which originally appeared as the frontispiece to the second edition of Donne's poetry, the portrait sits on an ideologically controlling set of verses with which Donne had nothing to do. We owe these to Isaac Walton, Donne's first biographer, who was determined that everything Donne had done should look respectable to posterity:

> This was for youth, Strength, Mirth, and wit that Time
> Most count their golden Age; but t'was not thine.
> Thine was thy later yeares, so much refind
> From youths Drosse, Mirth, & Wit; as thy pure mind
> Thought (like the Angels) nothing but the Praise
> Of thy Creator, in those last, best Dayes.
> Witnes this Booke, (thy Embleme) which begins
> With Love; but endes, with Sighes, & Teares for Sins.

Walton, who proclaimed the edition of the poems a typographical "emblem" of Donne's conversion from profane to sacred love, thereby converted also the portrait, transforming it explicitly into an emblem in the formal sense of image-plus-verse, image explained and controlled by a moralizing subtext.

But look again: over the youth's head is a Spanish motto: *Antes muerto que mudado* ("Sooner dead than changed"). As T.E. Terrell pointed out,[4] this was adapted (by a simple change of gender from feminine to masculine) from the first song in Montemayor's romance, the *Diana*; and here too Isaak Walton felt the need to intervene, bowdlerizing the message by mistranslation. Referring in his biography to this portrait as expressing Donne's youthful frivolity, Walton noted that his "Motto then was, ' How much shall I be chang'd / Before I am chang'd.'" For Helen Gardner, who saw no difference in tone between the two early portraits ("The licentious young amorist," she wrote, "and the frustrated lover are the same person, as the same eyes look out at us from the Marshall engraving and the Lothian portrait,"[5]) the motto "Sooner dead than changed" meant only that Donne had taken "as a boast of his constancy" to some young lady or other "the protestation of a fickle mistress" in a fictional romance. For Walton, it meant that Donne had mysteriously prophesied, even in his most irresponsible moments, his later transformation into a pillar of the Established church.

Neither regarded as significant, however, one tiny emblematic element in the original miniature, the cross hanging in Donne's right ear. Gardner only registered it as a fashionable earring. But in 1591, the year after his mother's marriage to a Roman Catholic, Donne's cross in the ear would have been a scandalous statement of doctrinal defiance. While Elizabeth I stubbornly retained the use of a silver crucifix in her personal chapel, the symbolic value placed on the cross, as Donne well knew, had been one of the central distinguishing features between the old religion and the Reformed. As the Reformation proceeded in England, not only the worship but the very presence of a cross was regarded as idolatry. To have oneself painted with a cross in one's ear, therefore, especially under the motto "Sooner dead than

changed," was for a member of a known Roman Catholic family (the Heywoods) the equivalent of declaring a preference for martyrdom over apostasy.

My response to the iconographical detail differs somewhat from that of Donne's most recent biographer, Dennis Flynn. "It is inconceivable," Flynn declared, "that an Elizabethan Protestant would wear such a cross. Of course only a Catholic who fancied himself a swordsman would wear a cross hanging from his ear." The identity that Flynn draws from this portrait, then, is that of the "Spanish and French *ligeur* captains" for whom "the religious and political differences over which the nation warred . . . often seemed secondary to 'honor.'" When Donne's articulate response to the iconoclastic controversy is taken into account, however, the portrait seems less impudent and cavalier than self-dooming. There is no visible swagger; and the tiny little hand undermines the potential threat of the hilt it so unconvincingly holds.[6]

Donne wrote an entire poem, "The Cross," expressing this particular form of defiance—recusancy. I quote only the first ten lines of the total 64:

> Since Christ embraced the Cross itself, dare I
> His *image*, th'*image of his Cross* deny?
> Would I have profit by the sacrifice,
> And dare the chosen altar to despise?
> It bore all other sins, but is it fit,
> That it should bear the sin of scorning it?
> Who from *the picture* would avert his eye,
> How would he fly his pains, who there did die?
> From me, no pulpit, nor *misgrounded law*,
> Nor scandal taken, shall this Cross withdraw.
> (italics added)

We do not know the date of this ingeniously anti-iconoclastic poem;[7] but it is clear that Donne's interest in images was connected from the start with his knowledge of the arguments for and against iconoclasm, and that both continued to be a matter of deep personal concern.

Helen Gardner, discounting "The Cross" on the grounds of what she perceived as a juvenile style, assumed that Donne was merely defend-

ing the cross as "a pious and proper personal possession." Donne's understanding of the role of the cross in iconoclastic theory, is, however, infinitely wider than this, even (if this is an early poem) as a young man. He had as a theologian followed the complex arguments, derived from the Council of Nice and reconfirmed by the Council of Trent, as to whether the cross required *latreia*, the highest of the three kinds of respect that images could claim, as contrasted to *dulia* and *hyperdulia*. Donne had alluded to those debates in *Pseudo-Martyr* in 1610. "For (sayes Azorius) it fals out often, that that which was not the common opinion a few years since, now is; And that that which is the common opinion of Divines in one Countrie, is not so in another; As in Spaine and Italy, it is the common opinion, That Latreia is due to the Crosse, which in France and Germany is not so."[8] But "The Cross" blends theological controversy with a broadly eclectic pictorialist theory. He has included in his defense sculpture, always the most dangerous art form because of the "graven image" language of the second commandment:

> Then are you to yourself, a crucifix.
> As perchance, carvers do not faces make,
> But that away, which hid them there, do take (31-34)

—thereby possibly alluding to Michelangelo's famous sonnet, "*Non ha l'ottimo artista*," which had made the claim that even the finest sculptor only unlocks the shape that was already hidden in the block of marble.[9] And he has adopted for himself, and appropriated to the opposite confessional purpose, the Lollard gesture, perhaps initiated by Sir John Oldcastle at his examination for heresy ,[10] whereby the human body substituted for the cross as the holiest material object: "Who can deny me power, and liberty / To stretch mine arms, and mine own cross to be" (17-18).[11]

Thus radical selfhood, for Donne, seems connected from the beginning with iconographic defiance. Both can be seen expressed in another conceptual structure in the "Lothian" portrait, an image we nearly had to manage without. We owe its recovery to John Bryson, who discovered it 1959, and reported his find in the *Times Literary*

Supplement for October 12 of that year. For about two hundred years it had been hidden behind a misattribution, having arrived at the ancestral home of the Marquesses of Lothian, descendants of Donne's friend Sir Robert Carr. Someone in the eighteenth century had misleadingly painted "John Duns" on the upper left-hand corner; and the portrait had therefore been catalogued in the family inventories as a portrait of Duns Scotus, the fourteenth-century scholastic theologian whose pedantry, we are told, was etymologically responsible for our modern word "dunce." The ironies of this accident can now, therefore, be added to those that the portrait itself projects.

Bryson's discovery consisted in recognizing in the "Lothian" the match for Donne's own description of a portrait in which he had a special interest. In his will Donne bequeathed to his "honourable and faithful friend Mr. Robert Carr . . . that picture of mine which is taken in shadows and was made many years before I was of this profession."[12] That he referred to the portrait as "taken in shadows" confirms the inference that this was an image deliberately designed (staged) by Donne himself, so that the painted shadows in which he sits are emblems simultaneously of the darkness of his mind, the art of chiaroscuro, and of the portrait as a "shadow" of its subject.

Now that the shadow has been, like Peter Pan's, reconnected to its owner, we can ask what story it was originally intended to tell. I notice first the beautiful long fingers (here convincingly located) and the strikingly fleshy mouth, unusually, even preternaturally red: an emphasis, therefore, on elegant sensuality. The "Lothian" was, however, until it faded, also explicitly a writer's portrait. When Bryson reported his discovery, there were still traces of books and a quill in the foreground, traces that have now apparently disappeared.[13] After that once explicit writer's signature, we have to understand the folded arms and huge black hat, which serves as a second, inner frame for the face. Bryson explained these as allusions to the Elizabethan fashion for melancholy, citing John Ford's *verbal* self-portrait in *The Lover's Melancholy* (1629), "with folded arms and melancholy hat." But over that self-dramatizing hat, in an arc, still runs an inscription explaining John Donne's identity in the late 1590s: "*Illumina teneb[ras] nostras*

Domina"; that is, "Lighten my darkness, Lady!"— a deliberately blasphemous alteration of the opening phrase of the third Collect for Evening Prayer, "*Illumina quaesumus Domine Deus tenebras nostras.*" In certain ways, therefore, the "Lothian" portrait better documents the self-creation of Jack Donne the rake, the author of often scandalous erotic poems, than does the Marshall engraving, whose motto may truly be a statement of religious conviction. Yet despite Walton's wishful thinking, Donne did not abandon this version of his earlier identity when he made the commitment to the Anglican church establishment. He refused, until death, to part with "that picture of mine taken in shadows" because, we might guess, the substance of what he was constantly eluded him.

In "Elegy 5," one of the several valedictory poems that appear to be contemplating a real journey overseas, Donne says goodbye to a woman in the following manner:

> Here, take my picture. Though I bid farewell,
> Thine, in my heart, where my soul dwells, shall dwell.
> 'Tis like me now, but I dead, 'twill be more
> When we are shadows both, than 'twas before.
> When weather-beaten I come back; my hand,
> Perhaps with rude oars torn, or sun-beams tanned,
> My face and breast of haircloth, and my head
> With care's rash sudden hoariness o'erspread,
> My body a sack of bones, broken within,
> And powder's blue stains scattered on my skin;
> If rival fools tax thee to have loved a man,
> So foul and coarse, as oh, I may seem then,
> *This shall say what I was . . .*
> (italics added)

That is, the portrait will witness to the fact that he and his earlier, unruined self are the same man. More, when he is dead, and only a shadow, this painted "shadow" will more resemble his true self, his identity, than it can on the day of his departure. But, (and here the poem

takes a characteristic u-turn) should he not die, the earlier image will perform a contradictory function:

> That which in him was fair and delicate,
> Was but the milk, which in love's childish state
> Did nurse it: who now is grown strong enough
> To feed on that, which to disused tastes seems tough.

By comparing the ideal with the real image, he imagines, his lover will be able to advance in connoisseurship; to graduate from using the picture to justify her original choice of love-object, to the more philosophical condition (let us call it historical humanism) of preferring (valuing more highly) a later and more battered version of the self.

This poem, however, is only the tip of the iceberg in a body of poetry so larded with reference to painting in general and portraits in particular that it seems ahead of its time; an anticipation, in fact, of the Caroline era, when access to paintings at court and in great houses was taken for granted, and, as Graham Parry has shown, allusions to painting *in* poetry became almost normative.[14] In his verse letter "To Mr. R[oland] W[oodward]" Donne sends his affection "As kindly as any enamoured patient/His picture to his absent love hath sent," (13-14). In "The Token" he tells his beloved *not* to send him any material tokens of her affection, "No, nor thy picture, though most gracious, / And most desired, because best like the best." In "Witchcraft by a Picture" he balances "the wicked skill / By pictures made and marred" against one of his favorite conceits, the "picture" (four times repeated in fourteen lines) of the lover reflected in the transparent lens of the beloved's eye. In "The Expostulation" he wishes to draw out the pleasure of courtship "like painters that do take / Delight not in made work, but whiles they make" (57-58), an allusion to a remark in Seneca's ninth epistle that would later be cited in Junius's *The Painting of the Ancients*. In "To Mr. T.W." Donne alludes to some notorious pictorial failure, in which "the painters' bad god made a good devil," offering an analagous make-do in his own verse, which could be "good prose, although the verse be evil," provided his friend forgive the half-rhymes that he has just (deliberately) created. In the epigram "Phryne" he delivers the com-

monplace insult: "Thy flattering picture, Phryne, is like thee, / Only in this, that you both painted be"; but the commonplace is underwritten by knowledge that Phryne, a notorious courtesan, was one of Apelles's most famous models. And these instances do not exhaust the stock of painterly conceits in the secular poems.

Some pictorialist allusions indicate Donne's familiarity with actual painters and pictorial technique. "The Storm" contains the well-known allusion to Hilliard: "... a hand, or eye / By Hilliard drawn, is worth an history, / By a worse painter made" (3-5). The "Epistle" preceding *Metempsychosis*, Donne's perverse poem about the progress of a soul that was probably a satire against Queen Elizabeth, opens with the following self-deprecatory statement:

> Others at the Porches and entries of their Buildings set their Armes; I, my picture, if any colours can deliver a minde so plaine, and flat, and through-light as mine.

This off-hand remark appears wittily to indicate Donne's familiarity *both* with the topos that painting can never represent the interior life of the mind behind the face *and* the technical problem of rendering three-dimensional bodies on a two-dimensional plane.

Chiaroscuro, of course, had been part of his program for the "Lothian" portrait, and he returns to it often. In his verse-letter to Lady Elizabeth Stanley, Countess of Huntingdon, Donne claimed, "Each good in you's a light; so many'a shade / You make, and in them are your motions made. / These are your pictures to the life."[15] Here too an actual portrait was in question. In his edition of the verse letters, W. Milgate pointed out that Donne had apparently written another verse letter, which has never been found, specifically on the topic of the Countess's portrait. A letter to Sir Henry Goodyer expresses the hope that "she will not disdain, that I should write well of her Picture."[16]

Milgate did not observe, however, that the letter in which this timid hope is expressed, tentatively dated by Thomas Hester 1609-10,[17] is also one in which Donne discusses with Goodyer their confessional uncertainties, identifying his own position at that moment as poised

between the English church and the Roman, while Goodyer has apparently been accused, in some anonymous letters, of recusancy. Donne consoles him:

> yet let me be bold to fear, that that sound true opinion, that in all Christian professions there is way to salvation (which I think you think) may have been so incommodiously or intempestively uttered by you; or else your having friends equally near you of all the impressions of Religion, may have testified such an indifferency, as hath occasioned some to further such inclinations, as they have mistaken to be in you. This I have feared, because heretofore the inobedient Puritans, and now the over-obedient Papists attempt you...I will not, nor need to you, compare the Religions. The channels of Gods mercies run through both fields; and they are sister teats of his graces, yet both diseased and infected. (pp. 101-02)

The proximity of these two ideas, confessional choice and pictorial interest, is typical of Donne up to and slightly beyond the moment of his 1615 decision to take orders, and may even be structurally connected to it. In "Satire 3," the crucial sentence, "To adore, or scorn and image, or protest / May all be bad" (76-77), locates religious indecision squarely within the iconoclastic debate. "Satire 4," however, drags sacred art back into the territory of social satire as if such art were now an anachronism (as well as being merely in service to metaphor). Glorius, whose name tells all, is described as a bully who succeeds "though his face be as ill / As theirs which in old hangings whip Christ," (225-26). Writing in verse to Edward Tilman after *he* had taken orders, an event which occurred in 1618, Donne imagines him "new feathered" by his elevation: "as we paint Angels with wings, because / They beare Gods message," (19-20). Until his early forties, Donne appears usually untroubled by the debate over either secular or religious images. His frequent recourse to pictorialism seems, rather, the sign of a humanist education in the visual arts. "The Cross," if indeed an early poem, is the striking exception to this rule.

But "The Cross" directly pertains to the position on images that Donne developed once he became a preacher. The issue first surfaces

in the moving sermon preached to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn on April 18, 1619 (not very long, therefore, after his poem to Tilman). The sermon is moving because, like several of his most famous poems, it is a valediction, and was so entitled in the *XXVI Sermons* of 1661. Donne was about to depart for Germany as chaplain to the Earl of Doncaster during the embassy dispatched by James I in the hopes of averting a war between Catholics and Protestants over the Palatinate—the issue that would in fact lead to the Thirty Years War. The theme of his sermon was memory, as his text was Ecclesiastes 12.1, "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth"; its subtext is the danger of the mission he is about to undertake, and he leaves his hearers in no doubt that he conceives it as a Protestant mission against the forces of militant Catholicism:

> Remember me thus, you that stay in this Kingdome of peace, where no sword is drawn, but the sword of Justice, as I shal remember you in those Kingdomes, where ambition on one side, and a necessary defence from unjust persecution on the other side hath drawn many swords.[18]

But as in the case of Elegy 5, "His Picture," which must have derived from an earlier voyage, [19] Donne invests the art of memory in the pictorial image. How can this be, in an iconoclastic church? In a passage which contains key statements of his own confessional history, he recommends to his audience a strategy for substituting mental for actual images:

> And so in delivering the Gospel in one principal seal thereof, the sacrament of his body, he recommended it only to their memory, *Do this in remembrance of me*. This is the faculty that God desires to work upon; And therefore if thine understanding cannot reconcile differences in all Churches, if thy will cannot submit it self to the ordinances of thine own Church, go to thine own memory; for as St. Bernard calls that the stomach of the soul, we may be bold to call it the Gallery of the soul, hang'd with so many, and so lively pictures of the goodness and mercies of thy God to thee, as that every one of them shall be a catachism

> to thee, to instruct thee in all thy duties to him for those mercies: And as a well made, and well plac'd picture, looks alwayes upon him that looks upon it; so shall thy God look upon thee, whose memory is thus contemplating him, and shine upon thine understanding, and rectifie thy will too. If thy memory cannot comprehend his mercy at large shewed to his whole Church, (as it is almost an incomprehensible thing, that in so few yeers he made us of the Reformation, equall even in number to our adversaries of the Roman Church,) If thy memory have not held that picture of our general deliverance from the Navy; . . . if thou remember not our deliverance from that artificiall Hell, the Vault . . . If these be too large pictures for thy gallery, for thy memory, yet ever man hath a pocket picture about him, a manuall, a bosome book, and if he will turn over but one leaf, and remember what God hath done for him even since yesterday, he shall find even that little branch a navigable river, to sail into that great and endless Sea of Gods mercies towards him, from the beginning of his being. (pp.237-38)

"The Cross" had revealed Donne's will to be incapable of submission to legislated iconoclasm. Now, any member of Donne's congregation who has been unable to "reconcile differences in all Churches," and whose pictorially-hungry will "cannot submit it self to the ordinances of [his] own Church," is offered a substitute for sacred art, a "pocket picture," a miniature representation of God's mercy, a pure concentration of affect in the *idea* of the image. The passage is remarkable in its swift embrace of three different art forms: portraiture (the genre of personal relationship) in the gallery of the soul; history painting (the genre of the elect nation); and miniature (which seems implausibly to be capable of operating in both genres). The idea of history painting consists in the great moments of Protestant survival against the forces of militant Catholicism—the Armada and the Gunpowder Plot. The "well made, and well plac'd" portrait whose subject "looks alwayes upon him that looks upon it," cannot, however, be imagined as the Armada portrait of Queen Elizabeth or the Van Somer portrait of James I in front of his new Banqueting House, painted in the year of the sermon's delivery. [20] The logic of the sermon requires that it be

transformed from a secular portrait in the gallery of a great house into a sacred icon, a portrait of God himself, the most forbidden image of all.[21]

This imaginative circumvention of what "The Cross" had more boldly called a "misgrounded law" may have been adequate to Donne's needs in 1619. When, however, Charles I succeeded his father, the government of the church became stricter, in the sense of its oversight, even micromanagement, by the king himself, whose concept of the *via media* was arguably not nearly so close to the center as that of Donne's "old master."

It has long been accepted that Charles and Laud between them steered the church of the 1630s and 1640s towards something that may or may not be appropriately termed Arminianism, less a doctrinal focus on free will versus predestination than a general "high-churchism"; but which of them was more responsible for building up the Puritan resentment that fueled, if it did not actually cause, the civil war is still under debate. Julian Davies, who recently challenged Nicholas Tyacke's thesis that creeping Arminianism was the factor that radicalized the Puritans, substituted for it the term "Carolinism," or Charles I's determination to "realize his highly personal notion of sacramental kingship by exploiting his prerogative" as head of the church, a program in which Laud was only his somewhat reluctant tool.[22] Between 1625 and 1630, however, when Donne was trying to find his feet under the new regime, the distinction is moot. From his perspective, signs of change were apparent from the moment when Charles made Richard Montagu his chaplain in 1625 in defiance of parliamentary protest (though in 1626 he would abandon him to his accusers), and when in June of that year a royal proclamation silenced the entire controversy. Having summarily dismissed his first parliament in June 1626 in order to cut off procedures in the Commons for Buckingham's impeachment, and without allowing time for the passing of a subsidy bill, Charles had turned to the expedient of the forced loan. As one consequence, Archbishop George Abbot was in July 1627 suspended from all duties for refusing to license Robert Sibthorpe's *Apostolike Obedience*, a sermon delivered on February 22, invoking support for the loan. And

also during 1627 public outrage at the queen's ostentatious displays of Catholic piety (visiting places of Catholic martyrdom such as Tyburn, for example) culminated in the dismissal, on July 31, of most of her French retinue and priests.

Donne, as Dean of St. Paul's, became early embroiled in these concerns. On April Fool's Day, 1627, Donne preached before Charles at Whitehall a sermon over which he had labored mightily. His text was Matthew 4.24, "Take heed what you hear," and the sermon was ostensibly designed to warn the congregation against the dangers of malcontent or seditious rumors. It seems also to have been designed to warn Charles about the growing dislike of the Queen's religious practices. At one moment, Donne observed, with Charles in the audience, that "this is the first time in all my life . . . I wished the King away; That ever I had any kinde of loathnesse that the King should hear all that I sayd . . . I have thought it somewhat an Eccentrique motion . . . to speake of the Duties of subjects before the King, or of the duties of Kings."[23] This was a remark, one would think, calculated to make the royal ears prick up. We know from Donne's own correspondence that he almost got into serious trouble at court for attempting this two-way advice.[24] We can only guess which passages in the sermon caused him to be summoned by Laud, then the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to produce a copy for the king's inspection. Presumably they included these statements:

> The Church is the spouse of Christ: Noble husbands do not easily admit defamations of their wives. Very religious Kings may have had wives, that may have retained some tincture, some impressions of errour, which they may have sucked in their infancy, from another Church, and yet would be loth, those wives should be publickely traduced to be Heretiques, or passionately proclaimed to be Idolaters for all that. (7:409)

Reading this passage today, one can see that Donne (though under cover of the venerable metaphor of the Church as the bride of Christ) had *himself* publicly traduced the queen; and one can imagine the

discussions that took place at Whitehall as Charles engaged in a close reading of the manuscript. Despite (or because of) his evenhandedness, there is no doubt that Donne was thrown into extreme anxiety by this close call with royal displeasure. On April 4 Laud recorded in his diary: "Wed. When his Majesty King Charles forgave to Doctor Donne certain slips in a sermon preached on Sunday, Apr. 1: What he then most graciously said unto me, I have wrote in my heart, with indelible characters, and great thankfulness to God and the King."[25]

It is usually assumed that the "he" whose graciousness Laud engraved in his heart was Charles; the syntax of the Latin passage is ambiguous, and the subsequent thanks "to God and the King" for this moment permits the interpretation that it was *Donne's* gracious expression that was so memorable. Was Donne's terror, as graphically expressed in his letters to Carr, followed by an otherwise unspoken rapprochement between him and Laud? Or was intimidation alone the cause of what followed?

Less than a month later, on May 6,1627, Donne preached at St. Paul's Cross a sermon in which he ostentatiously shifted his political direction. Taking as his text an obscure prophecy in Hosea 3.4, "For the children of Israel shall abide many dayes, without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image . . . ,"[26] Donne outlined what was for him a different place on the ideological line between Roman Catholicism on the one hand and extreme Puritanism on the other. It was new in the sense that it contradicted the urgent and embattled Protestantism of his valedictory sermon to the Lincoln's Inn benchers; and new, also, in that it argued explicitly for a position more sympathetic to sacred images than the Anglican *via media* had hitherto been. The sermon is filled with innuendos about political theory, and reproofs that fall as heavily, if not more heavily, on the left as on the right. Catholics who determine their allegiance and civil obedience according to papal injunctions, Donne's target in *Pseudo-Martyr*, are now no worse than "those that allow but a conditionall Soveraignty in a Kingdome," for example, or "those that fix a super-soveraignty in the people, or in a Presbytery" (7:427). The Puritans are mocked for their anti-vestiarian position:

> When Christ devested, or supprest the Majesty of his outward appearance, . . . Mary Magdalen took him but for a Gardiner. Ecclesiasticall persons in secular habits, lose their respects. (7:430)

And, in clear contradiction of his valedictory sermon to the Lincoln's Inn Benchers, Donne calmly stated that "even a Religion mixt with some Idolatry and superstition, is better than none" (7:431).

Sounding, then, like an apologist for the Caroline church as it would develop in the 1630s, Donne offered his only definitive statement on images and the iconoclastic controversy. In one long passage, which serves as the sermon's peroration, he links the earlier stages of the Reformation in England, when the removal of images from churches was an urgent matter of state legislation, to this later stage when there is as yet no sacred art in the national church, and argues, in effect, for a more liberal policy. Reading this passage with a focus on its pictorialist theory, one has to wonder whether the politics of allegiance dictated and subsumed the defense of images, or whether Donne's personal commitment to images was the force field around which his new Caroline politics had now, under pressure, fallen into place. In either case, what is most striking about the defense of images is the sleight of hand required in disposing of previous authorities. Here is the passage, almost in its entirety:

> In some cases, it may bee some want, to bee without some Pictures in the Church. So farre as they may conduce to a reverend adorning of the place, so farre as they may conduce to a familiar instructing of unlettered people, it may be a losse to lacke them. For, so much Calvin, out of his religious wisdome, is content to acknowledge, *fateor, ut res se habet hodie, &c. I confesse, as the case stands now, (says hee)* speaking of the beginning of the Reformation) *there are many that could not bee without those Bookes* (as hee calls those Pictures) *because then they had no other way of Instruction; but, that that might bee supplied, if those things which were delivered in picture, to their eyes, were delivered in Sermons to their*

eares. [*Institut.* 1.11.7]. And this is true, that where there is a frequent preaching, there is *no necessity* of pictures; but will not every man adde this, That if the true use of Pictures bee preached unto them, there is *no danger* of an abuse; and so, *as Remembrancers* of that which hath been taught in the Pulpit, they may be retained . . . . And since, by being taught the right use of these pictures, in our preaching, no man amongst us, is any more enclined, or endangered to worship a picture in a Wall or Window of the Church, then if he saw it in a Gallery, were it onely for a reverent adorning of the place, they may be retained here, as they are in the greatest part of the Reformed Church, and in all that, that is *properly Protestant.* [1 Eliz. 1559] And though the Injunctions of our Church, declare the sense of those times, concerning Images, yet they are wisely and godly conceived; for the second is, *That they shall not extoll Images*, (which is not, that they shall not *set them up*) but, (as it followeth) *They shall declare the abuse thereof.* And when in the 23 Injunction, it is said, That *they shall be utterly extinct*, and *destroy* (amongst other things) *pictures*, yet it is limited to such *things*, and *such pictures, as are monuments of feigned miracles*; and that Injunction reaches as well to pictures in private houses, as in Churches, and forbids nothing in the Church, that might be retained in the house. For those pernicious Errors, which the Romane Church hath multiplied in this point, not only to make Images of *men*, which never were, but to make those Images of men, *very men*, to make their Images *speak*, and *move*, and *weep*, and *bleed* to make of Images of *God* who was never seen, and to make those Images of God, *very gods*, to make their Images doe daily miracles; to transferre the honour due to God, to the Image, and then to encumber themselves with such ridiculous riddles, and scornfull distinctions, [27] as they doe, for justifying unjustifiable, unexcuseable, uncolourable enormities, *Vae Idolatris*, woe to such advancers of Images, as would throw down Christ, rather then his Image; but *Vae Iconoclastis* too, woe to such peremptory abhorrers of Pictures, and to such uncharitable condemners of all those who admit any use of them, as had rather throw down a Church, then let a Picture stand.

(pp. 431-3)

In *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation* Ernest Gilman drew attention to this sermon, but without locating it either in relation to Donne's stance in 1619, or to the political climate of 1626-7 by which it was evidently generated. Without either of these contexts, we cannot fully understand Donne's predicament, and the twists and turns he took to escape it. Indeed, Gilman described the tone of the sermon, as compared with Donne's early satire "Of Religion," as one of mature and settled calm: "The doubt seems to be resolved and the anger cooled in the conciliatory rhetoric molded for the Anglican church by Hooker and Andrewes as well as by Donne himself."[28] In fact, as indicated above, this was a particularly tense moment for relations between the Caroline government and the nation, and ecclesiastical polity was inextricable from constitutional stress. According to Barry Coward, "It is arguable that between the dissolution of the 1626 parliament and the end of 1627 opposition to the Caroline court reached a peak it was not to reach again until the late 1630s."[29] Hence Donne's otherwise peculiar choice of text, and his warning, implicit in that scathing reference to "conditional sovereignty," that those who would have no rituals or images in the church might also prefer to have no king.

Nor was it merely the growing opposition, broadly conceived, against which Donne apparently decided to take a stand. For although one cannot tell this from the parliamentary documents concerning Richard Montagu's offensive publications, one of Montagu's objectives had been to carve out a new centrist position between the Roman Catholic position on images and strict Calvinist or Puritan iconomachy. Answering Matthew Kellison, president of the English college at Douai, who was in turn answering Montagu's earlier challenge, Montagu had included in *A New Gagg for an Old Goose* (1624) several pages of what might be seen as a Lutheran defense of images:

> Unto Christians they are not unlawful, for civil uses: nor utterly in all manner of religious imployment. The pictures of Christ, the blessed Virgin, and Saints may be had, had in houses, set up in Churches: the Protestants use them: they despight them not:

> Respect and honour may be given unto them: the Protestants doe it: and use them for helps of piety, in rememoration, and more effectual representing of the Prototype. (p. 318)

The following year, stung by a storm of criticism that his supposedly centrist position was in fact "Arminianism" if not outright popery, Montagu had returned to the issue in *Apello Caesarem*, which had been read and approved for publication by James I shortly before his death; but the Caesar to whom it was now dedicated was Charles I. In this second book, Montagu directed his criticisms exclusively to "Two Unjust Informers" from the left, thereby referring, presumably, to a pamphlet unrecorded in the *Short Title Catalogue*. His program included limiting the authority of the Elizabethan Book of Homilies on this topic by historicizing it—written exclusively for those early and transitional times:

> Our Predecessors and Fathers coming late out of Popery, living neere unto Papists and Popish times, conversing with them, having beene nuzzled and brought up amongst them . . . therefore . . . they spake thus vehemently, and indeed *hyperbolically* against them. (p. 263)

It included citing Donne's old patron, Thomas Morton, Bishop of Lichfield, to the effect that even Calvin admitted the use of pictures "for an historicall use" (p. 254). And, perhaps of greatest persuasive force for Donne himself, Montagu slid from the historical, that is to say, educational value of certain pictures to a moving defense of pictorial *affect* in devotion:

> Our strictest writers do not condemne or censure S. Gregory for putting upon them that *historicall* use of suggesting unto, moving or affecting the minde even in *pious* and religious affections. For instance; in remembring more feelingly, and so being empassioned more effectually with the Death, Bloudshed, and bitter Passion of our Saviour, when we see that story fully and lively represented unto us in colours or work by a skilful hand. (pp. 253-54)

For Donne, who had written one of his devotional sonnets to substitute for such an icon in the real world ("Mark *in my heart*, O soul, where thou dost dwell, / The picture of Christ crucified"), it would have been difficult *not* to have aligned himself with Montagu intellectually and psychologically, without any pressure having been brought to bear upon him. Given that pressure, what rose to the surface was less political complaisancy than personal conviction and psychological need.

In placing the sermon above or beyond polemic, Gilman did not note the astonishing liberties that Donne took with Calvin as an authority for sixteenth-century iconoclasts. For *Institutes* I:11:7 (to which Donne himself drew our attention in a marginal note) is throughout an uncompromising attack on Roman Catholics for claiming that "images are the books of the unlearned." The apparent concession that Donne extracts from Calvin with respect to those who lack the proper instruction through preaching is really only the breath that Calvin draws between the first and second halves of his indictment. As anyone who had access to Thomas Norton's 1561 translation of the *Institutes* (republished 1562, 1574, 1578, 1582, 1599 and 1611) Donne's reading of Calvin's message would have seemed casuistical:

> Wherfor if the Papistes have any shame let them no more use this shift to say that images are lay mens bookes...The pictures and images that they dedicate to Sainctes, what are they but examples of extreme riot and unclenesse . . . I grant in dede as the matter standeth that there are this day many which cannot be without such boks. But whense I pray you groweth that dulnesse but that they are defrauded of that doctrine which only was mete to instruct them with? For it is for no other cause that they which had the cure of churches gave over their office of teaching to idols, because themselves were dumme. [30]

And Calvin concluded this section of the *Institutes* with a particularly virulent attack on the use of the cross in churches, supposedly to teach the crucifixion; whereas in fact, he argued, the gold or silver was more likely to distract the congregation from spiritual matters.

Gilman did remark "one revealing tack" in Donne's iconophilia: his distortion of the Elizabethan *Injunctions* of 1559, which had adopted verbatim the hard-line Edwardian Injunction 28, renumbered as Injunction 23: "They shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, . . . pictures, paintings, and all other monument of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition: so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass-windows, or elsewhere within their churches or houses. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses." It is unlikely that Donne knew of the struggles that lay behind each phrase of this unequivocally iconoclastic command. It is clear that he selected for emphasis only what suited his purpose: *not* the command to "utterly extinct and destroy," but rather the qualifying phrase about "feigned images" and "superstition," which permit the thought that other images, free of superstition, might be permitted. In addition, as Gilman noted, Donne has inverted the Injunction's intentions with respect to domestic images. The Elizabethan church had sought to prevent the transfer of sacred images from churches into private homes; Donne outrageously translates this as meaning that Injunction 23 "forbids nothing in the Church, that might be retained in the house."[31]

As Gilman observed, this emphasis on domestic art must for Donne have carried personal significance, secretive and intense; since, as his will records, his bedroom was adorned with a "A Picture of Marie Magdalene," and his study with a "B. Virgin and Joseph" and a "Picture of layinge Christe in his Toombe."[32] He bequeathed to Lord Doncaster, now the Earl of Carlisle, "the picture of the blessed Virgin which hangs in the little dining-chamber," which may in fact have been a painting of Christ with the Virgin and St. John attributed to Titian, which was subsequently given by Carlisle to Charles I.[33] The "Mary Magdalen" inherited just a few years earlier from Christopher Brooke was left to George Garrard, and the "Virgin and Joseph" to Brooke's brother, the Reverend Samuel, who had officiated at Donne's wedding. Edmund Gosse long ago suggested that the ownership and bequest of an image of the Virgin implied a secret sympathy with Catholic doctrines, not only

on Donne's part but also on Carlisle's,[34] an imputation heatedly rejected by Potter and Simpson on the grounds that respect for the Virgin was hardly outlawed in the Anglican liturgy (*Sermons*, 5:22-23). But this is to miss the point about ownership of sacred art more generally, not to mention its public defense. For Donne, in the context of 1627, personal conviction and practice, hitherto suspect if not precisely illegal, suddenly clicked into place in a new cultural context, which he seems to have perceived as a crisis of sorts. Bringing the hidden commitments of a lifetime to bear on the national situation, Donne, I suggest, not only capitulated to what he saw as the new order, but inadvertently authorized its next stage: fully-fledged Laudian formalism in league with monarchical absolutism. In this attack on Puritanism, Donne was evidently in tune with Charles's feelings, at least as defined by Julian Davies;[35] and in his defense of images, at a point in time, it must be emphasized, when they were not yet a part of the political conversation, he vindicated *avant la lettre* both Laud's campaign to reornament churches and Charles's personal art- collecting.

In fact, in the details of his defense, Donne uncannily anticipates Laud at the 1632 trial of Henry Sherfield for breaking church-windows, or at his own trial in 1641. In his speech in Star Chamber in 1632, Laud had cited the Elizabethan *Injunctions* as only permitting official iconoclasm, not sanctioning individual vandalism;[36] and at his own trial Laud defended the sacred pictures in his own gallery by citing Calvin's *Institutes*, 1.11.12: "and though Calvin do not approve images in churches, yet he doth approve very well of them which contain a history; and says plainly, that these have their use *in docendo et admonendo*, in teaching and admonishing the people."[37]

In the autumn of 1627 Charles I was already engaged in purchasing the great art collection of the dukes of Mantua,[38] a collection that included eleven "portraits" by Titian of Roman emperors that would subsequently be installed as a guard of honor in the royal gallery at St. James's Palace, at the head of which would appear Van Dyck's imperial *Charles I on horseback with M. de St. Antoine*. In 1628-9, parliamentary government collapsed, to be replaced with eleven years

of Personal Rule. And in 1632, with the arrival of Van Dyck in London, there began to be produced, with extraordinary speed and brilliance, an art that celebrated Caroline rule in the same iconographical language that Van Dyck had been using to promote the Roman Catholic leadership of Europe.

But before that occurred, Donne's pictorialism moved to its own predictable close. One of his most melancholy sermons was preached at court on February 29, 1628. Its tone is attributed by his editors to the deaths, in a searing sequence starting in January 1627, of his daughter Lucy, Sir Henry Goodyer, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and Magdalen Danvers. To these we should add his life-long friend Christopher Brooke, to whom he had addressed "The Storm," and whose death occurred just a few days before this sermon was delivered. In this extended meditation on mortality, Donne returned to the theme of the visual arts and added a new ingredient, an analogy between the visual artist and any professional with a job to do in the present and a legacy to leave for the future. The sermon opens with the image of a memorial sculpture that has failed of its primary purpose, to secure identity for the future:

> He that stands in a place and does not the duty of that place, is but a statue in that place; and but a statue without an inscription; Posterity shall not know him, nor read who he was.

Like himself in the "Lothian" portrait for more than two centuries, we might add. And Donne does indeed subsequently shift to painting—to a learned disquisition on the painting of the ancients:

> Plinie delivers us the history of al the great Masters in the art of painting: He tels us who began with the extremities and the out lines at first, who induc'd colors after that, and who after super-induc'd shadows; who brought in *Argutias vultus* as he cals them, not only the countenance, but the meaning of the countenance, and all that so exquisitely, that...*Divinantes diem mortis dixerunt*. Physiognomers would tell a mans fortune as well by the picture as by the life; he tells us, *quis pinxit quae pingi non possunt*, who first adventured to express inexpressible things; *Tonitrua, perturbationes animae*;

> they would paint thunder which was not to be seen, but heard: and affections, and the mind, the Soul which produc'd those affections. (*Sermons*, 8:178)

This collage of remarks from Pliny's *Natural History*, Book 35, Sections 4, 11, and the very long Section 36, is unusual both in its (near) precision[39] and its timing. The Plinean commonplaces would later become tropes of Caroline lyric or of Marvell's satires—but not before they had been rehearsed in that major Caroline defense of the visual arts, *The Painting of the Ancients* by Franciscus Junius, the English version of which appeared in 1638. One by one the sections of Pliny to which he alludes would be applied by Junius, the Earl of Arundel's secretary, to a defense of painting and collecting (in explicit imitation of Sidney's *Defence of Poesie*) that served also as a defense of Arundel against Puritan criticisms, and, by extension, of Charles I's collections. The Latin version of *De Pictura Veterum* which appeared in 1637 was, indeed, dedicated to the king.

Donne is therefore in one sense (the historical) leading the way to the Caroline culture of art; but in another sense (the ontological) he subordinates it to religion. His allusions to Pliny, it emerges, are merely themselves adduced in the service of a metaphor about ethical and religious duty, which will lead to personal immortality of a highly restricted kind:

> But for the most part he tels us all the way, in what places there remained some of their pieces to be seen, and copied in his time. This is still that dignifies all their works, that they wrought so, as that posterity was not only delighted, but improv'd and better'd in that art by their works: . . . So the doing of the duties of the place, by men that move in middle Sphears, breaths upwards and downwards, and about too, that is, casts a little shame upon inferiors if they doe not so, and a little remembrance upon Superiors that they should doe so . . . And so it is an improvement of the present, and an instruction and a Catechisme to future times. (8:178-79)

Those "so's" restrict Pliny's inventory of ancient art to the first term in a metaphorical relationship; much as, in his fourth satire, Donne had described Glorius with a face "as ill / As theirs which in old hangings whip Christ." Thirty or so years later, Donne compares himself to one of the ancient painters, a man in the middle sphere whose commitment to his art, to the duties of his place, will be an example to those above and below him, and hence create a spiritual legacy. This emphasis on how one will be remembered echoes the passage about the unidentified statue, image of undutiful passivity, with which the sermon began.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, when Donne moves at the end of his sermon to yet another art-form, the engraved portrait. Offering to give his readers a "Picture" of the death of the righteous, one whose "holy thoughts" all his life have been "conversant upon the directing of his family, the education of his Children, the discharge of his place, the safety of the State, the happinesse of the King," Donne invokes modern technology:

> Bee pleased to remember that those Pictures which are deliver'd in a minute, from a print upon a paper, had many dayes, weeks, Moneths time for the graving of those Pictures in the Copper; So this Picture of that dying Man, that dies in Christ, that dies the death of the Righteous, . . . was graving all his life; All his publique actions were the lights, and all his private the Shadowes of this Picture. And when this Picture comes to the Presse, this Man to the streights and agonies of Death, thus he lies, thus he looks, this he is. (8:19)

Offered to the king at Whitehall, this passage is unambiguously self-portraiture, self-justification; and it is hard not to imagine that as he spoke ("thus he lies, thus he looks, this he is") Donne was already contemplating the drawing of himself in his shroud and its engraving by Martin Droeshout. At any rate, knowledge of this sermon gives that engraving a new dignity; and the memorial statue that matches it, erected in St. Paul's, does indeed record the identity Donne had evidently feared to lose.

There is one last surprise in store. In January 1630, almost at the end of his life, Donne returned with amusement and something like detachment to the issue of the Cross as supreme image and as still forbidden in the English church. By this stage Donne had apparently revived the skepticism that had been one of the moods of his third satire, "Of Religion": more to the point, he recalled his earlier gibe at Jesuit relativism in *Pseudo-Martyr*, rephrasing and expanding it as a satiric position of his own:

> That Jesuit [Azorius] puts his example in the worship of the Crosse of Christ, and sayes, That, at this day, in Germany and in France it is the common opinion, and Catholique Divinity, that *latreia*, Divine worship, is not due to the Crosse of Christ; In Italy and in Spain it is the common opinion, and Catholique Divinity, that it is due. Now, how shall he governe himselfe, that is unlearned, and not able to try, which is the common opinion? Or how shall the learnedest of all governe himselfe if he have occasion to travaile, *but to change his Divinity, as often as he changes his Coine, and when he turnes his Dutch Dollers into Pistolets, to go out of Germany, into Spain, turn his Devotion, and his religious worship according to the Clime?* (9:161)

The sardonic twist of this passage anticipates by half a century John Locke's ironic conclusion, in his *Letter concerning toleration*, that religion cannot be mandated by the state; for then

> one country alone would be in the right, and all the rest of the world put under an obligation of following their princes in the ways that lead to destruction: and . . . men would owe their eternal happiness or misery to the places of their nativity.[40]

Taken together with his metaphor of engraving from the sermon described above, Donne's geopolitical relativism marks what I have called the fourth and last phase of his development as figured in his portraits; a sublime, if sardonic overview, a view from the top of Truth's hill, which transcends *by ironizing* confessional divisions. Having

turned his own devotion according to the clime, he went to make his reckoning with a sense, not of having guessed right, but of having done the best he could in often adverse circumstances. At which point we might conclude with Strafford's less than welcome axiom to Laud: "[He] shall surely draw the fairest Table of his Life, that understands with Vandike, how to dispose of these Shadows best, to make up his own Comeliness and Advantage."

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Notes

1. *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches*, 2 vols. (London, 1739), 2:170.

2. Ibid., 2:158.

3. Strafford's reference to "the Poet" is to Spenser's "Legend of Justice," *The Faerie Queene*, 5.1.11.

4. T.E. Terrell, "A Note on John Donne's Early Reading," *Modern Language Notes* 43(1928): 318. I owe this reference to Dennis Flynn.

5. See Helen Gardner, ed., *John Donne: The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets* (Oxford, 1965), p.xxvii.

6. See Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1995), p.4.

7. Both Gardner, in her edition of the *Divine Poems* (Oxford, second ed. 1978), p. 92, and A.J. Smith, in *The Complete Poems* (Penguin, 1971), p. 646, assume that this is an early Jacobean poem, *ca.* 1604. Gardner makes her guess on the basis of style, and Smith writes a long note on the Millenary Petition of 1603, in which Puritan ministers called for the abolition of the sign of the Cross in baptism. Neither argument seems to be conclusive.

8. Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal, 1993), p. 167: This discovery of relativism among the Jesuits, of course, does not here work to the advantage of the Catholic doctrine on images. For a brief history of these terms from the Council of Nice in 787 to the Council of Trent, see Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1988), 1: 47-55.

9. For this suggestion, see A.J.Smith, (London, 1971), p.648.

10. See John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1570), p. 271: "Then said the Lord Cobham; and spreade his armes abrode. This is a very crosse, yea and so much better than your crosse of wode, in that it was created of God. Yet will not I seke to have it worshypped." For this proto-Protestant heresy, Oldcastle was eventually burned alive.

11. As Gardner pointed out, Donne had been reading, for "The Cross," early Christian writers who noted cruciforms in nature. These parallels were collected by Justus Lipsius, *De Cruce* (Antwerp, 1595), Book I, chapter ix; but Donne could have found all he needed (the crosses formed by a swimmer in water, by birds in flight, by "the mast and yard" of a ship, or by the "meridians crossing parallels" on the globe), in a commentary ascribed to St. Jerome. See Gardner, p. 155, citing J.A.W. Bennett, *Review of English Studies* 5 (1954): 168-69.

12. Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols. (1899; rept. Gloucester, MA, 1959), 2:363.

13. See Kate Frost, *John Donne Journal*, 13 (1994), pp. 1-11.

14. Graham Parry, "Van Dyck and the Caroline Court Poets," in *Van Dyck 350*, ed. Susan J. Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (Washington, D.C., 1994),

pp. 247-62.

15. John Donne, *The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford, 1967), p. 84.

16. Ibid, p. 243.

17. See Donne, *Letters to several persons of honour* (1651), ed. M. Thomas Hester (New York, 1977), pp. 104-05.

18. *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953-62), 2:248-49. A manuscript version of the sermon, which surely records what Donne actually said, as distinct from the toned-down published version, enhanced the crusading tone: "The noblest actions of Princes, war and peace and treaties," Donne declared, "will come to nothing . . . if there appeare not to the world a true Zeale to the preservation of the Gospell . . . our light must be severed from darknes soe, as that noe darknes be mingled with the light, noe dregs, noe rags of Idolatry and superstition mingled with the true religion . . . And this severing must hold in the profession of the Gospell too, not soe sever'd as that here shalbe a sermon, and there a mass, but that the true religion be really professed, and corrupt religion be utterly abolished. See *Sermons*, 2:380-81. Potter and Simpson note (p. 33) that more manuscript copies of this sermon exist than for any other of Donne's sermons, implying that it was of great contemporary interest.

19. Since "His Picture" is addressed to a beloved woman (and if we assume it had autobiographical content), it cannot relate to the Doncaster mission, since Anne More had died in 1617. The most likely departure to have motivated "His Picture" was in November 1611, when Donne set out for Europe with Sir Robert Drury, leaving his wife and family with her brother-in-law in the Isle of Wight.

20. For the Van Somer portrait, see David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), pp. 125-26.

21. Donne repeated this conceit in a later sermon on the Pentitential Psalms, where David's example to the pentitent is said to be "so comprehensive, so generall, that as a well made, and well placed Picture in a Gallery looks upon all that stand in several places of the Gallery, in severall lines, in severall angles, so doth Davids history concerne and embrace all" (*Sermons*, 5:299).

22. For Tyacke's thesis, see *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987); for Davies's, see *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641* (Oxford, 1992); quotation from p.3.

23. *Sermons*, 7:403.

24. See his letters to Sir Robert Carr in *Letters to severall persons of honour*, pp. 305-10.

25. William Laud, *Works*, 7 vols (Oxford, 1847), 3:204.

26. *Sermons*, 7:415.

27. This is probably another reference to the distinctions between *latreia, dulia* and *hyperdulia.*

28. Ernest Gilman, *Down Went Dagon: Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation* (Chicago, 1986), p. 119.

29. Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age* (Harlow, 1984), p. 139.

30. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, tr. Thomas Norton (London, 1578).

31. Compare Montagu's statement in the *Gagg* that "the pictures of Christ, the blessed Virgin, and Saints may be had, *had in houses*, set up in Churches" (p. 318).

32. For Donne's will, see R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 563-67.

33. See W. Milgate, "Dr. Donne's Art Gallery," *Notes and Queries* 194, No. 15 (July 23, 1949): pp. 318-19.

34. Gosse, *Life and Letters*, 2:109-10.

35. For Davies's account of Charles's fear and suspicion of Puritanism, which he associated with obstructive elements in the House of Commons, see *The Caroline Captivity*, pp. 13-14.

36. Laud, *Works*, 6:17; pp. 14-18 of this speech constitute a defense of sacred art.

37. "The History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud," in Laud, *Works*, 4:199.

38. See Howarth, *Images of Rule*, p. 270. Howarth cites a letter to Charles from his Italian banker Filippo Burlamachi, probably dated 17 October, complaining about his inability to finance *both* the Mantua purchase *and* the British expedition to relieve La Rochelle.

39. Donne was working his way through Book 35 apparently from memory. After the introductory section 5, in which Pliny goes back to the earliest origins of representation in the use of outline and color, Donne moved appropriately (since the intervening material is about the geology of colors) to Section 11, where Pliny described the discovery of light and shade. Then he leaped to Section 67, which introduced Parrhasius and his capacity to convey facial vivacity [*primus argutias voltus*] and then to Apelles. Donne misquotes the grammarian Apio's testimony about Apelles (88-89), whose portraits were so absolutely lifelike that "one of those persons called physiognomists, who prophesy people's future by their countenance, [*quendam ex facie hominum divinantem*] pronounced from their portraits either the year of the subjects' deaths hereafter of the number of years they had already lived [*ex iis dixisse aut futurae mortis annos aut praeteritae vitae*]." Then he moved on to Apelles' capacity to paint "things that cannot be represented in pictures—thunder, lightning and thunderbolts" [*Pinxit et quae pingi non possunt, tonitrua, fulgetra fulguraque*] (96), and then to Aristides of Thebes (98) who was "the

first of all painters who depicted the mind and expressed the feelings of a human being . . . and also the emotions" [*animum pinxit et sensus hominis expressit . . . item perturbationes*]: *Natural History*, tr. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass., 1938-63).

40. John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. John Horton and Susan Mendus (London and New York, 1991), p. 19. The passage is cited, of course, from William Popple's translation of Locke's *Epistola*. That Locke owned the 1654 edition of Donne's poems, and so would certainly have read the third satire, is a fact that allows us to posit a direct influence.