The Typology of Woman in Donne's *Anniversaries*

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Critical discussion of Donne's *Anniversaries* is particularly unresolved. Critical opinion is polarized between the view that the poems make no coherent sense and scholarly and historical defences of the poems's structure and general meaning.¹ But these defences, however illuminating, have not brought out convincingly the firm biblical pattern of the poems.² Donne's symbolic allusions are more specific and controlled than readers have acknowledged. Donne's symbolism, like the poems themselves, develops; it moves in a significant and controlled direction. The symbolism, indeed, helps to define the movement of the poems.³ The main organizing principles are the three steps of formal meditation and biblical typology.⁴

Donne's use of typology is crucial, as some readers have argued, but it has been misunderstood. Donne's characteristic emphasis, which has led to so much confusion, is upon incompleteness, expectancy, and process. Professor Lewalski in the most comprehensive study of typology in the poems asserts that Donne celebrates the restored image of God in the heroine of his poem; but Donne never implies that God's image has been restored in any living person.⁵ For Donne the divine image is only in *process* of being restored in the virtuous. His characteristic emphasis is upon this process, and the effort of mind and will that it requires. The poems move from a world governed by sin to redemption. But their movement is not represented as completed; it is represented as partial, yet successive, and cumulative. Donne's stress is therefore upon potentiality, upon developing and not achieved perfection. The poems are thus directed to evoke a specific but developing response in their readers.⁶ The symbolism of Elizabeth Drury develops from less perfect to more perfect manifestations, from mythic and historical prefigurations to biblical fulfilment. The biblical pattern of the poems, the recognition of providential design in imperfect human experience, is also developing, and becomes clear as the poems advance. Only the conclusions to each poem make their biblical pattern explicit.

In the letters Donne wrote from Paris defending the poems against the "many censures" he had heard from England, Donne included a sharp

retort to the "ladies" who complained of his praises of Elizabeth Drury. He insists that he has chosen a subject "capable of all that I could say" or "of the best praise that I could give"; then he continues (in the letter to George Garrard): "If any of those Ladies think that Mistris *Drury* was not so, let that Ladie make her selfe fit for all those praises in the Booke, and it shall be hers."⁷ This retort, which is often dismissed, underscores the exemplary and hortatory intention of the poems.⁸

Donne's later sermons also illuminate the intention of these poems. Throughout his sermons Donne emphatically redresses the tendency in his own time to extreme spiritualizing of religious experience, whether as the restored image of God in Protestant teaching or the perfected human nature of Catholic mystics. Thus he repeats "there is nothing, not in spirituall things perfect. . . as in spirituall things there is nothing Perfect, so in temporall, there is nothing Permanent" (VII, 271). These terms apply exactly to the technique of Donne's *Anniversaries*, which Donne thought had been misinterpreted. There is no perfection in human life, yet we are commanded to be perfect as God himself. Donne's central intention, as he firmly asserts, is homiletic: we are bid to be perfect as God the Father only "That so, when we see the exact purity, which we should aim at, and labor for, we might the more seriously lament, and the more studiously endeavor the amendment of that extreme . . . foulness and impurity" exceeding a dog at his vomit or a sow in the mire (I, 185-6). Yet the hypocritical pretense to this purity, whether in contemporary Puritanism or Roman Catholic mysticism, is the worst impurity of all.⁹ These explicit terms apply exactly to the design and intention of the poems: the ideal is represented not simply for purposes of praise but to induce a response of contrition and an effort of amendment.

In representing ideal virtue in the poems, Donne uses traditional ideas that have become unfamiliar. Christian Platonism allows Donne to see in the soul of Elizabeth Drury a resemblance to the form of the original creation, the Divine Idea that mirrored the mind of God. Donne echoes a theory expressed by humanists such as Erasmus and Ascham that original sin did not operate until puberty; until then the child is in a state analogous to unfallen nature, the state of the natural man.¹⁰ So Elizabeth Drury's soul is not distorted *yet*.

Donne evokes various specific symbolic associations for Elizabeth Drury but stresses their inadequacy or incompleteness. Thus Donne draws on all the mythological and biblical associations of an idealized woman for Elizabeth Drury; yet the "shee" of the poems is Elizabeth Drury as one embodiment of the creative and sustaining quality of all virtuous women, throughout the whole of time, and bearing the seed of the righteousness divinely intended.

Marjorie Nicolson has described the poems's fundamental technique of

allusion as follows: "Donne's *Anniversaries* are as remarkable as *Lycidas* in their Renaissance art of mingling classical and Christian themes."¹¹ As in *Lycidas*, Donne's poems begin with pagan conventions and then lead to a Christian climax, yet "the classical substratum is always there." But – to go beyond Nicolson – Donne, like Milton, does not merely oppose Christian to pagan myth, or Christianize the classical. Donne's poems invite the recognition that essential doctrine is mirrored in inadequate myths. Thus Elizabeth Drury's soul – like the soul of any virtuous woman or man – embodies the world soul, the *Anima Mundi* of the pagans, and so activates it and individuates it that it is realized in Elizabeth Drury and those like her (*FA* 69-69: "shee which did inanimate and fill/ The world . . ."). Yet that is an inadequate and incomplete adumbration of God's sustaining power over the world.¹²

Similarly Donne invokes the legend of Astraea (*FA* 175-6: "She, of whom th'Auncients seem'd to prophesie,/ When they call'd vertues by the name of shee"; or *SA* 69-70: "in all, shee did,/ Some figure of the Golden times, was hid."); but the phrasing alone underlines the incompleteness of the representation (*seem'd to prophesie*"; "*Some Figure . . . hid*").¹³ Donne's specific application is that the virtuous individual soul is, among other things, just, or at least reflects Astraea as well as it can. Justice in human society in turn activates and is derived from the justice animating individual souls in the community. What Elizabeth Drury embodied, reflected, and activated of these basic elements in the nature of things qualifies her death to occasion the poems.

The myths are inadequate because the human condition in the poems is one of awaiting the coming of Christ again, of the interval stage of dispensation, after the gospel but before the resurrection. Donne's consequent stress on incompleteness and so on expectation, expectancy, is fundamental. The poems do not concentrate on the achieved perfection or "regenerate state" of Elizabeth Drury but on the difficulty as well as necessity of striving to achieve it, and therefore on active effort, pain, and danger. Yet the effort involves harmonizing as well as purging, and is progressive in its effects.¹⁴

O. B. Hardison has demonstrated specific allusions to Dante's Beatrice and Petrarch's Laura in the poems, particularly in the image of "the 'new life' into which the lover is brought because of the death of the lady."¹⁵ But this conventional literary association of the love poets is turned back in Donne's poems to its source in the religious metaphor of conversion or baptism as a rebirth (Hardison, p. 176). Hardison notes that Donne differs from the *stilnovisti* but does not sharply enough distinguish the grounds of difference: the new life and illumination of the love poets is personal and mystical, but in Donne's poems Elizabeth Drury illuminates a *community* that includes the poet in time, not in a private, transcendent vision (p. 182).

Furthermore this modification by Donne is not, as Hardison thinks, a relative weakness (pp. 184-5). The strongest focus of the poems is upon the perfection that Elizabeth Drury embodied in this life, upon her function of reconciling this world and the next, not simply upon the joys of heaven. The central effect is one of progress in time towards an ultimate fulfilment, and the stress is thus shifted to expectation, expectancy, and effort.

Elizabeth I's inadequate embodiment of the ideal marriage of justice and charity on earth is also underlined in the poems. (See especially *SA* 359-375: "Shee, who beeing to herselfe a state, enjoyd/ All royalties which any state emplot," etc.)¹⁶ Echoing the Platonist eulogies of Elizabeth as God's vice regent in the Proems to *The Faerie Queene* (especially Book V), the poems imply that Elizabeth the Queen should have been thus.

A last level of symbolic allusion is biblical, to the woman in the Song of Songs and the Book of Revelation – a woman waiting. This biblical woman, God's beloved, was everywhere interpreted as the faithful community, Sion, or the church.¹⁷ She recapitulates the spiritual and biblical history of the Jewish people from the beginning to the end of time – but the present experience is one of waiting. The fulfilment, the consummation of her love, is hereafter. Elizabeth Drury is not identified with her but is related to her as type or *figura*.¹⁸

Elizabeth Drury is thus a complex yet consistent symbolic figure whose deepest symbolic significance is biblical. This biblical level of symbolism, typology, provides the meaning and organizing principles for the poems. In Christian typology, as is by now wellknown, Old Testament historical persons and events were interpreted as foreshadowing a more perfect fulfilment in the life of Christ in the New Testament, as the life of Christ was imitated in the life of the individual Christian and the church, although awaiting an ultimate fulfilment at the end of time. In his sermons Donne emphasizes with Protestants generally the stage of symbolic association by which Christians share in the life of Christ, both as individuals and as a community, and so recapitulate biblical history.¹⁹ But, in assimilating Donne to the model of Protestant doctrine, readers such as Lewalski have blurred Donne's most characteristic emphases. Donne's primary concern is not the restored image of God in the regenerate but the process of restoration and therefore human pain and effort in striving to achieve it. Donne in particular stresses suffering as purgatorial and contritional, as preparation for a resurrection that is experienced fully only after death. Yet this suffering also leads to tempering and harmonizing.²⁰ Donne's particular focus on biblical history and on individual experience as recapitulating it psychologically and spiritually most deeply controls the movement and the meaning of the *Anniversaries*.²¹ As in Donne's other elegies, the lamented person is traditionally a type or *figura* of Christ; but this typological significance needs renewing.

The poems represent Donne's contemporary world as one of decay against a strongly articulated background of biblical types. The structure of the *First Anniversary* is biblical, tracing the period from Creation to the Flood; the *Second Anniversary* represents ascension. The reader moves between the poles of the realism of decay and mystic flight; but the poems firmly mark a developing series of stages: from creation to the flood, the stage of the law, of the gospel, of the interval, and of the resurrection. The stages of dispensation – before the fall, after the fall to the flood, and after the flood – control the structure of the poems. In the history of the chosen people, from the fall to the Book of Revelation, is the pattern of individual religious experience. The historical pattern, like the personal, is progressive; it involves a tempering, a burning off the rusts of time as it proceeds. This symbolism is not mystical but historical and psychological: it is rooted in time. It serves to focus attention on the individual Christian as part of a community and a pattern for all.

The process of the poems is a recognition of ethical values and truths of faith through acceptance of existential imperfection. The spiritual meaning of the existential is always present; existential imperfection – represented by the realism of decay – must be accepted; imperfection reflects in the recognition of its limitations the perfection of the spiritual.

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The *First Anniversary* begins with the representation of the soul of Elizabeth Drury as the effective virtue, life, and essence of the world. Her death wounded the world. In that she was innocent and virtuous, she was like the form of the original creation. Her death is then an analogue of original sin, the loss of primordial innocence and virtue. Sin was a spiritual death and the cause of physical and eternal death. Her death confirms the vulnerability of a world where the innocent die, and it teaches a moral lesson, the reality of sin and its effects. Her death, then, is related typologically to original sin. It is like original sin in its effects on the world; it is the effect of original sin in the world; it is a confirmation of the power of sin.²²

Yet the poem begins with the affirmation that a virtuous soul becomes related to all others as exemplar, as active pattern (ll. 15) of all goodness. Something of her virtue remains in the memories of those who "understood/ Her worth" (ll. 72-3). Her memory produces a new world of the poet and his society: her "virtue" provides the material for this new creation, but the *practice* of the good is the form that gives it life. This new world is like Paradise before the fall ("So many weedlesse Paradises") free from inner sin; yet its safety requires fortification against outward assault or overconfidence. Against these dangers, the poet rehearses to "this new world" the diseases of the old. The lesson is clearly wisdom: to value things right (l. 90).²³

This long introductory movement to the poem concludes, in its imagery of Paradises and creation and fall, with explicit references to Genesis and to the virtuous community of the faithful, the church. The biblical allusions are given symbolic and universal significance. This is the pattern that the rest of the poem will progressively fill out to suggest, as Donne insists in his sermons, that Christ gave all of himself for all men from the beginning of time, yet in this world the church is on a pilgrimage, in warfare, waiting for a final consummation at the end of time. Then only will the church be truly as prophesied in Canticles 4:17: "Thou art all fair, my love, there is no spot in thee."²⁴ Donne's stress in the poem is thus on active virtue and yet on danger, on waiting, and expectation. Genesis provides a type for the immediate applications of the poem (ll. 1-90). The concluding section will recapitulate and extend these themes.

The poem then turns to five clearly marked movements with three parts each (marked by a refrain and usefully considered as meditation, eulogy, and lesson), yet the movements are not fully discrete. An underlying three-fold division has been proposed, moving from consideration of physical aspects of man and the world, through aesthetic, to spiritual.²⁵ But all the movements are cumulative. They trace a pattern which suggests a cycle; yet each stage in the cycle more clearly expresses its type.

The first of the five movements traces the decay of man (the "purest part," l. 62) in health, longevity, stature, and mind (ll. 60-190). The second traces the degeneration of nature generally, including the "noblest part, man," and his knowledge of the cosmos and place in society (ll. 191-246). The third and fourth movements trace the decay in the "worlds subtilst immaterial parts," its beauty, as seen in proportion and colour (ll. 247-376). The fifth movement traces the loss of correspondence between the heaven and earth, or the natural and spiritual (ll. 377-434).

Each movement picks up the antecedent motifs in a recapitulating cycle, but the movements extend the antecedent motifs as well. The decay of man is recapitulated in the decay of the world because Donne's focus is on men's flawed understanding of the world. Each movement is firmly grounded in Genesis and the original creation. That original perfection was lost by the fall. The poems almost conflate creation and fall, to stress degeneration and the regenerative force of the ideal, adumbrated in Elizabeth Drury alive. The movements trace differing but related and developing aspects of the same theme.

One effect of the contrasts between disintegrating realism and the hyperbolic ideal is to stress the moral lessons concluding each section, which are cumulative and progressive as well: the depravity of morals and the will means that men must (1) raise their minds to religion, (2) abandon the rotten world's infection, (3) seek to act well and (4) sincerely in preparation for (5) heavenly joys.

The framework and progressive development of each section is marked by specific biblical allusions. The typology of Paradise in the introductory section has been noticed above. The first movement traces God's original purpose (l. 101), the fall of man (l. 105), the longevity of the patriarchs (l. 128) and their gigantic stature (l. 136), to the flood (l. 155) as an anti-creation, counterpointing man's degeneration.

The second movement contains the creation of light and the angels, counterpointing their fall and then the fall of man (ll. 195200), issuing in a general and contemporary disintegration. "The evening was beginning of the day" (l. 202). The third and fourth movements on the world's loss of beauty recapitulate the original creation in the world's loss of the circle of perfection and, in its loss, that of the colours of the rainbow. The allusion to the Ark (in the third movement, l. 318) as a type of perfect symmetry and peace within discord, together with the allusion (in the fourth movement, l. 352) to a primordial rainbow, moves the poem towards the flood and its aftermath: God's promise of a new creation and a new covenant, although this promise has been implicit throughout.

Since Augustine, the Ark was widely interpreted as a *figura* of the church, and in his sermons Donne cites approvingly St. Basil's notice of a figure of Baptism in the flood and the Ark.²⁶ In *Essays in Divinity* Donne explores the meanings of the rainbow, observing that the rainbow after the deluge is a "Memoriall and seal" of both God's "justice and mercy." However interpreted, "it doth the office of remembering God's Justice and Mercy together."²⁷ This symbolic significance of the poem's allusions is the consistent significance of the poem, although this meaning becomes explicit only at the ending.

In the poem's fifth section on the loss of primordial harmony and correspondence between heaven and earth, the allusion to the Egyptian Mages (l. 390) looks towards the Book of Exodus (7:1011). These allusions together mark the pattern of the poem: each section is rooted in Genesis in the period before the flood; the pattern is creation, degeneration, and promise of the rainbow. Each movement goes through this pattern, though each is given great reach and contemporaneity through realistic imagery and application. The effort is to make the experience of the poem both individual and universal. The five sections of the poem suggest numerical organization (as in Donne's "The Primrose"). In *Essays in Divinity* five signifies incompleteness, mutual dependence, and women (p. 46). Augustine associated the number with the Mosaic books, hence the Old Testament – imperfect yet venerable.²⁸

The symbolic associations of the poem are applied to those remaining in the world. The terms in which decay is presented consistently imply the opposite movement, regeneration; exaggerated physical details are extended into serious moral meanings; and each eulogy of Elizabeth Drury acknowledges the continuing power of virtue acting in human life.

The poem concludes with the recognition of Elizabeth Drury's continuing force in the social world and with the new perception of a virtuous death as a second birth (ll. 450-1) and the consolation of new life, although, again, this has been a counterpoint motif throughout. In an address to her "creatures" who are purified by her virtue and example, Donne aligns his poem with the Mosaic Song of Deuteronomy 32. This Song, as Donne says, was interpreted as the epitome of the Law, the Prophets, and the History of the Bible; it was interpreted as the furthest extent of the teaching of reason, a complete summary of the law as fear of the Lord and severity of judgement.²⁹ But the commandment of God is a principle of life for the people.³⁰ Judgement underlined both imperfection and regeneration, God's blessings and his children's ingratitude.³¹ Moses looks forward to the promised land, towards the covenant of grace in the New Testament. But he cannot enter it.³² The poet assumes a prophetic role analogous to that of Moses in celebrating God's mercies and justice together; he thus invites recognition of the process of purgation and redemption.

As the symbolism of Elizabeth Drury moves from less perfect to more perfect manifestations, though still incomplete, so the poem moves from decay to promise. But such a characterization falsifies the realization that imperfection implies perfection, although the poem also moves from darkness to light. So the energy and corrosive wit all readers have observed in Donne's anatomizing of the world do not betray or undermine his central purpose; they reveal it.

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The *Second Anniversary* has a different structure. Here the poet addresses not a community of new creatures but his own soul. The progress of the soul is the poet's and the reader's, since the reader is caught up in the imperatives of the poem.

This poem begins by picking up specific motifs from the *First Anniversary*, the death of the world with the death of Elizabeth Drury ("now shee is gone," l. 21). Recalling the allusions to Genesis at the beginning of the *First Anniversary*, the *Second Anniversary* refers metaphorically to the Creation and Flood (ll. 234; 26-30), the framing allusions of the *First Anniversary*. The poet is by implication a new Noah; his life in this "new Deluge, and of Lethe flood" will be to memorialize this "Immortal Mayd" and perhaps influence future writers to like praises (prophetically enough). Her memory may then continue "till Gods great Venite change the song" (l. 44).

This reference to the Day of Judgement alludes to an apocalyptic text in the New Testament, Matt. 25:34: "Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father [*Venite benedicti Patris mei*], inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." This allusion, with its reference to the original creation, completes a circle

from first things to last. Yet, characteristically, Donne's references to the end of time are applied to those still in time. He observes in a sermon that "*Venite*" are "words intended to persons that are coming, that are upon the way, though not at home."³³ The poem gives this application to its apocalyptic references. The continuation draws on familiar imagery from the Book of Revelation, echoing and completing the injunction to "feed" on religion in the *First Anniversary* (ll. 187-8): "Thirst for that time, O my insatiate soule/ And serve thy thirst, with Gods safe-sealing Bowle" (SA 45-6). This last reference is to the communion cup now, but the perspective is towards the end of time, with allusions to God's sealing of the faithful (Rev. 7:3-4) and to the slaking of thirst with living waters (Rev. 7:16-7). The biblical allusions recapitulate and extend the pattern initiated in the *First Anniversary*. There the purgative movement looked towards grace; in the *Second Anniversary* the life of grace is presented, but looking towards glory as the promise. Elizabeth Drury continues to function symbolically as recapitulating sacred history.

The seven sections of this poem treat death as a birth to a new life (as at the end of the *First Anniversary*), but not now as a second birth but as a third, the first being creation, the second grace, and the third glory (ll. 214-5). The contrast between earthly imperfection and heavenly joys serves to focus attention not on the moral lessons of the *First Anniversary* nor on a final consummation but on "shee," Elizabeth Drury alive, as a partial embodiment of heaven on earth: "For they're in Heaven on Earth, who Heavens workes do" (l. 154). Yet more explicitly, "Shee, who in th'Art of knowing Heaven, was growen/ Here upon Earth, to such perfection,/ That shee hath, ever since to Heaven shee came,/ (In a far fairer print,) but read the same" (ll. 311-314).³⁴

This recognition of a degree of spiritual perfection in human life, reconciling heaven and earth, is the consistent preoccupation of the poem. It serves to awaken the reader to the potential for virtuous conduct in this life. Hyperbolic idealism and disintegrating realism are both reduced as the poem advances, inviting a recognition of unity in the spiritualizing of Elizabeth Drury.

The seven sections of this poem trace a gradual progress from considerations of the deathbed, to the body, to knowledge, to society, to essential and then to accidental joys. The topics fall into categories of place and relation and mark a gradual progression from physical limitation to the more spiritual and positive, from isolation to community. There is a developing recognition of the goodness of life, an acceptance of the existential, implicit in the preparation for death and in the progressive topics. Progress begins in this life. Accordingly, the spirituality of the *Second Anniversary* seems purer, its tensions reconciled. As also in the *First Anniversary* but with more single emphasis, we are invited to see in Elizabeth

Drury alive the perfection of the human. She was a heaven on earth (as these things can be): a foretaste of heaven and of the unity of the natural and spiritual. In this way she is a *figura* or type of Christ.

Only the first section, "A just disestimation of this world," has the triple divisions of the *First Anniversary* and links with it in structure, with an echoing refrain ("What fragmentary rubbidge this world is" l. 82) and a moral lesson ("it is not worth a thought" l. 83). Each of the other sections considers the condition of the soul in this life and its liberation in heaven, and concludes with a eulogy of the unifying purity and virtue of Elizabeth Drury ("shee"), which linked heaven and earth.

The seven sections of the poem suggest the stages of redemption or the days of creation, as well as traditional stages of meditation.³⁵ Donne notes in *Essays in Divinity* (p. 129), as in his sermons, that "Seven is ever used to express infinite."³⁶ The progress of the poem is never finished.

The conclusion to the poem recalls the conclusion to the *First Anniversary* where Donne assumed a prophetic office analogous to that of Moses. Here he affirms his prophetic and priestly role in celebrating her who fulfils God's will

... that to posteritee,
Thou shouldest for life, and death, a patterne bee,
And that the world should notice have of this,
The purpose, and th'Authority is his;
Thou art the Proclamation; and I ame
The trumpet, at whose voice the people came. (ll. 5238)

The eulogy is of Elizabeth Drury living in the memory and in the poet's prophetic act of imagination. The trumpet call alludes directly to a cluster of biblical texts for the prophetic message and judgement: Isaiah 27:13; Rev. 1:10; I Cor. 14:8; especially the fourth Mosaic book, Numbers 10, where the trumpet call is to bring the people together to hear the word of God. Donne notices the biblical function of the trumpet call, both to awaken with terror and to charm with reposed confidence and delight in God. It is a call to alarm, to battle, to hear, and to retreat.³⁷ The trumpet call looks to action in time, but its reference points are backwards and forwards in time, out of time. It recalls the "watch-towre" which the soul is enjoined to climb:

Up unto the watch-towre get,
And see all things despoild of fallacies. (ll. 294-5)

This image was universal for the power of the mind, but biblically it is associated with the call to spiritual alertness, with faith, redemption, and steadfastness.³⁸ The watchtower was identified with Sion, "mount of prophesye

and revelation," and Augustine identified it with the church.³⁹ The image echoes and completes the hill of truth in the *First Anniversary* (l. 281) and in "Satire III." They are images of spiritual effort and alertness, of the mind illuminated by grace. All of these vantage points are in time but looking out. Their effect and significance is to stress spiritual effort now.

The images in the poems are given specific reference points that clearly convey their meaning. The poems echo biblical symbolic structures, not to suggest a doctrinal moral or spiritual teaching but to point beyond their hyperboles to essential truths.

The idea of the *Anniversaries* is not a convenient fiction. The poems are structurally related and complete in themselves as lament and consolation, the two topics for funeral elegies. But the underlying pattern of the poems, of promise to fulfilment, is not complete. The poems set up a clear pattern, like Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*; but like the twenty-three sections of that work, the pattern described will be completed only in death. Donne's poems look forward to further clarification of their pattern, and that clarification can be found in his great sermons.

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Notes

- 1 John Carey's remark that the poems are "Cut loose from any semblance of sense" (*John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* [London and Boston: Faber, 1981], p. 101) echoes Ben Jonson's reported complaint that they are "profane and full of Blasphemies" (*Conversations with William Drummond*, 1619) and C.S. Lewis' observation of their general insanity (in *Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938], pp. 64-84). Contrast especially Barbara K. Lewalski, *Donne's Anniversaries and the Poetry of Praise* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1973); Frank Manley, ed. *The Anniversaries* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963); W. Milgate, ed. *The Epithalamions, Anniversaries, and Epicedes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978). For a lucid account of the critical controversies and the proposal of a tempered resolution, see Milgate, esp. pp. xxxiv-xxxv. Milgate suggests that the poems' allusions are brought in subtly, glancingly, with no particular consistency. References to Donne's *Anniversaries* in the text are to Frank Manley's edition [*First Anniversary* [FA]; *Second Anniversary* [SA]]. Letters "v"/"u" and "i"/"j" have been normalized. References to Donne's sermons by volume and page number are to *The Sermons*, ed. G.R. Potter and E.M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1953-62).
- 2 Readers have neglected Donne's *Essays in Divinity* as an essential gloss on the biblical method and intention of the poems, although it is well known that this book contains many parallel passages to the *Anniversaries* and may have been written at the same time as the poems. The book sets forth Donne's early principles of biblical interpretation and shows his penetrating application of biblical historical patterns to individual religious experience. Their detailed bearing on the poems will be suggested below. Citations are from the ed. by E.M. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).
- 3 The interpretation of the poems developed here was suggested by Arthur E. Barker in a series of lectures at the University of Illinois in 1962. See Barker's application to Donne and others of Sidney's theory of good poetry as "a conscious and disciplined art" representing the creative processes of nature and history as, respectively, the art of God and the "known march of His ordinary providence" in time and in human experience ("An Apology for the Study of Renaissance Poetry," in *Literary Views: Critical and Historical Essays*, ed. Carroll Camden [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964], pp. 15-43; citation from p. 41).

- 4 Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (1954; 2nd ed. rpt. New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1962) remains the classic study of formal meditation in these poems although its conclusions have been modified by later work. See Martz, "Donne's *Anniversaries* Revisited," in *That Subtle Wreath*, ed. Margaret W. Pepperdine (Atlanta, Ga.: Agnes Scott College, 1972), pp. 29-50, and Manley, pp. 41-42. Biblical typology and symbolism are studied in the works cited in note 1 above and in notes 17 and 18 below.
- 5 See Lewalski, pp. 70, 134, 163-4, 193-4, 272, 284, 290, and throughout. Although she qualifies the image as only partly restored in this life, her focus on the restored image (the product of God's free grace) distorts Donne's concern with human endeavour in the process of restoration. See also Jeanne Shami, "Donne's Protestant Casuistry: Cases of Conscience in the *Sermons*," *SP*, 80 (1983), 53-56.
- 6 Jeanne Shami's cogent demonstration of "a pattern of developing and slowly corrected response within the speaker" leads her to argue that the speaker is the true subject of the poems. She does not consider the detailed biblical pattern of the poems, nor does she see that the pattern develops and operates positively throughout the poems. Her general interpretation however supports mine. See "Anatomy and Progress: The Drama of Conversion in Donne's Men of a 'Middle Nature,'" *UTQ*, 53 (1984), 221-235; citation from p. 224. Shami argues that the speaker's responses are inadequate though developing. I argue rather that the poems develop and make their biblical pattern more explicit.
- 7 *Letters to Several Persons of Honour* (1651), ed. M. Thomas Hester (Dolmar, N.Y.: Scholar's Facsimiles, 1977), p. 255. The letter to Goodyer is found on pp. 74-75. Both letters are dated by scholars 14 April 1612.
- 8 Manley, for example, ignores this specific retort in his discussion of the letters. Lewalski discusses the relevant passage but concludes that it demonstrates that his subject's appropriateness "rests upon her regenerate condition" (p. 194). She explains this phrase to mean for Donne "the 'Idea of a Woman' as the image of God." The point is rather that the readers of the poem should strive to make themselves fit for its praises.
- 9 See also IX, 168: "There is a Pharisee, that . . . separates himselfe from our Church . . . and imagines a Church that shall be defective in nothing, and does not onely think himself to be of that Church, but sometimes to be that Church . . ." The exact application is made again to Roman Catholic mystics in the continuation, echoing the language of the poems: "And there is a Pharisee that dreames of such an union, such an identification with God in this life, as that he understands all things, not by benefit of the senses, and impressions in the fancy and imagination, or by discourse and ratiocination, as we poore soules doe, but by immediate, and continuall infusions and inspirations from God himselfe. . . ." Donne turns at once to stress human effort and cooperation with successive stages of divine grace. This passage is from a sermon preached in 1629, underlining the continuity in Donne's convictions, intentions, and methods of expression.
- 10 Desiderius Erasmus, "*De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*," ed. Jean-Claude Margolin, in *Opera Omnia*, ser. 1, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 23-78. English translation in *Collected Works of Erasmus* (University of Toronto Press) is scheduled for spring 1985 publication as *Literary and Educational Writings*, vols. 25-26. The innocence of childhood is stressed also by Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1568). See R.J. Schoeck's ed. (Don Mills, Ont.: Dent, 1966), p. 37: "if ever the nature of man be given . . . to receive goodness, it is in innocency of young years."
- 11 *The Breaking of the Circle*, rev. ed. (1960; rpt. New York and London: Columbia Univ. Press, 1962), p. 91; see also pp. 81-122. Professor Nicolson's untenable hypothesis about the significance of the double spelling of "shee" and the over-specific identification of the subject of the poems which results from it has contributed to the neglect of her valuable characterization of the poems' technique of allusion.
- 12 Compare Donne's remark that the teaching of Averroese, "a very subtil, yet very deep wit," is not perfectly true "that all mankinde hath but one soul" which informs and rules us all as one intelligence does the firmament and all the stars in it. Yet this imperfect truth leads to a substantial truth in the profound social bonds of mankind. (*Letters*, pp. 42-43; To H. Goodyer.)

- 13 See Nicolson, esp. pp. 91-96. Nicolson does not observe Donne's stress upon the inadequacy of mythic or historical figures for "shee" and therefore his specific applications which follow from that inadequacy.
- 14 See Terry Sherwood's argument for bodily awareness in the poems (*Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984], esp. pp. 86-93).
- 15 *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1962), pp. 175-6.
- 16 See Nicolson for further discussion and Martz, p. 354-6 for the need to correct any simple identification.
- 17 See for example the discussion and bibliography in Marvin H. Pope, *Song of Songs*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977); J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975); rpt. 1982, esp. pp. 195-198; and Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), esp. pp. 5797. For general applications to the seventeenth century and to Donne, see Ruth Wallerstein, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic* (Madison, Wisc.: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1950; rpt. 1961, 1965), esp. Ch. 2.
- 18 Donne's allusions to the church and to the bride of the Song of Songs have been widely recognized, but they have been applied to historical institutions rather than to the biblical figure and its implications. For *figura* or biblical typology, Erich Auerbach's study, "Figura," remains indispensable (rpt. in *Scenes from the drama of European Literature* [Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1984, pp. 41-76; first German publication 1944]). See also *Mimesis* (1946; tr. Willard Trask [Princeton Univ. Press, 1953; rpt. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Ancor, 1957]). For applications to Donne's *Anniversaries* see Lewalski, pp. 158 and ff. See more especially A.E. Barker, "Structural and Doctrinal Pattern in Milton's Later Poems," in *Essays in English Literature . . . Presented to A.S.P. Woodhouse*, ed. Millar MacLure and F.W. Watt (Toronto: Univ of Toronto press, 1964), pp. 169-194. A general resemblance between Donne's poems and Milton's has been noticed by Milgate.
- 19 Lewalski, pp. 160-162. This double focus of Donne's is essentially Augustinian. For Donne's early application of biblical history to individual religious experience see *Essays in Divinity*, especially pp. 96-97. Shami has clarified the tactfulness of Donne's application of typology in "Donne on Discretion," *ELH*, 47 (1980), 48-66; pp. 58-59 note the application of typology in the *Anniversaries*.
- 20 For the central place of suffering in Donne's mature thought, see Sherwood, pp. 102-130.
- 21 See *Essays in Divinity*, pp. 73-76 and throughout.
- 22 See Manley, p. 13; Lewalski, pp. 169, 173, and 244. Donne's analysis of original sin is essentially Augustinian. See *De Civitate Dei*, xiii.
- 23 See *Essays in Divinity*, pp. 33-38: "let us further consider what love we may bear to the world: for, to love it too much, is to love it too little; as overpraising is a kind of libelling" (p. 34). Donne's distinction in the continuation between *uti* and *frui*, love properly directed only to creatures and love properly directed to God (p. 36) derives from Augustine. See *De Doctrina Cristiana* i, 22.21; i, 31.34; i, 33.36-37.
- 24 V, 126; 120-123.
- 25 Hardison, p. 171. Cf. Martz, "Donne's *Anniversaries* Revisited."
- 26 V, 110; see 1 Peter 3:21. See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xv, 26-27: the ark "*procul dubio figura est peregrinantes in hoc saeculo civitatis Dei, hoc est ecclesiae, quae fit salva per lignum . . .*"
- 27 Pp. 88-89. Donne's whole discussion of God's actions is relevant to the poems: "... almost all Gods Justice is but Mercy ..." (p. 86). Lewalski denies these implications in the *First Anniversary* which leaves the world subject to divine wrath (p. 240). Shami notes Donne's concern for continuities, but also does not bring out the full implications of the unity of divine action and purposes in all dispensations ("Anatomy and Progress," pp. 229-233).
- 28 *In Jo.*, tr. 25, n. 6. The numerology in the *Essays* has been applied to these poems before, for example in Richard Hughes, "The Woman in Donne's *Anniversaries*," *ELH* 34 (1967), p. 310, but incompletely. Lewalski prefers to divide the poems into sections of four and six, respectively, but the numerology of five and seven seems to be deeply embedded in the poems.

- 29 *Essays in Divinity*, p. 92. The significance of this passage is discussed also by Manley, pp. 48-49 and pp. 167-9, and Lewalski, pp. 236-240, but they do not see the inseparability of judgement and mercy, imperfection and regeneration here and throughout the poem.
- 30 *Essays in Divinity*, p. 92. See John 1: 16-17.
- 31 Lewalski's extensive review of exegesis of the Mosaic song misses Donne's characteristic emphasis on the inseparability of divine judgement and mercy (p. 240).
- 32 Manley makes this application (p. 49), but he does not see Donne's concern with continuity between dispensations.
- 33 III, 69. See also III, 133; VII, 3-4. These passages are cited and discussed also by P.G. Stanwood, "'Essential Joye' in Donne's *Anniversaries*," *TSL*, 13 (1971), 227-238, but given a sacramental interpretation.
- 34 Lewalski discusses these passages and notes Donne's concern with human life, as symbolized by Elizabeth Drury alive, but she does not observe Donne's homiletic encouragement to others to endeavour the like perfection through a willing response to divine grace (e.g. pp. 293-4).
- 35 Martz, p. 247.
- 36 See also V, 27; X, 180.
- 37 See Lewalski, pp. 277-280, who observes these senses, but not their application to human action and their radiation throughout the poem. See II, 166-170.
- 38 See R.A. Anselment, "'Ascensio Mendax, Descensio Crudelis': The Image of Babel in the *Anniversaries*," *ELH*, 38 (1971), 188-205. Anselment discusses the significance of the images of hill and tower in the Bible (esp. p. 203).
- 39 See Martz, p. 244; Augustine, *De Trin.*, ii, 17; *De Civitate Dei*, xvii, 16: Sion's Latin name is *speculatio* (discovery) because she directs her attention to the future life; she is the spiritual Jerusalem; her enemy is Babylon (confusion). This queen is passing from the worst to the best