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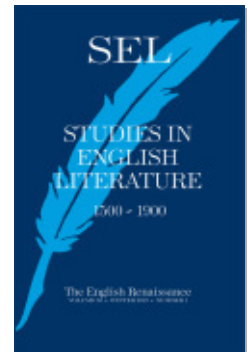
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# Atomic Theory in John Donne's “Obsequyes vpon the Lord Harrington”

ALAN JAMES HOGARTH

In 1614 John Donne composed “Obsequyes vpon the Lord Harrington” to commemorate the death of Sir John Harrington, younger brother of his frequent patron Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford. Harrington was a close friend of Prince Henry, who died in 1612, and he shared the Puritanism and pro-war leanings of the prince’s Court.<sup>1</sup> Donne may have felt an obligation to write “Obsequyes,” given his desire to maintain a relationship with the Countess of Bedford. But he also sought the patronage of Henry’s father, King James VI and I, whose religious and political positions were opposed to those of the prince. The need for political sensitivity in light of these conflicting interests may account for the obliquity with which Donne presents Harrington’s virtues throughout the poem. As Claude J. Summers notes, “Donne’s principal method of praise is by means of negative formulas and indirection, and this practice ... subtly reveals the poet’s deep-seated ambivalence about Harrington’s accomplishments.”<sup>2</sup> The poem has inspired little critical commentary, and the attention it has received is most often disparaging of its apparent lack of sympathy or genuine feeling for its subject.<sup>3</sup> Ted-Larry Pebworth argues that, given Harrington’s allegiance to Prince Henry and thus to political values which were the antithesis of Donne’s own, the elegy is concerned more with political subversion than outright praise for the departed.<sup>4</sup> On the poem’s intellectual continuity, critics have been similarly unconvinced of its merits. For

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example, Terry Sherwood finds the speaker unable to "follow his own epistemological implications fully," while John Carey argues that the complexity of Donne's argument "blew the poem apart."<sup>5</sup> But "Obsequyes" is, in fact, unified in its drawing together of intellectual imagery concerning the relationship between a seemingly fragmented earth and distant heaven. Donne's elegy experiments with the language and ideas of contemporary science, atomic theory, and mechanism as rhetorical devices for simulating grief and admiration for the deceased.

The question of why, and to what rhetorical ends, Donne employed far-fetched scientific imagery in his poetry is characteristic of recent studies. According to Elizabeth D. Harvey and Timothy M. Harrison, for example, the "Anniuersarie" poems' numerous and exaggerated metaphors describing Elizabeth Drury's spiritual ascent seek "to mend the incoherence afflicting the world's body by separating epistemological confusion from phenomenological experience."<sup>6</sup> Katrin Ettenhuber has also written of how Donne uses the "remote similitude" of incongruous ideas, or topographical extremes, in his poetry as an organizing principle and rhetorical technique (catachresis) with which his contemporaries would have been familiar.<sup>7</sup> What unites these studies is a conviction that, rather than being chaotic, Donne's verses actually impose, or attempt to impose, order on disparate ideas that are seemingly "yoked by violence together."<sup>8</sup> This article makes the argument that Donne's impulse toward establishing order in the language of his "Obsequyes" mirrors the search for cosmological coherence in contemporary natural philosophy, in particular, the theories of the atomists.

## I. THE FORTUITOUS CONCOURSE OF ATOMS

Donne's knowledge of both ancient atomic theory and its reinvigorated late-sixteenth-century manifestation is without question. Evidence for his engagement with, and exposure to, the theory has been found in the contents of his library, his writing, and his social circles.<sup>9</sup> For example, he had personal connections with the group of scientifically minded individuals who gathered around Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, otherwise known as the School of Night.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, in his satirical Latin text *The Courtier's Library* (ca. 1603–11), Donne includes a mocking distortion of Nicholas Hill's atomist text *Philosophia Epicurea Democritiana, Theophrastica* (1601), a copy of which he owned, and

onto which he inscribed his signature over that of the previous owner, Ben Jonson.<sup>11</sup>

Atomic theory had been controversial from the Middle Ages until the seventeenth century for several reasons. The first principle of atomic theory is that all things in the universe are composed of minute and indivisible atoms, infinitely extended in empty space. Originally proposed by the pre-Socratic philosophers Leucippius and Democritus, the theory was transmitted to Renaissance thinkers through Epicurus, and more broadly through the rediscovery and translation of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* by Poggio Bracciolini in 1417. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the name of Epicurus was synonymous with atheism and immorality, and this controversy was rooted primarily in two tenets of atomic theory. Firstly, the notion that nothing can come out of nothing (*ex nihilo nihil fit*) presupposed that the physical universe had always existed and would continue to do so, directly contravening both Genesis and the doctrine of the Last Judgment. For the atomists, generation and dissolution were caused by the movement, collision, and separation of atoms. Secondly, and perhaps more significantly, the atomists argued that since all things were composed of matter, the soul, just like the body, would dissolve into atoms after death and rejoin the universal flux. Man should, therefore, relinquish the fear of his own mortality, since there was no judgment to be had after death. So strong were the historical implications of Epicureanism, that it retained its largely unwarranted reputation as a byword for libertinism until the late seventeenth century. But, by then, the mechanical philosophies of René Descartes, Thomas Hobbes, and, particularly, Pierre Gassendi had done much to bring the theory into the mainstream of scientific thought.<sup>12</sup>

Atomism also challenged the dominant Aristotelian worldview in several important respects. Atomic theory relied upon motion as a means of theorizing the physical existence of matter, a position also held by Aristotle. But the fundamental Aristotelian principles of end-directed causal movement, a finite universe, and the impossibility of a vacuum were rejected by atomists who believed that an infinite void was the necessary condition that enabled particles to move. Traveling through the void at considerable speed, atoms were thought to form bodies through collision and coalescence.<sup>13</sup> The theory of an infinite universe, championed most openly in this period by Giordano Bruno, posited that if all space is infinite, then there can be no center, nor can there be a definite beginning or end. This antihierarchical homogenization

of the cosmos led Bruno to surmise that there existed countless worlds throughout space with equal claims to the importance assumed by the Earth. The early atomists of the Northumberland Circle, including Thomas Hariot, Walter Warner, and William Lower, were in agreement with Bruno's conceptions of infinite space and atomism, and they composed commentaries that engaged with his ideas.<sup>14</sup> The two opposing positions of Aristotelianism and atomism, which figure the void as the prerequisite and negation of motion, acknowledge, nevertheless, that movement is fundamental to life—a life of natural order, according to Aristotle, and, for the atomists, immeasurable flux. For sixteenth- and seventeenth-century atomists, who were educated in the Aristotelian tradition, the most pressing question was therefore: where does the source of motion reside?

Following Epicurus, Hariot believed that atomic motion was the key to physical reality, stating that "[n]othing is done without motion" and that "[t]here is no motion without a cause."<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Northumberland foregrounds motion as central to all things, and in *Advice to His Son* (1609), he stresses the importance of a body's, or "engine[s]," internal movement: "The Doctrine of Motion delivereth elements certainly demonstrative, for all other parts of natural philosophy ... as such that layeth open the structure of all organical engines artificial."<sup>16</sup>

Dissatisfaction with Aristotelian concepts of motion can be detected in the thoughts of both Hariot and Northumberland. The idea that "[n]othing is done without motion" seeks to establish a first principle of movement. But rather than resort, with Aristotle, to a complex system of motions that move toward a predetermined purpose and trace their origins to a prime mover at the ends of the finite universe, motion is now autonomous, local, and generated from within. The problem of precisely how atoms were invested with a local motive force, however, remained a point of contention that concerned not only natural philosophers, but also intellectually curious figures such as Donne.

Hariot, like Epicurus and Lucretius, located agency in the changing nature, forms, and combinations of atoms and their interactions with the void in creating bodies.<sup>17</sup> Francis Bacon, who eventually rejected atomism, began from a similar place to Hariot and saw atoms as possessing "matter, form, dimension, place, resistance, appetite, motion, and emanations."<sup>18</sup> Later, he "moved toward a neo-Paracelsian position, where all material bodies are seen as containing 'spirits or pneumaticalls,' in dynamic interaction with the heterogeneous parts of tangible matter."<sup>19</sup>

Bacon's "spirits," in the Neo-Platonic tradition, are an immaterial solution to the problem of the material movement of atoms that keeps intact the principle of mechanical motion. Unsurprisingly, the existence of a microscopic internal source of movement was difficult to prove, and in *Of the Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bacon acknowledges the conceptual difficulty of imagining atomic motion without a first cause or mind. "[T]he fortuitous concourse of the atoms," theorized by Democritus and Epicurus, ultimately leads atomists to resort "to God and Providence at the last," for a lack of physical causes.<sup>20</sup>

Nicholas Hill's work is a case in point; he suggests that God's presence flows through all points of matter. Robert Hugh Kargon argues that Hill's *Philosophia* (1601) is a "confused, self-contradictory mélange" of a number of philosophical theories, blending "the thought of the atomists, Aristotle, Nicholas of Cusa, the fabled Hermes Trismegistus, Bruno, Gilbert, and Copernicus."<sup>21</sup> Using these eclectic sources, Hill's work advocates for the atomic composition of the universe, and claims that the motion and cohesion of particles is caused by *vis radiativa*, a force which flows through the empty space between atoms and whose properties resemble that of light. For Hill, *vis radiativa* is analogous to the action of God in nature, which sets all things in motion and is "the efficient, active, universal cause, and the simple absolute essence ... to whom all power and energy returns, who binds the wandering planets together into a structure."<sup>22</sup> Although initial reactions to Hill's book ranged from ridicule to indifference, with the publication of the reprint in 1619 his "reputation staged a posthumous recovery."<sup>23</sup> Kargon's dismissive valuation of Hill's work is perhaps a little unfair in projecting modern empirical scientific standards onto a treatise which did not have such methods at its heart. The merging of old and new conceptions of natural philosophy was commonplace in this transitional period in the history of science. Theology, Aristotelian forms, Platonic souls, and mechanical philosophy were complementary vehicles in the pursuit of the universe's true nature. Indeed, Hill's eclectic theorization of a first cause of motion is concomitant with Donne's own heterogeneous atomic speculations in the "Obseques."

## II. "ARISTOTLE SEEMS NOW TO BE UTTERLY DEFEATED"

In the years that preceded Donne's composition of the "Obseques," his poetic treatment of the new philosophy was largely negative, with developments in natural philosophy appearing

as grim metaphorical counterpoints to Aristotelian notions. For example, in his 1609 verse letter "To the Countesse of Bedford ('T have written then')," an end or a purpose, provided by a stable cosmological system, is something to be craved:

As new Philosophy arrests the Sunne,  
And bids the passive earth about it runne,  
So wee have dull'd our minde, it hath no ends;  
Onely the bodie's busie ...<sup>24</sup>

In this passage, "new Philosophy" has fixed the sun as the center of the universe, and the earth—mirroring the "dull'd" minds and active bodies of its occupants—runs but remains "passive" in its course, given over to a new circuitous movement ordained by nature. With the sun as an analog of the mind and the earth as the body, Donne here presents Bedford with a moralistic picture of bodily action and spiritual dearth. Moreover, the earth and the body lack the mediation of a soul and the teleological security of ethical and physical finality: "our minde ... hath no ends." Indeed, the image of a "bod[y]" remaining "busie" although released from the Aristotelian system is highly suggestive of a free mechanical motion.

With Donne's completion of the "First Anniuersary" two years later, the possible unraveling of the Aristotelian and Platonic cosmologies is portrayed in terms of a frightening loss of stability. Atomic theory itself is identified with material decay as the world is reduced to indivisible particles, or "Atomis":

And freely men confesse, that this world's spent,  
When in the Planets, and the Firmament  
They seeke so many new; they see that this  
Is crumbled out againe to his Atomis.  
'Tis all in peeces, all cohærence gone.<sup>25</sup>

Significantly, since the world is "spent," there is no sense that these atoms will recombine; they "crumble[] out" but do not unite to create new bodies. Such sentiments suggest that Donne is resolutely orthodox in his representations of new philosophy and atomic theory—a view held by Stephen Clucas, who argues that, for Donne, atomism functioned as "part of a moral typology" in which "the separate, the divided, the multiple, are perceived as evil, and the homogeneous, united and complete are perceived

as good.”<sup>26</sup> David A. Hedrich Hirsch, however, finds in Donne’s writing a fascination with the atom’s irreducibility. He argues that, given Donne’s fascination with resurrection after death, “The First Anniversary” “is a search for the atomi of the world, physical relics which ... will survive *with* the soul despite death’s disassembly.”<sup>27</sup> Departing from Hirsch’s argument, I suggest that it is not the atom’s indivisibility that appeals to Donne’s imagination, but its motion, since renewed interest in mechanical philosophies at this time were grounded upon an understanding that motion was the key to physical being. Like the members of the Northumberland Circle, Donne was aware of the limitations of Aristotle’s cosmology. In his treatise on suicide, *Biathanatos* (1608), he acknowledged that “by Many experiences of new Starres, the reason which moued Aristotle seemes now to be vtterly defeated.”<sup>28</sup> At the same time, atomic suggestions of void, libertinism, and an atheistic rejection of the afterlife were difficult to reconcile with a Christian outlook. Still, atomism remained, for Donne, an attractive source of figurative inspiration, and the notion of finding a law, or a first principle of motion with which to control atomic flux, is reflected in his “Obsequyes.” In this, he was very much in tune with figures such as Bacon and Hill who grappled with the question at greater length.

### III. “OF STUFFE AND FORME PERPLEXT”

“Obsequyes” begins with a meditation on the gradual ascension of Harrington’s soul toward heaven. Donne apostrophizes the departed soul as follows:

If looking vp to heauen, or downe to vs  
 Thou findst that any way is peruious  
 Twixt heauen and earth, and that mens actions doe  
 Come to your knowledge, and affections too,  
 See, and with ioye, mee to that good degree  
 Of goodnesse growne, that I can study thee  
 And, by those Meditations refind  
 Can vnapparrell and enlarge my mind  
 And so can make by this soft Extasy  
 This place a Mapp of heauen, my selfe of thee.

(lines 5–14)



These lines suggest that if looking "vp to heauen, or downe" to Donne's position through the midpoint "Twixt heauen and earth," Harrington might gain "knowledge" of "mens actions," or moral progress, as his soul climbs upward. Specifically, it is "knowledge" of himself that Donne hopes to transmit, so that he might share in the reflected "goodnesse" of his idealized subject. This communication might be achieved if Donne can "vnapparrell and enlarge" his mind through an "Extasy" which will transcend the border between the world and the heavens. That Donne refers to "Extasy" suggests metaphysical transport, a movement out of his body to participate in a spiritual consciousness of heaven in imitation of Harrington. This "Extasy" enables knowledge of those things that Harrington's soul has witnessed; as Donne notes, he wishes to become a "Mapp" of his subject. This extravagant language is designed as praise for the deceased, a trope of the departed's lasting influence on those he has left behind. But it also betrays an overriding preoccupation with reflection on physical as well as immaterial things, and places the speaker at the center of events in the poem, as he participates in a privileged metaphysical dialogue with the dead. In creating a "Mapp" of heaven on earth, a reproduction of the place in which Harrington's soul resides, Donne represents this "peruious" way between heaven and earth through the language of embodiment. To depict reality, Donne has to begin from a position of observation.

Pebworth notes that "[i]n the curiously tentative opening" of the "Obsequyes," Donne describes himself in terms "reminiscent of the voyeur in 'The Extasie.'"<sup>29</sup> But there are other contexts for the metaphysical voyage of Harrington's soul into this middle region. The liminal space between heaven and earth held a particular metaphorical appeal for Donne as an area in which the composition of matter was uncertain. According to contemporary meteorology, this region was conceived as a disordered mingling of fluids, vapors, and solid material deprived of their "own essential natures" and proper ends.<sup>30</sup> Donne's fascination with states of being, intermixed in time, space, and substances appears frequently in his work. In "The Calme," for example, during an instance of existential doubt, cut off from all signifiers of civilization, he imagines his ship as "meteorlike," hovering between mirror images of sea and sky.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, in his poem "To the Countesse of Bedford at New-yeares Tide" (1607), Donne's self-effacement is portrayed in terms of his own "peruious," "meteorlike" body. Again, at a moment of transition in space and time, between two years and two atmospheric conditions, he writes:

This twilight of two yeares, not past nor next,  
 Some embleme is of mee, or I of this,  
 Who Meteor-like, of stufte and forme perplext,  
 Whose *what*, and *where*, in disputation is,  
 If I should call mee *any thing*, should misse.<sup>32</sup>

Donne's suggestion here that he cannot be called "*any thing*," and that his "*what*" and "*where*" is a subject of intellectual dispute, reflects the disordered, unfinished nature of meteorological phenomena. But, although meteors are ostensibly emblems of disorder, they represent a logic of balance which encompasses the tensions between the world of matter and ethereal substance. For Donne, meteor metaphors perfectly embody the paradox of the physical and moral world, of the clashing and mixing forces of matter and spirit, and body and soul.

Harrington's rapturous flight in the "Obsequyes" is conflated with the rising sun, whose light makes the world grow "transparent" (line 27). As the sun rises, Donne finds himself "the hardest object of the sight" because self-knowledge is more difficult to attain than knowledge of external things (line 30). But he also plays on the difficulty of discerning physical things in a transparent world. Images of the world, "both Church and State," that are now transparent—in the double sense of being both clearly visible and translucent—are compared with Donne's own likely permeable condition (line 28). By employing imagery in the "Obsequyes" that stresses the insubstantiality of material things, including the body, and political and religious institutions, Donne sets up an imaginative situation of physical and moral fragmentation so that Harrington's spirit may intervene and repair the world's material parts.

In a passage that recalls the metaphysical flight of his speaker in "Verse from *Conclave Ignati* and *Ignatius His Conclaue*" (1609), Donne employs the catachrestic image of telescopic examination of men and their virtues as a means of representing the extreme perspectives of earth and heaven, and thereby initiates the extended conceit in which Harrington's virtues are imagined as observable matter:<sup>33</sup>

Yet ar the Trunks, which doe to vs deriue  
 Things in proportion fitt by perspectiue,  
 Deeds of good men. For by theyr beeing here  
 Vertues, indeed remote, seeme to bee neere.

(lines 37–40)

Samuel Johnson famously criticized these lines, remarking, "Who but Donne would have thought that a good man is a telescope?"<sup>34</sup> Far from imagining man as a "Trunk[ ]" or telescope, Donne's conceit is merely based on its optical function. The "Trunks" are "Deeds of good men" because of the immediacy with which they transmit virtues or objects from earth to the eye, and thus appear to embody or contain these "Deeds" through their mediation; virtues "indeed remote, seeme to bee neere." In his anatomy of Harrington's observable virtues, Donne draws on Heraclitus's atomic maxim that "we neuer descend two times into the same riuer," to suggest that during the course of a man's life he changes and accumulates a variety of qualities which are difficult to describe:<sup>35</sup>

But where can I affirme, or where arrest  
 My thoughts on his deeds? which shall I call best?  
 For fluid vertue cannot bee lookt on  
 Nor can endure a contemplation.  
 As Bodyes change, and as I doe not weare  
 Those spirits, humours, bloud, I did last yeare  
 And as if on a streame I fixe mine eye  
 That drop on which I lookd is presently  
 Pushd with more waters from my sight, and gon:  
 So in this Sea of Vertues can no one  
 Bee insisted on.

(lines 41–51)

Donne creates a rhetorical situation in which fixing his thoughts, "affirm[ing]" or "arrest[ing]" Harrington's many "deeds," is an almost impossible task. Harrington's fluidity of virtue is compared to the ever changing materials of "spirits, humours, bloud" and "streame[s]." Moreover, like the atomic system of universal flux, he possesses a "Sea of Vertues" which are constantly shifting and so cannot be "insisted on." But in order to "arrest" this "fluid virtue," Donne turns to a Platonic ideal of virtue's wholeness to suggest that Harrington's virtue transcends this flux:

Vertues as riuers passe  
 Yet still remaynes that vertuous man there was.  
 And, as if Man feeds on mans flesh, (and so  
 Part of his body to another owe):  
 Yet at the last two perfect bodyes rise  
 Because God knowes where every Atome lyes.

(lines 51–6)

Virtues may pass on like the drops of a river but, Donne explains, there “still remaines that vertuous man there was.” Moreover, if a “Man feeds on man’s flesh” and thus combines part of his body with another, “two perfect bodyes” will be resurrected at the last day by God. This atomic scattering of man’s flesh is not to be feared, because the biblical image of bodily resurrection and reunion, derived from 1 Corinthians 15:52 (AV) (“God knows where every Atome lyes”), reminds us of God’s ultimate control over the body of man: “In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.” As Hirsch notes, “the twinkling of an eye” is a translation of the Latin *atomus* which denotes “the miraculous speed with which God rejoins ... points of matter.”<sup>36</sup>

The question of the body’s constitution at the last day was a subject of doctrinal dispute that originated with the church fathers. Christ was the paradigm of bodily resurrection, and his followers were expected to assume the same body after death, as he had done. But according to Gregory of Nyssa, who recognized that bodies change over time, it was the form of the body, rather than the original matter, that remained important. Kallistos Ware explains Gregory’s position as follows: “the constituent elements making up our physical body are constantly changing; but the soul imposes upon these elements a particular ‘form’ (*eidōs*) ... At the resurrection the soul will reassemble the particles of matter, from which its body was formed during this present life, and it will once more impress upon these particles the same ‘form’ as before.”<sup>37</sup> Since atoms are unchanging and homogenous, it does not matter which atoms make up the resurrected body as long as they conform to its original. This Neo-Platonic solution presupposes the integrity of an essential form to which the particles of matter will correspond. Since questions concerning the relationship between body and soul were a prevailing interest of Donne’s, he would almost certainly have been aware of Gregory’s position.<sup>38</sup>

Donne also alludes in the succeeding lines of the “Obsequyes” to the secondary medieval Scholastic sense of “the twinkling of an eye,” or *atomus*, to suggest the smallest possible unit of time, and, therefore, unbelievable speed: “So if one knowledge were made of all those / Who knewe his Minutes well, Hee might dispose / His Vertues into names and rankes” (lines 57–9). The *OED* notes that the word “atom” in the medieval period, as well as referring to the irreducible particles of Greek philosophy, denoted “the smallest unit of time, of which there are 376 in a minute and 22,560 in an

hour, equal to 15/94 of a second."<sup>39</sup> This measure was designed by Scholastic philosophers as a way of reckoning an instant, or the "twinkling of an eye," to account for the speed of natural and supernatural phenomena. In this passage, Donne alights on the problem of defining virtue, which the poem will later seek to resolve. In order to capture and organize "into names and rankes" these rapidly moving atomic virtues or "Minutes," he theorizes a perfect knowledge enabled by instantaneous thought. To this end, the poem turns to a series of similes and metaphors concerning theological and philosophical discourse on angels, who were believed to possess the capacity for instantaneous thought.

#### IV. "QUICK AMASSING SEVERALL SHAPES OF THINGS"

Several critics have noted Donne's fascination with the material and intellectual constitution of angels, a popular subject of Scholastic enquiry throughout the medieval period.<sup>40</sup> Robert Ellrodt, for example, notes that "Donne's interest in scholastic angelology was singular in an age when Calvinists, Platonists and the 'new philosophers' agreed to reject it."<sup>41</sup> But according to John Salkeld, in his *A Treatise of Angels* (1613), angelology was "most facill and pleasant: and [had] most connexion with natural Philosophy and Philosophicall Principles."<sup>42</sup> The two most prominent schools of thought concerning the physical properties of angels were those of Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus. According to the Scotists, angels were composed of matter, although, as Carey notes, this was believed to be "spiritual matter," bodies, but not flesh.<sup>43</sup> Aquinas, on the other hand, completely denied that angels were corporeal. Both Ellrodt and Carey suggest that Donne's view accorded with that of Aquinas; however, in the "Obsequyes" Donne's materialistic imagery and its association with the discourse of atomism complicates this conception.

In a reversal of Harrington's flight into the "peruious" region of the heavens, Donne charts the descent of an angel through the cosmos toward the earth:

As when an Angell downe from heauen doth flye  
 Our quick thought cannot keepe him company  
 Wee cannot thinke, now hee is at the Sunne  
 Now through the Moone now through the Ayre doth runn  
 Yet, when hee's come, wee knowe hee did repayre  
 To all twixt heauen and earth, sunne, moone and ayre.  
(lines 81-6)

When Donne acknowledges that the “quick thought” of mortals cannot keep “company” with the angel’s movement, he appears to accept the Thomist position that angels are composed of ethereal substance and that their movement is instantaneous. As Ellrodt notes, “unlike Scotus and his followers, the poet never describes the motions of angels, however swift, as continuous in time.”<sup>44</sup> However, the succeeding lines, in which Donne writes that “wee knowe hee did repayre / To all twixt heauen and earth, sunne, moone and ayre,” suggest not only a physical presence, which occupies all of these locations, but also a temporal succession, beginning at the sun, passing through the moon and then the air. To pass between substances requires the meeting of material things. As Donne argues in *Essayes in Divinity* (1614), “God ... denied even to Angells, the ability of arriving from one Extreme to another, without passing the mean way between.”<sup>45</sup> In the *Summa Theologica*, Aquinas, in fact, describes angelic form in meteorological terms: “when condensed ... [air] can both be shaped and colored as appears in the clouds. Even so the angels assume bodies of air.”<sup>46</sup> Donne was at least aware of the conceptual association between atomic fragmentation and cohesion and angelic bodies when he argued in a wedding sermon that angels “have not so much of a Body as *flesh* is, as *froth* is, as a *vapour* is, as a *sigh* is, and yet with a touch they shall molder a rocke into lesse Atomes, then the sand that it stands upon.”<sup>47</sup> What is important here is not whether Donne really views angelic matter in atomistic terms, but rather his imaginative habit of generating images of fragmentation followed by reunion, which is culled from natural philosophical discourse.

Donne frequently speculates on the similarities between men and angels in his work. In sermons, he voices the opinion that “Man and Angels have one thing in common to them both ... that is, Reason, understanding, knowledge, discourse.”<sup>48</sup> He also notes that angels possessed a “certain fleshliness” in their nature that presaged their rebellion and fall.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, in the “Second Anniuersarie of the Progres of the Soule,” Donne goes as far as to argue that bodies reconstituted at the last day will surpass the celestial nature of angels: “When earthly bodies more celestiall / Shalbe, then angels were, for they could fall.”<sup>50</sup> If angels, so similar, and in some ways inferior, to man, can discern all material things in an instant, then so might man himself. According to Helen Gardner, Aquinas believed that angels “do not apprehend by means of images, nor do they need to reason from inferences; they know by immediate intuition.”<sup>51</sup> Donne appears

to modify this notion in the "Obsequies" with the suggestion that angelic knowledge is achieved through a speedy accumulation of observed details:

And as this Angel in an instant knowes  
 And yet wee knowe this suddayne knowledge growes  
 By quick amassing severall shapes of things  
 Which hee successiuely to order brings  
 When they whose slow-pac'd lame thoughts cannot goe  
 So fast as hee.

(lines 87-92)

An angel's apparently "suddayne knowledge," Donne suggests, accumulates over time through its "quick amassing" of "severall shapes of things." The ideal, then, and the solution to the problem of Harrington's fluctuating virtue, is expressed through the analogy of angelic comprehension, which can amass and bring "severall shapes of things" to order. This comprehension might be achieved by man, whose thought processes, although much inferior to angels in speed and understanding, are similarly constituted. Here, Donne is careful to distinguish between "wee," who understand angelic "suddayne knowledge," and a "slow-pac'd lame" "they," who cannot. For the act of quickly comprehending parts of a whole is attainable only by those who can read:

Iust as a perfect Reader doth not dwell  
 On every sillable, nor stay to spell  
 Yet without doubt hee doth distinctly see  
 And lay together every A and B.

(lines 93-6)

The "perfect Reader" does not "dwell" upon every letter and "sillable," but derives the meaning of words almost instantaneously. Again, this simile, in tandem with the swift understanding of the angel, represents how quickly we can comprehend Harrington's general goodness.

Like the disparate combinations which make up words and nourish the reader with a sense of meaning, Harrington's virtues, represented by a series of similes concerning confused and chaotic matter, will cease to be problematic if man can understand both parts and whole:

So in short liu'd good men's not vnderstood  
 Each severall vertue, but the compound good  
 For they all vertues paths in that pace tread.

(lines 97–9)

Contrary to Hirsch's and Clucas's readings of the poem, in these lines Donne completely retracts his earlier metaphor of an indivisible oneness of Harrington's virtue and resolves upon the image of a "compound good," achieved through quickly gathering and organizing, "As Angels goe and knowe, and as men reade" (line 100). The "compound good" reconciles the ideal of Harrington's singular goodness with a multiplicity of virtues that need not be defined because they collaborate in the creation of the whole as atoms do.

#### V. "A CLOCK SO TRUE, AS MIGHT THE SUNNE CONTROULE"

Atomism was closely related to the Renaissance obsession with mechanical or clockwork devices, despite their seemingly distinct areas of intellectual inquiry.<sup>52</sup> Since questions about the nature of mechanical motion were often considered along with immaterial causes, the properties of the soul were also examined in tandem with mechanical and atomic theory as a way of accounting for the motive force and the influence of God over matter. As we have seen, both Bacon and Hill experimented with Neo-Platonic notions of spirits interacting with atomic particles to take on forms. At the end of the "Obsequyes" passage on angels, Donne resolves the problem of Harrington's "fluid vertue" through the image of the "compound," but in the succeeding lines he turns to immaterial causes to account for the force that animates composite bodies. In lines which liken a sick body to a faulty clock, Donne writes:

Though, as small pocket clocks whose every wheele  
 Doth each mis-motion and distemper feele  
 Whose hands gett shaking palsyes, and whose string  
 (His sinnews) slackens, and whose soule, the spring,  
 Expires, or languishes, whose pulse, the fly,  
 Either beates not, or beates vneuenly,  
 Whose voyce, the bell, doth rattle, or grow dombe  
 Or idle, as mens who to theyr last hower come.  
 If these clocks bee not wound, or bee wound still  
 Or bee not set, or set at every will:



So youth bee easiest to destruction  
 If, then, wee follow all, or follow none.

(lines 131–42)

With this political metaphor, he suggests that the young are in most peril from following "small pocket clocks" since, without guidance, they lack virtue, wisdom, and are "easiest to destruction." This passage establishes the metaphorical situation, concluded in the following lines, in which Donne asks why Harrington could not remain on earth as a "true ... Clock," or "Sunn-dyall" who would have "sett vs all" (lines 150 and 154). The comparison of natural organisms to clockwork was a commonplace method of arguing for the existence of a creator, or watchmaker.<sup>53</sup> In his figuring of "small pocket clocks" as sick, Donne suggests that the guiding hand of the creator has been removed. Donne's conceit, in some respects, anticipates Descartes's clockwork analogy in the *Meditations on First Philosophy* (1641).<sup>54</sup> But where Descartes visualizes a mechanical body completely distinct from the mind, Donne's object is to merge the mechanism with the soul through Harrington and thus with God.

In keeping with the poem's thematic pattern, Donne's clockwork conceit continues to seek a sense of order for a multitude of parts. Here, small pocket clocks, because of their personal and mobile nature, as opposed to the large town clocks referred to later, represent a disunited autonomous mankind. They are fragmented within and subject to "distemper[s]": both a humoral imbalance in the body of man and an uneven mixture of internal pieces.<sup>55</sup> With "shaking palsy" these machines tremble under the strain of their malfunctioning components as if afflicted with paralysis. The "string[s]" of the clock are likened to slack "sinews," and the "spring," as the internal source of its motion, is a "soule" that tends, significantly, toward "expir[ation]" rather than life. The "fly," which was the mechanism designed to control the clock's speed, is figured as an uneven pulse, and the "bell" as a stunted voice. What these automatons lack, Donne suggests, is a clear motive force, a source of movement, since a variety of actions taken to enable the "clocks" to move of their own accord lead to eventual "destruction." If they are not "wound," are wound too much, are not set, or are set according to a variety of opinions, then they will prove defective. Given that Donne was so attuned to the possibility that forms of motion could be held up to scrutiny, or somehow considered wrong, it is significant that his use of the term "mis-motion" here is the *OED*'s only recorded use.<sup>56</sup> Unlike

Northumberland's confident expressions on the internal motions and causes of "organical engines artificial," Donne suggests that, left to govern their own movements, these human engines will eventually cease to operate. His appeal to Harrington to provide "medicines" for these sick, disjointed bodies—"And by thy doing sett vs what to doe?"—acknowledges the need for a unifying principle, while returning to the poem's dedicatee a suitable metaphor of praise (lines 129–30).

The desire to be "sett" by Harrington is repeated at the close of the clock metaphor:

Why wouldst not thou then which hadst such a Soule  
 A Clock so true, as might the sunne controule  
 And dayly hadst from him who gaue it thee  
 Instructions, such as never yet could bee  
 Disordred, stay heere, as a Generall  
 And greate Sunn-dyall to haue sett vs all?

(lines 149–54)

Donne imagines that Harrington's "Soule" could have acted, if he had not died young, as a "true ... Clock" and general "Sunn-dyall" to guide the lives of those he has left behind. It is significant that Donne compares Harrington to a sundial, which is controlled directly by the constant movements of the sun, and thus not subject to the inaccuracies of man-made devices. The "true" clock functions correctly as it has "dayly" instructions from God. Punning on "sunne" in line 150 to suggest Christ, Donne represents Harrington's soul as an agent of God, who receives "Instructions, such as never yet could bee / Disordred" as a means of guiding and binding previously misguided and fragmented bodies. Donne's solution, then, is to theorize a general soul aligned to the "sunne."<sup>57</sup> This general soul flows through the disparate parts of physical matter, a force which, like Hill's *vis radiativa*, resembles "the efficient, active, universal cause, and the simple absolute essence" derived from God.

This conclusion, in fact, returns us to the opening lines of the poem, as Donne addresses Harrington with the words,

Fayre Soule, which wast not onely, as all Soules bee,  
 Then when thou wert infused, harmony,  
 But didst continew so, and now dost beare  
 A part in Gods greate Organ, this whole spheare.

(lines 1–4)

According to the Neo-Platonists, "all Soules," before they are "in-fused" into the body and corrupted by corporeality, participate in the universal "harmony" and knowledge of the world-soul.<sup>58</sup> Here, Donne suggests that Harrington continued in this perfection even after his soul's infusion into his body. Moreover, Harrington's "Soule" was not only more perfect than all other "Soules" during life, but now expands beyond the confines of corporeal form after death to become a part of "Gods greate Organ," a moral force that is represented as a controlling element of the mechanical universe. The word "Organ" here not only has musical connotations, but also carries the additional sense of an artificial mechanism, and so hints at the theme of composite bodies which is central to the rest of the poem.<sup>59</sup> Aligning this general soul with the action of the sun in lines 150 and 154, Donne also associates its infusion with the spread of light, in the same way that *vis radiativa* is conceptualized by Hill. Indeed, Harrington, as the rising sun at line 26, is what first enables the world—"both Church and State"—to become "transparent," allowing for Donne's visual assessment of physical matter to "discern by fauour of this light" as it flows through all things (lines 27–9).

In the "Anniuersarie" poems, Donne similarly modifies the concept of the world-soul in his extravagant metaphorical treatment of Drury. Drury's soul, like Harrington's, is cast as a general binding force that animates the world while she lives. In the "Second Anniuersarie," Donne enigmatically claims that she "was the forme, that made it [the world] liue."<sup>60</sup> The difference between the poems, of course, is that with Drury's death the world loses this force, or soul, whilst Harrington's death is the catalyst of spiritual and material renewal. Indeed, the infusion of this spiritual force, from God to Harrington's clockwork soul to the world, is an intervention which is denied to Drury in "A Fvnerall Elegie" until the final resurrection:

But must we say shee's dead? May't not be said  
That as a sundered Clocke is peece-meale laid,  
Not to be lost, but by the makers hand  
Repolish'd, without error then to stand.<sup>61</sup>

Donne's experimentation with atomism throughout the "Obsequyes" resembles both Bacon's, in its notion of active spirits, and Hill's, in its suggestions of God as the motive force. In this eclecticism, his sensitivity to the problems of motion and the physical constitution of matter was very much in tune with his

contemporaries'. Moreover, in comparing Harrington's virtue to an immaterial general soul rather than a dispersed multitude of material parts, he manages to avoid atomism's most controversial implication, that the soul was physical, and thus appears to reconcile his panegyric to a more acceptable vision of the physical, moral, and spiritual world.

Before Donne ends the elegy with an extended passage on heaven, the moment of death itself—the passage between material and immaterial worlds—is conceived in terms of physical restlessness:

And Churchyards are our Cittyes, vnto which  
 The most repayre which are in goodnesse rich.  
 There is the best concurse and confluence  
 There ar the holy Suburbs, and from thence  
 Beginns Gods Citty new Ierusalem.

(lines 171–5)

Donne imagines “Churchyards” as the “best concurse and confluence,” the final resting place for a multitude of bodies in a bustling city of the dead. His use of the phrase “best concurse” is in keeping with the atomic theme in its suggestions of colliding and combining parts of matter. But it also recollects Marcus Tullius Cicero's famous and ironic epithet for atomic theory, “the fortuitous concourse of atoms.”<sup>62</sup> The expression was reproduced in the Renaissance and can be seen, for example, in Bacon's assessment of Democritus and Epicurus cited above. Donne hints at the notion of the grave as the “best concurse” for bodies and souls near the beginning of the poem, when he writes that “labourers haue / Such rest in bedd, that theyr last Churchyard graue / Subiect to change, will scarce bee a Tipe of this” (lines 17–9). On the one hand, these graves are “Subiect to change” because it was common practice in this period for bodies to be disinterred and graves reused.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, Donne suggests that the laborers' rest will be interrupted by the final Resurrection, the “change” of 1 Corinthians 15:52, in which the atoms of all bodies will be reunited, since “God knows where every Atome lyes” (line 56). In this respect, the disinterment of the dead ceases to matter since, whatever their resting place, God will find the means to reconstitute them on the last day. The poem's treatment of atomic theory and the matter of the universe is thus framed between two images of bodily reunion and resurrection from the grave. For Donne, the speed with which God enables matter to recompact preserves

the physical integrity of the body's form. The swift movement by which the compound whole is constituted is as important in death as it is in life, and is indeed but a continuation of the unifying force with which God animates and dissolves living matter. In this respect, God is the efficient cause, the beginning, and the end.

The poem's central idea of an atomic diffusion of instructive qualities or virtues may have been picked up by Henry Valentine in his dedicatory verse upon Donne's death, "An Elegie upon the Incomparable Dr. Donne" (1633):

If that Philosopher, which did avow  
The world to be but Motes, was living now:  
He would affirme that th'Atomes of his mould  
Were they in severall bodies blended, would  
Produce new worlds of Travellers, Divines,  
Of Linguists, Poets; sith these severall lines  
In him concentred were.<sup>64</sup>

Valentine speculates that should "that Philosopher," Epicurus, be "living now," he would bear witness to and "affirme" the atomic fragmentation of the deceased Donne, his qualities now "blend[ing]" in "severall bodies." Clucas suggests that Valentine's elegy is "ironically appropriate" in its memorialization of Donne in Lucretian terms.<sup>65</sup> But it is perhaps not so surprising that Donne's influence on "Travellers, Divines," linguists, and poets should be commemorated through a metaphor of atomic diffusion, since his elegy to Harrington developed the same trope with so much attention to the motion of atoms.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> John Donne, "Obsequyes vpon the Lord Harrington the last that dyed," in *The Anniversaries* and *The Epicedes and Obsequies*, ed. Paul A. Parrish, Ted-Larry Pebworth, John T. Shawcross, Gary A. Stringer, and Ernest W. Sullivan II, vol. 6 of *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, gen. ed. Stringer, 8 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 177–82. Subsequent references to "Obsequyes" are from this edition and will appear parenthetically in the text by line number.

<sup>2</sup> Claude J. Summers, "The Epicede and Obsequy," in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn, and M. Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011), pp. 286–97, 296.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of the critical reception of Donne's "Obsequyes," see Ann Hurley, "Colliding Discourses: John Donne's 'Obsequies to the Lord Harrington' and the New Historicism," *Ren&R* 18, 3 (Summer 1994): 57–76, 57.

<sup>4</sup> See Pebworth, "'Let Me Here Use That Freedom': Subversive Representation in John Donne's 'Obsequies to the Lord Harington,'" *JEGP* 91, 1 (January 1992): 17–42, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Terry Sherwood, *Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 113; and John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind, and Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth D. Harvey and Timothy M. Harrison, "Embodied Resonances: Early Modern Science and Tropologies of Connection in Donne's *Anniversaries*," *ELH* 80, 4 (Winter 2013): 981–1008, 982. See also Catherine Gimelli Martin, "Milton's and Donne's Stargazing Lovers, Sex, and the New Astronomy," *SEL* 54, 1 (Winter 2014): 143–71.

<sup>7</sup> Katrin Ettenhuber, "'Comparisons are Odious'? Revisiting the Metaphysical Conceit in Donne," *RES* 62, 255 (June 2011): 393–413, 395.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets; With Critical Observations on their Works*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 1:200.

<sup>9</sup> See David A. Hedrich Hirsch, "Donne's Atomies and Anatomies: Deconstructed Bodies and the Resurrection of Atomic Theory," *SEL* 31, 1 (Winter 1991): 69–94; and Geoffrey Keynes, "Appendix IV: Books from Donne's Library," in *A Bibliography of Dr. Donne*, 4th edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 258–79.

<sup>10</sup> On the Northumberland Circle, now also known as the School of Night, see Robert Hugh Kargon, *Atomism in England from Hariot to Newton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 5–42. On Donne and Northumberland, see R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 133–4. On Donne and Thomas Hariot, see Marjorie Nicolson, "Kepler, the *Somnium*, and John Donne," *JHI* 1, 3 (June 1940): 259–80.

<sup>11</sup> See Piers Brown, "'Hac ex consilio meo via progredieris': Courtly Reading and Secretarial Mediation in Donne's *The Courtier's Library*," *RenQ* 61, 3 (Fall 2008): 833–66, 836–8.

<sup>12</sup> See Christoph Grellard and Aurélian Robert, "Introduction," in *Atomism in Late Medieval Philosophy and Theology*, ed. Grellard and Robert (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 4–5.

<sup>13</sup> Lucretius, *The Way Things Are: The "De Rerum Natura" of Titus Lucretius Carus*, trans. Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1968), 2.216–35.

<sup>14</sup> On the Northumberland Circle's adherence to Giordano Bruno's concept of an infinite universe, see Hilary Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge: Giordano Bruno in England* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 57.

<sup>15</sup> Hariot, British Museum Add. MSS 6788, fol. 493, qtd. in Kargon, "Thomas Hariot, the Northumberland Circle, and Early Atomism in England," *JHI* 27, 1 (January–March 1966): 128–36, 130.

<sup>16</sup> Henry Percy, *Advice to His Son*, ed. G. B. Harrison (London: Ernest Benn, 1930), p. 69.

<sup>17</sup> See Kargon, "Thomas Hariot," p. 131; and Christoph Meinel, "Early Seventeenth-Century Atomism: Theory, Epistemology, and the Insufficiency of Experiment," *Isis* 79, 1 (March 1988): 68–103, 85.

<sup>18</sup> Francis Bacon, "On Principles and Origins, According to the Fables of Cupid and Caelium," in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding,

Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, new edn. (London: Longmans, 1876–83), 5:459–500, 492.

<sup>19</sup> Stephen Clucas, "The Infinite Variety of Formes and Magnitudes': 16th- and 17th-Century English Corpuscular Philosophy and Aristotelian Theories of Matter and Form," in "The Fate of Hylomorphism: 'Matter' and 'Form' in Early Modern Science," ed. Christoph Lüthy and William R. Newman, special issue, *Early Science and Medicine* 2, 3 (1997): 251–71, 257–8; see also Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 2:325–680, 380.

<sup>20</sup> Bacon, "Of the Dignity and Advancement of Learning. Book III," in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 4:336–71, 365.

<sup>21</sup> Kargon, "Thomas Hariot," p. 135.

<sup>22</sup> Nicholas Hill, "Aphorism 116," trans. Clucas, in "Infinite Variety of Formes," by Clucas, p. 266.

<sup>23</sup> Stuart Gillespie, "Lucretius in the English Renaissance," in *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius*, ed. Gillespie and Philip Hardie (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), pp. 242–53, 244.

<sup>24</sup> Donne, "To the Countesse of Bedford (T'have Written Then)," in *The Satires, Epigrams, and Verse Letters*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 95–8, lines 37–40.

<sup>25</sup> Donne, "The First Anniversary. An Anatomie of the World," in "*The Anniversaries*" and "*The Epicedes and Obsequies*," pp. 7–17, lines 209–13.

<sup>26</sup> Clucas, "Poetic Atomism in Seventeenth Century England: Henry More, Thomas Traherne, and 'Scientific Imagination,'" *RenSt* 5, 3 (September 1991): 327–40, 329.

<sup>27</sup> Hirsch, p. 76.

<sup>28</sup> Donne, *Biathanatos*, ed. Sullivan (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1984), p. 105.

<sup>29</sup> Pebworth, "Let Me Here Use That Freedome," p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> Craig Martin, *Renaissance Meteorology: Pomponazzi to Descartes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2011), p. 43.

<sup>31</sup> Donne, "The Calme," in *The Satires, Epigrams, and Verse Letters*, pp. 57–9, line 22.

<sup>32</sup> Donne, "To the Countesse of Bedford at New-yeares Tide," in *The Satires, Epigrams, and Verse Letters*, pp. 98–100, lines 1–5.

<sup>33</sup> See Donne, "Verse from Conclau Ignati and Ignatius his Conclau," in *The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Miscellaneous Poems*, ed. William A. McClung, Pebworth, Stringer, and Sullivan, vol. 8 of *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, pp. 223–5.

<sup>34</sup> Johnson, "Cowley," in *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, to the Works of the English Poets*, 10 vols. (London: J. Nichols, 1779), 1:1–165, 62–3; ECCO ESTC T044190.

<sup>35</sup> Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *The Workes of Lucius Annæus Seneca ... Translated by Tho. D Lodge* (London: William Stansby, 1614), p. 259. For Lucretius's description of rivers, see 5.247–72.

<sup>36</sup> Hirsch, p. 83.

<sup>37</sup> Kallistos Ware, "The Soul in Greek Christianity," in *From Soul to Self*, ed. M. James C. Crabbe (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 49–69, 53.

<sup>38</sup> See Felecia Wright McDuffie, "*To Our Bodies Turn We Then*": *Body as Word and Sacrament in the Works of John Donne* (New York: Continuum, 2005),

pp. 140–1. For more of Donne's references to Gregory of Nyssa, see Donne, "Sermon No. 8: Preached at St. Paul's, 13 October 1622," in *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1953–62), 4:210–34, 215; and Donne, "Sermon No. 14: Preached at S. Pauls," in *The Sermons of John Donne*, 5:268–95, 284.

<sup>39</sup> *OED*, 3d edn., s.v. "atom," 1.1.

<sup>40</sup> See Carey, *John Donne*, pp. 262–3; Helen Gardner, *The Divine Poems of John Donne*, 2d edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 77; and Robert Ellrodt, "Angels and the Poetic Imagination from Donne to Traherne," in *English Renaissance Studies Presented to Dame Helen Gardner in Honour of Her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Carey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 164–79.

<sup>41</sup> Ellrodt, p. 174.

<sup>42</sup> John Salkeld, *A Treatise of Angels. Of the Nature, Essence, Place, Power, Science, VVill, Grace, Sinne, and all other Proprieties of Angels* (London, 1613), A2r; EEBO STC (2d edn.) 21621.

<sup>43</sup> Carey, *John Donne*, p. 263.

<sup>44</sup> Ellrodt, p. 169.

<sup>45</sup> Donne, *Essayes in Divinity: Being Several Disquisitions Interwoven with Meditations and Prayers*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 2001), p. 44.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 3 vols. (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1947), 1:226.

<sup>47</sup> Donne, "Sermon No. 3," in *The Sermons of John Donne*, 8:94–109, 106. See also Donne, "Aire and Angels," in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Herbert Grierson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> Donne, "Sermon No. 1: Preached upon All-Saints Day [?1623]," in *The Sermons of John Donne*, 10:41–64, 45.

<sup>49</sup> Donne, "Sermon No. 16: Preached Upon Easter-day, 1629," in *The Sermons of John Donne*, 8:355–72, 361.

<sup>50</sup> Donne, "The Second Anniuersarie of the Progress of the Soule," in "*The Anniversaries*" and "*The Epicedes and Obsequies*," pp. 25–37, lines 493–4.

<sup>51</sup> Gardner, p. 77. See also Aquinas, 1:213–93.

<sup>52</sup> See Wendy Beth Hyman, introduction to *The Automaton in English Renaissance Literature*, ed. Hyman (Surrey UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), pp. 1–19, 9.

<sup>53</sup> See Marcus Tullius Cicero, "*De Natura Deorum*"; and "*Academica*," ed. T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1933), 2.34.87.

<sup>54</sup> See René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy*, trans. Michael Moriarty (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008), pp. 59–60.

<sup>55</sup> The *OED* notes that in this period "distemper" could refer to a "disproportionate mixture of parts," and "[d]erangement or disturbance of the 'humour' or 'temper.'" See *OED*, 2d edn., s.v. "distemper," 1.1 and 1.3.

<sup>56</sup> *OED*, 3d edn., s.v. "mis-motion."

<sup>57</sup> I use the term "general soul" to account for Donne's metaphorical modifications to the Neo-Platonic concept of the "world-soul" through the person of Harrington. On the world-soul, see Richard D. Mohr, *The Platonic Cosmology* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 171–8. In the "Second Anniuersarie," Donne imagines Elizabeth Drury in a similar role, using a similar range of



metaphors: for example, the spreading of souls (lines 179–89) and metaphysical flights (lines 189–210, 339–56).

<sup>58</sup> Donne, *Donne: The Complete English Poems*, ed. A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth UK: Penguin, 1971), p. 585n1–2.

<sup>59</sup> The *OED* defines "organ" in this period as a "mental or spiritual faculty regarded as an instrument of the mind or soul," or a "means of action or operation, an instrument," or "[a]ny of various mechanical devices" (*OED*, 3d edn., s.v. "organ," 3.5b2, 3.5a, and 3.6).

<sup>60</sup> Donne, "Second Anniversarie," line 72.

<sup>61</sup> Donne, "A Fvneral Elegie," in *"The Anniversaries" and "The Epicedes and Obsequies,"* pp. 18–20, lines 37–40.

<sup>62</sup> Cicero, *Cicero's Tusculan Disputations*, trans. C. D. Yonge (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1877), p. 290. *OED* entries for "fortuitous" and "concourse" refer to Cicero's original phrase, "*concurus fortuitus*." See *OED*, 2d edn., s.v. "fortuitous"; and *OED*, 2d edn., s.v. "concourse," 3a.

<sup>63</sup> See, for example, Yorick in Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, ed. Frank Kermode, in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. Herschel Baker, Anne Barton, Kermode, Harry Levin, Hallett Smith, and Marie Edel, 2d edn. (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 2:1 183–245, V.i.1–196; and Donne's "The Relique," in *The Poems of John Donne*, pp. 55–6.

<sup>64</sup> Henry Valentine, "An Elegie upon the Incomparable Dr. Donne," in *Poems*, by Donne (London, 1633), p. 380, lines 33–9; EEBO (2d edn.) STC 7045.

<sup>65</sup> Clucas, "Poetic Atomism," p. 3.