

THE IMAGERY IN JOHN DONNE'S SERMONS

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PREFACE

John Donne is well known as a metaphysical poet. However, in his late years, he achieved distinction as Dean of St. Paul's in which capacity, he became known as the most outstanding clergymen of his age. Although Donne's popularity as Dean rests upon his ability to compose and deliver effective sermons, scholars have not made many successful studies of his sermons in an attempt to determine the nature of his skill as preacher and sermon writer. This present study purports to uncover specific evidence of Donne's craftsmanship in the composition of the sermons by taking note of the images that he most frequently employs. The scope of Donne's imagery is clearly revealed in the tabulation and classification of Donne's figures of speech included in the Appendix to this study.

Particularly useful to this study was the ten volume edition of Donne's sermons edited by George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, to which all citations have been made in the course of this investigation.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Charles E. Walton, Head of the Department of English at Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas, for his many hours of advice and

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CHAPTER I

DONNE'S POPULARITY AS DEAN OF SAINT PAUL'S

In one of his sermons, employing a favorite image, Donne once said, "The world is a Sea in many respects and assimilations. It is a sea, as it is subject to stormes, and tempests; Every man (and every man is a world) feels that."¹ This was the sea that Donne was launched upon at birth in 1573--a sea of religious controversy veritably raging between Protestants and Catholics. It was this religious tempest that played a vital role in directing the course of Donne's life.

To be born a Catholic, as was Donne, during the reign of Elizabeth, was to be born into " . . . a very unpopular minority, looked at askance by the Government of Elizabeth."² Her early feelings toward Catholics had not been improved by Pope Pius V, who excommunicated her " . . . from the Roman Communion and proclaimed to Englishmen their freedom

¹George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson (eds.), The Sermons of John Donne, II, 306. Hereafter, all references to the sermons are taken from this source.

²Sir H. J. C. Grierson (ed.), The Poems of John Donne, p. xiii.

from the oath attesting to their Queen's sovereignty."³

Therefore, Donne lived in a period when a secure life depended upon religious convictions.⁴

Donne had an intimate knowledge of the government's harsh treatment of Catholics because of a series of events that occurred to members of his own family. For example, his brother, Henry, was arrested for keeping a Roman Catholic seminarist in his home; he was imprisoned, in which state he died shortly of a fever. Also, Donne's uncle, Jasper Heywood, who, in 1581, when Donne was nine years old, became Superior of the English Jesuit Mission, was banished shortly after his appointment.⁵ Recalling such persecutions, when Donne wrote Pseudo-Martyr, he mentions the suffering that his Catholic family had been compelled to endure, explaining, "I beleeeue, no family, . . . hath endured and suffered more in their persons and fortunes, for obeying the Teachers of Romane Doctrine, then it hath done."⁶

³William R. Mueller, John Donne: Preacher, p. 8.

⁴Loc. cit.

⁵Ibid., p. 9.

⁶Loc. cit.

Scholars have wondered if these events of persecution might not have motivated Donne in his decision to convert to Anglican faith. Conceivably, such events might have caused him to. Grierson concludes, at least from a study of Donne's "Holy Sonnets," that, when the poet says, "Show me, dear Christ, thy spouse so bright and clear," he "betrays not only some degree of intellectual scepticism but spiritual unrest."⁷ Grierson also feels that, since this one sonnet was written in 1617 (after Donne had become an Anglican), Donne was not yet certain at the time as to which church was the spouse of Christ.⁸ Consequently, Grierson concludes that, since Donne did not possess the same heroic qualities that had distinguished his ancestors, he was never willing to endure the harsh religious persecution of the times.⁹

According to Walton, in his account of the author's life, when Donne was nineteen years old, he began seriously to investigate the differences between the Reformed and Roman Catholic churches.¹⁰ This occasion, however, must not

⁷Grierson (ed.), op. cit., p. xv.

⁸Loc. cit.

⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁰Izaak Walton, The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Robert Sanderson, p. 25.

have been the first time in which Donne seriously thought about the choice of two churches. Prior to this period, he had already attended Oxford and Cambridge. At Oxford, he resided in Hart Hall, a sanctuary for Roman Catholics, but did not take his degree three years later, as was the custom, since he would have had to take the Oath of Allegiance, something to be avoided by Roman Catholics.¹¹ When he left Oxford, he transferred to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1587, where the religious controversy was between Canterbury and Geneva, "not between Rome and Canterbury, as it was at Oxford."¹² Mueller, however, sees Donne's three years at Cambridge as having played a vital part in the man's religious conversion, since Donne had a " . . . good opportunity to come into close conversation and relationship with intelligent Anglican apologist."¹³ Therefore, Mueller reasons that when Donne left Cambridge, he may well have questioned his desire to be loyal to the church for which his ancestors had suffered.¹⁴

¹¹Mueller, op. cit., p. 10.

¹²Loc. cit.

¹³Loc. cit.

¹⁴Loc. cit.

It is feasible to think that Donne might have considered his religion a serious matter in his nineteenth year, because he knew, at this time, that he had to decide upon a vocation. Obviously, he could not dismiss the religious issue. It was a part of the problem plainly concerning all people. Donne, for one, saw it clearly: how clearly, in relation to his vocational success, is revealed in his own words:

Doe not say, I will hold All, my self, but
let my wife, or my son, or one of my sons, goe
the other way, as though Protestant, and Papist
were two severall callings; and, as you would
make one son a Lawyer, another a Merchant, you
will make one son a Papist, another Protestant.
Excuse not your own levity, with so high a dis-
honor to the prince; when have you heard, that
ever he thanked any man, for becoming a Papist?¹⁵

It is plain that Donne had decided to please the King.

Scholars are not certain, however, about the date when Donne decided to change, because it was a long drawn out process. One suggests, nevertheless, that, in "Satire III," the poet may have been describing the kind of spiritual agony that he was experiencing:¹⁶

On a huge hill,
Cragged and steep, Truth stands, and he that will

¹⁵Potter and Simpson (eds.), The Sermons, IV, 263.

¹⁶Mueller, op. cit., p. 12.

Reach her, about must and about must go,
And what the hill's suddenness resists, win so.¹⁷

Since a date of 1593, three years after he left Cambridge, has been cited for the writing of "Satire III," one concludes that early in Donne's life he was contemplating the religious problems that faced him.¹⁸

After studying law at both Thavies Inn and Lincoln's Inn, making a Continental tour, and seeing naval service against the Spaniards, he was hired as principal secretary to Sir Thomas Edgerton in 1598, a position that he maintained for four years.¹⁹ Mueller feels that Edgerton's employment of Donne is an indication that Donne no longer was a Catholic, since Edgerton would not have hired a person of that faith.²⁰

From 1598 onward, all of Donne's activities indicate that he had turned from Catholicism. For example, in 1605, one finds him working with Morton on an assignment to persuade the Catholics that it was wrong not to attend Anglican

¹⁷Grierson (ed.), op. cit., p. 139.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 11.

²⁰Ibid., p. 12.

services.²¹ Morton made a wise choice, since Donne knew the religious differences between Rome and Canterbury, and was well trained legally and had a good command of the language.²² Mueller sees this activity as Donne's step toward taking orders in the Anglican Church. Later, when Morton became Dean of Glouster, on June 22, 1607, he offered Donne a position which, however, Donne declined.²³

Moreover, Donne admits that he wrote Pseudo-Martyr in 1609 to persuade " . . . English Roman Catholics that the taking of the Oath of Allegiance was not incompatible with their deepest religious loyalties."²⁴ His admission is strong evidence that he had broken away at last from his Roman Catholic heritage. He admits, indeed, in his preface that it was not easy for him to renounce a strong family influence and, as a result, this change did not come suddenly, but only " . . . till [he] had, to the measure of [his] poor wit and judgement, suruayed and digested the whole body of Diuinity, controuerted betweene [him] and the

²¹Ibid., p. 14.

²²Loc. cit.

²³Ibid., p. 15.

²⁴Ibid., p. 17.

Romane Church."²⁵ Grierson thinks that "it was along this line of intellectual inquiry that Donne detached himself from Catholicism rather than by any change of heart."²⁶

Porter, however, concludes that Donne consents to Holy Orders, ". . . only when he finally recognizes that every other path of preferment is closed to him."²⁷ Furthermore, Mueller agrees, but points out, nevertheless, that this concept is ". . . the least charitable interpretation."²⁸ One feels certain that Donne was not eager to take Holy Orders. Had he desired strongly to do so, he had been given the opportunity earlier, undoubtedly, when Morton became Dean of Gloucester in 1607 and invited him to accept a position; but the record shows that he waited until 1615.²⁹

Donne's first indication that he was ready to take Holy Orders occurs in the autumn of 1612, after his return with

²⁵Ibid., p. 19.

²⁶Ibid., p. xxviii.

²⁷Alan Porter, "Dean Donne," Spectator, CXLVI (April 4, 1931), 539-540.

²⁸Mueller, op. cit., p. 25.

²⁹Edmund Gosse (ed.), The Life and Letters of John Donne, I, 157.

the Drurys from the Continent.³⁰ Soon afterwards, he writes to Lord Rochester, a favorite of King James, that he had " . . . obeyed at last, after much debatement within [himself], the inspirations . . . of the Spirit of God, and resolved to make [his] profession Divinity."³¹ He, then, asks Rochester to help obtain such an appointment. Gosse concludes that Donne made his decision at this time, because he feared the possibility of being left penniless at the age of forty if his wife's father, or Sir Robert Drury, his only means of support at this time, should die.³² However, the reason for his delay until 1615 is not certain. Evidently, he had been waiting for the King to give him an appointment to some position, for he writes to his brother-in-law, Sir Robert More, " . . . no man attends court fortunes with more impatience than I do."³³ Whether the "court fortunes" to which he alludes refer to Holy Orders, one does not know. Nevertheless, six months after he had written this letter of July 28, 1614, he was ordained in the Church

³⁰Mueller, op. cit., p. 22-23.

³¹Ibid., p. 23.

³²Gosse (ed.), II, op. cit., 3-4.

³³Mueller, op. cit., p. 23.

of England.³⁴ Therefore, Donne had learned, as Morton had told him, of " . . . the many delays and contingencies that attend court promises."³⁵ Apparently, at last, he decides to follow Morton's advice " . . . to waive . . . court-hopes, and enter into holy orders."³⁶

Evidently, according to Walton, Donne was predestined by the King to enter Holy Orders, because this position was what the King desired for him, having expressed such a desire after having read Pseudo-Martyr in 1610. Walton explains that the King, having read Pseudo-Martyr, " . . . persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the ministry."³⁷ Donne, however, refused the King's offer at this time, waiting until 1612 before expressing a desire to fulfill the King's wish. Another incident that happened shortly after his expression of 1612, also, serves to show how insistent the King was that Donne should take Holy Orders. Walton explains how the Earl of Somerset went to the King to intercede in

³⁴Ibid., pp. 23-24.

³⁵Walton, op. cit., p. 33.

³⁶Loc. cit.

³⁷Ibid., p. 45.

Donne's behalf, following the death of one of the council clerks.³⁸ Somerset dispatched a messenger to Donne, requesting that he come to him. When Donne arrived, Somerset told him of his plan to request the King to appoint him to the position left vacant by the clerk who had died. According to Walton, Somerset assured Donne, "I know the king loves you, and know the king will not deny me."³⁹ Nevertheless, the King did deny Somerset and further indicated clearly that the only appointment he would give to Donne was one to the ministry, saying, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my desire is to prefer him that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing for him."⁴⁰ Therefore, the only Court appointment that Donne could obtain was that of the ministry; and finally, he subscribes to the King's desire. Walton records that, after Donne had entered the ministry, he displeased the King on only one occasion, which Walton describes as being the result of "some malicious whisper."⁴¹ Apparently,

³⁸Loc. cit.

³⁹Loc. cit.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 45-46.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 56.

someone had informed the King that Donne was using the pulpit to preach against the throne, and Donne was accused of

. . . insinuating a fear of the king's inclining to popery, and a dislike of his government; and particularly for the king's then turning the evening lectures into catechising, and expounding the prayer of our Lord, and of the belief and commandments.⁴²

As a consequence, Donne was summoned before the King to answer to this accusation, and Walton states that Donne's defense satisfied the King, who terminated the interview, saying that "he was right glad [Donne] rested no longer under the suspicion."⁴³ After Donne's departure, the King summoned the members of his council and confessed to them:

My Doctor is an honest man; and, my lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than he hath now made me; and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he became a divine.⁴⁴

Donne was, thereafter, consistently loyal to James. Indeed, he preached a sermon at Paul's Crosse, September 15, 1622, supporting the King's action in giving directions to preachers, concluding that the King had a right to interfere in church affairs if the church were in danger of receiving

⁴²Loc. cit.

⁴³Ibid., p. 57.

⁴⁴Loc. cit.

wrong doctrines from the pulpit. Donne's feeling about this matter is made clear in his following comment: "We have him now, (and long, long, O eternal God, continue him to us,) we have him nor for a father of the Church, a Foster-father."⁴⁵ The King is reported to have liked this sermon so well that he commanded it be published. In all of his sermons wherein he mentions the throne, Donne indicates that he was a loyal subject, one who did not give the King any occasion to be displeased with him.

Accordingly, such actions as his conversion and expressions of loyalty to the King indicate that Donne was looking out for his own profit. It is true that Donne profitted when he converted from the Roman Catholic Church to the Anglican Church, nor was he the only one. Evidence shows that the Anglican Church also greatly benefitted. The King had realized, at once, that Donne could best be used in the ministry, as witnessed to by Donne's rapid rise in seven years after his ordination to the position of Dean of St. Paul's, in which role, " . . . he had an opportunity to sway the minds of a large number of the most important citizens

⁴⁵Potter and Simpson (eds.), op. cit., IV, 208.

of London."⁴⁶ Mueller reminds one that " . . . there was no pulpit in England, except perhaps that at Paul's Cross, which influenced the life of the nation as profoundly as that of St. Paul's Cathedral."⁴⁷ With the terrors of the Reformation still fresh in the minds of the English people, a person with Donne's background and abilities served the cause well. Since religion was one of the fiercest issues of the day, the King must have reasoned that a convert from the enemy camp would be most helpful. At least, Donne's appointment helped alleviate the fears of some concerning a conversion to the Anglican faith. In fact, the court must have reasoned that a large number might be converted upon seeing one of their own now relegated to a position of influence in the Anglican Church.

It is not certain how successful Donne may have been in effecting converts from Catholicism, but there were many, as Donne mentions, " . . . some persons converted from the Roman Church to [his]."⁴⁸ But these were not the best, because he explains " . . . I have known that onley temporall

⁴⁶Ibid., IV, p. 4.

⁴⁷Mueller, op. cit., p. 28.

⁴⁸Potter and Simpson (eds.), op. cit., X, 161.

respects have moved them, and they have lived after rather in a nullity, or indifference to either religion, then in a true, and established zeale."⁴⁹ Donne himself, was not this type of a convert, nor did he want converts of this type.

If words ever express the true feelings of a man, one feels that Donne's words reveal how he truly felt about the Catholic Church. He attacked its major issues concerning purgatory, miracles, the Pope, and transubstantiation, and warned the people, as demonstrated in the following examples, that a Roman Priest would try to enter their homes in the disguises of an Apothecary, Usher, or Taylor:

Let us therefore make us of those enemies, and of their aery insolences, and their frothy confidences, as thereby to be the firmer in our selves, and the carefuller of our children, and servants, that we send not for such a Physitian as brings a Roman Priest, for his Apothecary, nor entertain such a Schoolmaster, as brings a Roman Priest for his Usher, nor such a Mercer, as brings a priest for his Taylor; (for in these shapes they have, and will appear).⁵⁰

Again, he writes about unbelievable Catholic miracles:

In truth, their greatest miracle to me is that they find men to believe their miracles.⁵¹

⁴⁹Loc. cit.

⁵⁰Ibid., III, 124.

⁵¹Ibid., IV, 178.

Donne does not think the Pope important to the Church, since, as he explains, Christ is nearer to all churches than the Pope:

None rules with him, none rules for him;
Christ needs no Vicar, he is no non-resident;
He is nearer to all particular Churches at
Gods right hand, then the Bishop of Rome, at
his left.⁵²

Donne believes that Catholics commit idolatry by believing that the bread in the sacrament is the real body of Christ:

They know the people doe commit Idolatry,
in their manner of adoring the Bread in the
Sacrament . . .⁵³

He argues that to acknowledge the Roman Church to be the only true church is to admit that a man's health is safe in any house, even if that house has air in it that produces poor health. Therefore, he concludes that, if a man is truly concerned about his health, he will not live in an infected house. Consequently, he concludes that the Roman Church is not safe:

When we acknowledge the Church of Rome to be truly a Church: for the Pest-house is a house, and theirs is such a church: But the Pest-house is not the best ayre to live in, nor the Romane Church the best Church to die in.⁵⁴

⁵²Ibid., VI, 125.

⁵³Ibid., VII, 333.

⁵⁴Ibid., IX, 344.

Such attacks, and they were frequent, undoubtedly, helped Donne to attract a following, of which there were many.

CHAPTER II

CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCE FOR DONNE'S PREACHING ABILITIES

It would have been less significant if Donne's popularity had wholly depended upon his attacks upon the Catholic Church, because he might otherwise have been forgotten in his role as the Dean of St. Paul's. But his sermons survive, because:

. . . Donne's powers as a prose writer are [therein] best displayed. He was the most famous preacher of his day in an age of great preachers, and the qualities which drew men of all classes to hear him are evident still in the printed record of his words.⁵⁵

The same compelling images that he used to picture a scriptural truth to his audience and keep them awake are still compelling figures.⁵⁶ One is intrigued by this fact when he considers " . . . that Donne was, at first, very shy of preaching, an art in which he had had no instruction,"⁵⁷ but the man proved clearly that he was capable of using his own rhetorical training, applying it to the preaching art

⁵⁵Evelyn M. Simpson, A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne, p. 255.

⁵⁶Mueller, op. cit., p. 257.

⁵⁷Gosse (ed.), op. cit., II, 72.

and, after a little experience, becoming the best known preacher in his day.⁵⁸

The task of determining the reasons for his popularity as a minister is not an easy one. Not only is the rhetoric of his sermons important to his preaching, but his own delivery of the sermons, especially his use of his voice and body must have contributed to his success.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, scholars may turn to the personal testimony of those who heard Donne and read, once more, the sermons that have survived. It is with the evidence contained in these sources that one must attempt to comprehend the nature of Donne, the preacher.

His humble beginnings, preaching in small rural churches, remind one of the experiences of Moses and Paul in the wilderness. It was, of course, a period of Donne's preparation for assuming his larger duties. In just eleven years after his ordination in 1615, he was known as the most eloquent preacher in England.⁶⁰ Gosse reminds one that, "In

⁵⁸William Fraser Mitchell, English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson, p. 41ff.

⁵⁹Robert L. Hickey, "Donne's Delivery," Tennessee Studies in Literature, IX (1963), 39.

⁶⁰Gosse (ed.), op. cit., II, 234.

these early days of Charles I, a sermon delivered by the Dean of St. Paul's was the most brilliant public entertainment which London had to offer."⁶¹ Apparently, the public was not entertained with Donne's exaggerated use of physical gestures, as it was with those of some of Donne's associates. It is clear that this concept does not match the description given by Mayne of Christ-Church in his elegy upon Donne:

Yet have I seene thee in the pulpit stand
 Where wee might take notes, from thy looke, and hand;
 And from thy speaking action beare away
 More Sermon, then some teachers use to say,
 Such was thy carriage, and thy gesture such,
 As could divide the heart, and conscience touch,
 Thy motion did confute, and wee might see
 And error vanquish'd by delivery.
 Not like our Sonnes of Zeale, who to reforme
 Their hearers, fiercely at the Pulpit storme.
 And beate the cushion into worse estate,
 Then if they did conclude it reprobate,
 Who can out pray the glasse, then lay about
 Till all Predestination be runne out.⁶²

Mayne shows, however, that Donne's "carriage and gesture" did play an important part in his delivery in influencing his audience, although they were not spectacular. According to Walton, Donne expressed strong emotion when he preached, showing that " . . . his own heart was possessed with those

⁶¹Loc. cit.

⁶²Quoted in Grierson (ed.), op. cit., p. 353.

very thoughts and joys that he labored to distill into others: a preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them."⁶³

Whatever physical gestures Donne may have used, and scholars have no doubt about his having employed such aids, Donne caused them to serve him in a subordinate way. It was the power of his words, so eloquently chosen, spoken, and interlaced with descriptive images, that attracted his audiences. Busby likens Donne to the eloquent Chrysostom:

Mee thinkes I see him in the pulpit standing,
Not eares, or eyes, but all mens hearts commanding,
Where wee that hear him, to ourselves did faine
Golden Chrysostome was alive againe . . .⁶⁴

To compare Donne with Chrysostom is high tribute, because this fourth century church father, who also moved his audiences with words, felt that right words were forcible: "So forcible indeed, were Chrysostom's that his attendants would often clap hands and stamp their feet while he was preaching."⁶⁵ Although, Donne apparently did not stir his audiences to express such emotional frenzy, he used the force

⁶³Walton, op. cit., p. 49.

⁶⁴Quoted in Mueller, op. cit., p. 85.

⁶⁵David Otis Fuller, Valiant for the Truth, p. 32.

of right words to captivate his audience. Mayne's description of Donne supports the theory that Donne's power lay in a choice of words, spoken in such a way as to charm his hearers. According to Mayne, Donne mesmerized his congregation:

What mysteries did from thy preaching flow,
Who with they words could charme thy audience,
That at thy sermons, eare was all our sense.⁶⁶

After one analyzes Donne's many metaphorical passages, well chosen to illustrate his text and to appeal to the auditory sense of an audience, he readily agrees with such descriptions. It seems that even those whose hearts were hard to penetrate could not listen to Donne without responding favorably to what he had to say. For example, in an elegy, Sir Lucius Carre describes Donne's ability to obtain results, even with the most difficult of listeners:

Nor yet forget that heavenly Eloquence,
With which he did the bread of life dispense,
Preacher and Orator discharg'd both parts
With pleasure for our sense, health for our hearts,
And the first such (Though a long studied Art
Tell us our soule is all in every part,)
None was so marble, but whilst him he heares,
His Soule so long dwelt only in his eares.
And from thence (with the fiercenesse of a flood
Bearing downe vice) victual'd with that blest food

⁶⁶Quoted in Grierson (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 353.

Their hearts; His seed in none could faile to grow,
Fertile he found them all, or made them so.⁶⁷

Actually, Carrie may have borrowed his "marble" image from Donne, who often refers to man as a kind of marble that could be altered:

. . . in the contrition of heart, in the sense of my sins; when, as a sharp winde may have worn out a Marble Statue, or a continual spout worn out a Marble Pavement, so, my holy teares, made holy in his Blood that gives them a tincture, and my holy sighs, made holy in that Spirit that breathes them in me, have worn out my Marble Heart, that is the Marbleness of my heart, and emptied the room of that former heart, and so give God a Vacuity, a new place to create a new heart in.⁶⁸

Donne was the instrument which the Holy Spirit used to melt the hardened hearts of men; and he did not despair, apparently, in his dealings with such men, because " . . . a stony heart may weepe: Marble, and the hardest sorts of stones weepe most, they have the most moysture, the most drops upon them."⁶⁹ The most sinfull individual had ample reason to respond to Donne's words with tears of repentance. But Donne wanted more than tears. He wanted man to be

⁶⁷Quoted in ibid., pp. 349-350.

⁶⁸Potter and Simpson (eds.), op. cit., IX, 177.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 290.

different after he had shed tears of repentance. Chudleigh testifies that Donne achieved this effect in his hearers, asking,

Did not his sacred flattery beguile
Man to amendment?⁷⁰

Even the shallow English Court was changed by his preaching according to Mayne:

No, In such a temper would thy Sermons flow,
So well did Doctrine, and thy language show,
And had that holy feare, as, hearing thee,
The Court would mend, and a good Christian bee.⁷¹

Walton explains that Donne accomplished these effects by

. . . enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives: here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practiced it; and a virtue so as to make it beloved, even by those that loved it not.⁷²

Godolphin sees Donne's success in causing men to amend their lives as lying in his ability to dissect completely the sinful heart of an individual:

Pious dissector: thy one houre did treat
The thousand mazes of the hearts deceit;
Thou didst pursue our lov'd and subtill sinne,
Through all the foldings wee had wrapt it in,
And in thine owne large minde finding the way

⁷⁰Quoted in Grierson, op. cit., p. 365.

⁷¹Quoted in ibid., p. 353.

⁷²Walton, op. cit., p. 49.

By which our selves we from our selves convey,
 Didst in us, narrow models, know the same
 Angles, though darker, in our meaner frame.⁷³

A good example of Donne's skill in probing into the heart of man occurs when he likens sin to a body:

Every man may find in himself, Peccatum complicatum, sinne wrapped in sinne, a body of sin. We bring Elements of our own; earth of Covetousness, water of unsteadfastnesse, ayre of putrefaction, and fire of licentiousnesse; and of these elements we make a body of sinne; as the Apostle says of the Naturall body, There are many members, but one body, so we may say of our sin, it hath a wanton eye, a griping hand, and itching ear, and insatiable heart, and feet swift to shed blood, and yet it is but One . . . So though they sinne, slightly examined, may seem but One, yet if thou dare presse it, it will confesse a plurality, a legion) if it be but one, yet if that One be made thine, by an habituall love to it, as the plague needs not the help of Consumption to kill thee, so neither does Adultery need the help of Murder to damn thee.⁷⁴

With this choice language, Donne could not fail to make his hearer aware of personal sins and realize their power over man.

Donne's admirers accepted his death as a great loss to the Church of England, as one finds Porter asking, for example:

⁷³Quoted in Grierson, op. cit., p. 363.

⁷⁴Potter and Simpson (eds.), op. cit., II, 88-89.

Now from the Pulpit to the peaples eares,
Whose speech shall send repentant sighes, and teares?⁷⁵

Moreover, Carrie saw in Donne's passing the loss of a flaming heart that made otherwise plain and drab Christian doctrines come alive for men and grip their hearts. Although the church would probably continue to have its doctrines, homilies, and lectures, it was important that it continue to have men of Donne's caliber:

'Tis a sad truth; The Pulpit may her plaine,
And sober Christian precepts still retaine,
Doctrines it may, and wholesome Uses frame,
Grave Homilies, and Lectures, But the flame
Of thy brave Soule, that shot such heat and light
As burnt our earth, and made our darknesse bright,
Committed holy Rapes upon our Will,
Did through the eye the melting heart distill;
And the deepe knowledge of darke truths so teach,
As sense might judge, what phansie could not teach;
Must be desir'd for ever. So the fire,
That fills with spirit and heat the Delphique quire,
Which kindled first by thy Promethean breath,
Glow'd here a while, lies quench't now in thy death.⁷⁶

Similarly, for Mayne, Donne's death was an irreplaceable loss:

More I could write, but let this crowne thine Urne,
Wee cannot hope the like, till thou returne.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Quoted in Grierson (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 359.

⁷⁶Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 346-347.

⁷⁷Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 353.

Also, Walton looked upon Donne's passing as a great loss to English theology because of his ability to use the language:

Is Donne, great Donne deceased? then England say
Thou' hast lost a man where language chose to stay
And shew it's gracefull power.⁷⁸

This kind of adulation may seem, at first, to have been drawn out of proportion, but one realizes that it is no exaggeration when he understands that sermons in the seventeenth century served the same purpose in communications as do newspapers today, and that many more people heard or studied sermons than witnessed, for example, plays.⁷⁹

Since Donne's one outstanding skill is manifest in his use of language to hold an audience, one turns to Donne's printed sermons to evaluate this method. One hundred and sixty of the sermons are extant, a small number to represent a career of sixteen years. It is safe to believe that Donne probably had preached many more, even though " . . . at St. Paul's he was required by statue to preach only on Christmas Day, Easter, and Whitsunday."⁸⁰ Although as Dean of St. Paul's he was required to preach only on special

⁷⁸Quoted in ibid., p. 344.

⁷⁹Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

⁸⁰Potter and Simpson (eds.), op. cit., IV, 4.

days and was subordinate to the Bishop of London, one suspects that a man of his ability was frequently in the pulpit.⁸¹ Hickey concludes that the printed sermons are " . . . fewer than a fifth of the total number preached by Donne."⁸² Walton records, "He usually preached once a week, if not oftener."⁸³ If these estimates are true, one assumes that approximately four-fifths of Donne's sermons are missing, representing an unfortunate loss. The reason for the small number of preserved sermons may be explained as follows: first, Donne failed to write out his sermons completely before their delivery; and, secondly, many were lost prior to publication--six were published in his lifetime and others were printed by his son (1640, 1649, and 1660/1).⁸⁴ Walton explains Donne's method of preparing sermons by noting that, after he had finished preaching a sermon,

. . . he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new Text, and that night cast his

⁸¹Ibid., IV, 4.

⁸²Hickey, op. cit., p. 39.

⁸³Walton, op. cit., p. 67.

⁸⁴John Sparrow, "John Donne and Contemporary Preachers," Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, XVI, 167-168.

Sermon into a form, and his Text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the Fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent⁸⁵

One cannot be certain, however, that Donne wrote out his sermons completely. Obviously, if he did so, it seems that Donne would not have waited until " . . . the next day . . . to consult the Fathers," after he had " . . . cast his Sermon into a form, and his Text into divisions." Moreover, there is evidence from Donne himself that he did not write out his sermons before he delivered them. In a letter to Sir Thomas Lucy, he explains that he is sending a sermon that the Lord Southhampton had returned to him, and then refers to another sermon, saying, " . . . for the other, I will pretermit no time to write it; though in good faith I have half forgot it."⁸⁶ Furthermore, in a letter written to Sir Thomas Roe, he expresses a desire to send him a sermon that he preached " . . . upon the Gunpowder Day . . . but that one, which by commandment I did write after the preaching, is as yet in his Majesty's hand"⁸⁷ What he writes to an unknown

⁸⁵Walton, op. cit., p. 67.

⁸⁶Gosse (ed.), op. cit., II, 150-151.

⁸⁷Ibid., II, 173-175.

person in the autumn of 1625, when the plague in London had forced him to retire for several months to the country, does not support the concept that in his sermon preparation he always wrote out his sermons, because he notes: "I have revised as many of my sermons as I had kept any note of, and I have written out a great many, and hope to do more. I am already come to the number of eighty" ⁸⁸

Evidently, Donne followed the practice of many of the seventeenth-century preachers who wished to achieve popularity in the pulpit, and did not read his sermons when he delivered them. ⁸⁹ Instead, he committed his sermons to memory. ⁹⁰ One thinks, therefore, that the published sermons may have differed in length from those which Donne delivered orally. Hickey concludes that the printed sermons show an increase by one hundred percent over the length of the ones preached, and that one cannot (at a normal speaking rate) read many of the published sermons in less than two hours and a quarter. ⁹¹ Umbach concludes that while the

⁸⁸Quoted in Sparrow, op. cit., p. 166.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 147.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 164.

⁹¹Hickey, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

written versions may not be exact, they are probably almost the same as the ones which Donne preached.⁹² One is inclined to agree with Umbach, because, Donne, in his sermon delivered at the dedication of the new chapel at Lincoln's Inn on Ascension day, 1623, indicates that an hour was long enough for a sermon:

Tis time to end. Saint Basill himselfe, as acceptable as hee was to his Auditory, in his second Sermon upon the 14. Psalme, takes knowledge that hee had preached an houre, and therefore broke off: I see it is a Compasse, that all Ages have thought sufficient.⁹³

Equally important is the testimony of one who heard Donne preach and is emphatic about his taking only one hour in which to deliver his sermon:

And never were we weari'd, till we saw
His houre (and but an houre) to end in draw.⁹⁴

Therefore, this Lincoln's Inn sermon may be a good measurement for the length of the rest of the printed sermons. Since it occupies no more than fourteen pages, one concludes that sermons that are approximately of this length were preached in about an hour. Since most of Donne's printed

⁹²Herbert H. Umbach, "The Rhetoric of Donne's Sermons," PMLA, LII (June, 1937), 356.

⁹³Potter and Simpson (eds.), op. cit., IV, 378.

⁹⁴Quoted in Grierson (ed.), op. cit., p. 356.

sermons occupy from fifteen to twenty pages--a few over twenty--one assumes that the majority of his printed texts are very nearly the length of the delivered ones. Undoubtedly, like all preachers, he exceeded his hour on many occasions. It is also possible that, when Donne revised and wrote out his sermons in 1625, he included additional material in some of his sermons. Obviously this expansion could have occurred, because he could not remember the sermon exactly as he preached it.

Whether Donne's printed sermons are replicas of his delivered sermons is not the most important consideration, here. However, that the images in the printed sermons were those used by him in his oral delivery is important. Undoubtedly, when he revised his sermons, he did not select images different from the ones he used in the sermons that he preached. Since his choice and use of metaphors, similes, and analogies make his sermons highly colorful, easy to listen to, and appealing to the senses, it is no wonder that those who eulogized him had praise for Donne's mastery of the language. It is possible that, after one had heard Donne say, for example, "How naked soever we came out of our mothers wombe, otherwise, thus we came all apparell'd,

apparell'd and invested in sin,"⁹⁵ he would be inclined to remember these words and apply them to his own conduct. Clearly, this effect is what Donne expected to achieve by his use of such images. Thus, he derives the majority of his images from common, everyday life, and they undoubtedly reflect his own background and experiences. The city of London, the place where Donne was born and bred, and where he achieved fame as a preacher " . . . provided [him] with most of his metaphors and similies."⁹⁶ In London, he attended law school. In London, was the King's Court, and London was a great trade center; therefore, " . . . the Guildhall, the Exchange, the Mint, and the Halls of such City Companies as the Goldsmiths, the Cutlers, the Drapers, the Brewers, the Bakers, [and] the Glaziers were all conspicuous."⁹⁷ Also, "London . . . [was] a great harbour for ships of all nations,"⁹⁸ and " . . . sailing ships of those days came often as far up the Thames as just below London

⁹⁵Potter and Simpson (eds.), op. cit., II, 101.

⁹⁶Ibid., IV, 7; 17.

⁹⁷Ibid., IV, 17-18.

⁹⁸Ibid., IV, 19.

Bridge, and their sailors were seen in all parts of the city"99 Since the river Thames was a vital thoroughfare, it was held in high esteem by Londoners.¹⁰⁰ London also possessed a number of gardens that added beauty to the city.¹⁰¹ However, on the debit side, London was a city with filthy gutters, emptying their sewage into the Thames; it was a city with narrow, muddy streets; it was an unhealthy city, and the mortality rate was higher than the birth rate because of plague epidemics that swept the city, two in Donne's own lifetime.¹⁰² An examination of the images listed in the Appendix shows that Donne borrowed frequently from his experience and background.

He entered Lincoln's Inn as a student of law on May 6, 1592, and left in December, 1595, but was never admitted to the bar.¹⁰³ About one year after his ordination, October 24, 1616, he was chosen by Lincoln's Inn to be Divinity Reader,

⁹⁹Ibid., IV, 7-8.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., IV, 8-9.

¹⁰¹Ibid., IV, 10.

¹⁰²Ibid., IV, 10-13.

¹⁰³Ibid., II, 1.

probably at the suggestion of Christopher Brooke, his roommate.¹⁰⁴ As would be expected, he uses legal images in his sermons composed during the time in which he served as Divinity Reader. He also employs these images in his sermons as much, or perhaps more, prior to and after he became Divinity Reader. Of course, he did not use legal terms that were known only to trained jurists; consequently, any member of his audience could probably understand the ones which he selected.

Shortly after leaving Lincoln's Inn, he gained first-hand sea experience. On June 1, 1596, when he was twenty-three, he sailed with the Earl of Essex on an expedition to complete the English conquest of the Spanish after the defeat of the Great Armada. They returned victoriously in the autumn of 1596.¹⁰⁵ Donne went to sea, again, with Essex on July 10, 1597; on this occasion, they sailed to the archipelago of the Azores to intercept Spanish plate-ships coming from India with treasure for Spain.¹⁰⁶ Soon after leaving port, they encountered a violent storm:

¹⁰⁴Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁵Gosse (ed.), op. cit., I, 45-47.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., I, 47.

The squadrons were shattered and some ships lost; Raleigh with the Bonaventure, put back to Plymouth, and Essex took refuge in Falmouth. It was from this port, in all probability, that Donne sent to London his poem . . . "The Storm."¹⁰⁷

This experience could not easily be forgotten. Hence, when he became a minister, he saw the troubles and sins of men in terms of a stormy sea, but he also warned mankind that a calm sea can be equally dangerous:

The Sea is as deepe, there is as much water in the Sea, in a Calme, as in a storme; we may be drowned in a calme and flattering fortune, in prosperity, as irrecoverably, as in a wrought Sea, in adversity¹⁰⁸

At the same time, Donne could state that there was a sea in which there were no shipwrecks, where one would be safe in spite of the storms he may encounter:

. . . and Christ Jesus remember us all in his Kingdome, to which, though we must sail through a sea, it is the sea of his blood, where no soul suffers shipwrack; though we must be blown with strange winds, with sighs and groans for our sins, yet is the Spirit of God that blows all this wind, and shall blow away all contrary winds of diffidence distrust in Gods mercy.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁸Potter and Simpson (eds.), op. cit., II, 306.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., II, 249.

As a matter of fact, Donne's favorite use of the sea is to liken it to the blood of Christ. By the means of this analogy, frequently, he will use the sea to illustrate God's mercy to sinful man. For example, he writes:

And herein is the mercy of God, in the merits of Christ, a Sea of mercie, that as the Sea retaines no impression of the Ships that passe in it (nor navies make not path in the Sea) so when we put out into the boundless Sea of the blood of Christ Jesus, by which onely wee have reconciliation to God, there remains no record against us; for God hath cancelled that record against us; for God hath cancelled that record which he kept, and that which Satan kept God hath nailed to the Crosse of his Son.¹¹⁰

Since England is an island and many of its people are seafaring, these sea images could not fail to register clearly in the hearts of Donne's listeners.

Equally important to the English was the Court. Because Donne had an intimate knowledge of it, he frequently used images from it; in fact, it is one of the main sources for his images. The relationship between man and God is often illustrated by Donne, by the use of a royal metaphor or simile. For example, Donne likens man's creation to the King's going forth in state preceded by those of lesser rank. Man was preceded in creation by light, firmament,

¹¹⁰Ibid., V, 318.

earth, sea, sun, and moon. All of this processional gave dignity to man's procession, but man disrupted the order through sinning:

God brought man into the world, as the King goes in state, Lords, and Earles, and persons of other ranks before him. So God sent out Light, and Firmament, and Earth, and Sea, and Sunne, and Moone, to give a dignity to mans procession; and onely Man himselfe disorders all, and that by displacing himself, by losing himself.¹¹¹

Therefore, man, in his sinful condition recognizes that

" . . . sin hath not onely a place, but a Palace, a Throne,

not onely a beeing, but a dominion, even in [his] best

actions" ¹¹² In spite of this dismal picture, Donne

asserts that all is not hopeless for man, because, "That

man who hath of Soul in Subjection to God, and in dominion

over his own body, that man is a King."¹¹³ Further, man

has an easy access to God in prayer. Undoubtedly, Donne

remembers his own experience in trying to gain access to the

King when he writes:

If any man have tasted at Court, what it is to be ever welcome to the King himselfe, and what it is to speake to another to speake for him

¹¹¹Ibid., IX, 373.

¹¹²Ibid., II, 100.

¹¹³Ibid., IV, 113.

he will blesse that happiness, of having an
 immediate accesse to God himselfe in his prayers
¹¹⁴

With God, Donne indicates that this is one king who causes no delays in gaining an audience. In addition to the dreary picture that sin presents to man, there is also the experience of death. When death comes, Donne describes it as the soul's being dethroned from its kingdom, because, ". . . . by death, the soule fals from that, for which it was infused, and poured into man at first, that is, to be the forme of that body, the King of that Kingdome" ¹¹⁵ However, Donne agrees that the king will be enthroned again at the resurrection, because, the resurrection is "the Coronation of man," ¹¹⁶ and "his Death, and lying downe in the grave, is his enthroning, his sitting downe in that chayre, where he is to receive that Crown." ¹¹⁷ Clearly, through the means of royal images, Donne could suggest the full cycle of man's life, from creation to resurrection. Therefore, London, its good and its bad, is used by Donne.

¹¹⁴Ibid., IX, 321.

¹¹⁵Ibid., VI, 75.

¹¹⁶Ibid., VI, 273.

¹¹⁷Loc. cit.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A CLASSIFICATION OF THE MAJOR IMAGES

IN DONNE'S SERMONS

There is no simple key, short of quoting images in their complete context, to an understanding of Donne's sermon imagery, hereafter classified. The following categories represent his metaphors, similies, and analogies along with their locations in the Potter and Simpson edition of the Sermons. This classification does not reveal, however, to what use Donne puts the images. If one knows the Bible and the major themes of theology, he may determine from the given classifications what the images will represent. However, one must understand that Donne may use these images to apply to any of the major themes of theology. Therefore, he does not use an image to refer to one thing, but to many things. For example, he uses the sea for the church, Christ's blood, adversity, prosperity, world, sinful man, ignorance, and Christ's mercy. Similarly, there are images appropriate for specific theological themes. For instance, one should know that medicinal images are compatible with sin, since theology likens sin to a sickness--sin is the disease and Christ is the cure; or, that the images of commerce and

coins are applicable to Christ's death because in Christian belief, a price had to be paid in order to redeem sinful man; or, that clouds and eclipses imply adversity. On the whole, the task is not so easy, since Donne does not restrict himself, but gives himself complete freedom in using images. He is only concerned with a desire to have the image complement the meaning of the passage that he is illustrating.¹¹⁸ Thus, the images illustrate Donne's wide range of knowledge and keen observation of every facet of life. There are approximately 5,000 uses of these images in the Sermons.

¹¹⁸Milton Allan Rugoff, Donne's Imagery, p. 13.

AGRICULTURE

Volume	Page	Line	Volume	Page	Line
FARMER			HARVEST		
IV	248	416	IV	282	633
VII	162	763	IV	326	78
FIELD			VI	257	582
IV	351	231	VIII	342	254
IX	51	159	X	213	6
X	225	450	HEDGE		
GARDEN - GARDNER			V	106	380
			IX	411	726
II	77	177	HUSBANDRY		
II	349	33	I	318	637
III	264	303	III	368	732
IV	51	219	IV	185	219
V	40	195	IV	227	633
V	248	115	V	347	333
VI	359	368	VII	117	842
GRAFTING			VII	338-9	503
III	300	293	VIII	212-3	757
VI	133	40	VIII	342	254
V	102-3	240	IX	63	582
VI	363	518	X	209	628
IX	319	106	LAND		
GROUND			II	249	481
IV	270	206	II	266	578
V	72	517	III	164	308
VIII	131	37	IV	322	691
VIII	216	886	PLOUGHING - PLANTING		
IX	395	158	I	241	185
HARVEST			I	193	305
III	150-1	614	II	180	1
			II	180	22

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PLOUGHING - PLANTING

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II	337	89
III	140	241
III	186	543
IV	106	640
V	66	313
V	319	44
VI	64	96
VII	93	719
VII	167	97
VIII	45	302
X	129	391
X	221	290

SEED

I	154	110
I	315	530
II	121	90
III	128	534
III	204	642
IV	106	640
IV	137	175
IV	185	230
IV	270	206
V	100	142
VI	192	211-12
VIII	70	263
IX	341	266
IX	378	271
X	193	25

SHEAVES - HAY - WHEAT

V	230	521
VII	80	249
VIII	80	623
IX	63	582
IX	211	829
IX	174	40

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SHEAVES - HAY - WHEAT

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X	144	138

SIFT

VI	361	466
IX	293	720
IX	388	648
X	247	637

THORNE

IV	211	54
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TRANSPLANTED

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V	70	457
V	171	115
V	240	344
VII	113	704
IX	183	373

VEGETATION

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III	85	450
IV	62	613
IX	174-80	40-252

VINES - VINEYARD

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VI	209-10	169
VI	257	583
VII	302-3	85

WEEDS

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IV	159	175
IX	141	368

ANATOMY

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I	227-8	161	VII	289	368
I	273	188	VII	322	808
II	88-9	615	VIII	97	80
II	159	548	VIII	177	103
II	211	522	VIII	177	126
II	211	531	VIII	178	140
II	215	86	VIII	246	327
II	255	193	VIII	286	609
III	105-6	534	VIII	291	779
III	109	668	IX	331	673
III	166	378	IX	401	357
III	235-6	386	X	104	49
III	239	521	X	112	329
III	247	228	X	113	386
III	267	422	X	177	678
III	268	467			
III	376	1		BLIND	
IV	160	557			
IV	218-23	300-478	VIII	119	339
IV	282	615	IX	148	634
IV	300	618	X	206	527
IV	302	694			
V	203	184		BONES	
V	270	76			
V	353	544	IV	363	
VI	99	153	V	353	544
VI	101	220	VII	210-11	761
VI	128	524	VIII	195	94
VI	129	550	IX	292	655
VI	292	1	IX	295	771
VI	319	288			
VI	325	524		BOSOM	
VII	70	693			
VII	105	419	III	196	327
VII	204	506	III	263	275
VII	210-11	761	III	265	335

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BOSOM

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V	221	167
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VI	363	506
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VIII	367	459
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DREAM

III	341	343
V	364	20
VI	61	819
VI	109	538
VI	220	556
VI	317	233
X	220	254

EARS

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II	248	477
II	316	184
IV	91	76
IV	240	131
VI	47	298
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EMBRACE

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VII	114	765
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EYE

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EYE

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IV	150	176
IV	211	52
IV	240	130
IV	247	386
IV	258	775
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VII	158	649
VII	204	514
VIII	204	441
VIII	221	70
VIII	343	285
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IX	366	604
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FACE

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IV	129-30	1499
IV	341	617
VI	57	660
VI	57	679
VI	58	688
VII	344	694
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VIII	266	483

FEET

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V	175	251-65
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V	180	442
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	GIANT	
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	HAND	
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III	151-52	652
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IV	183	153
IV	337	473
VI	265	110
VII	239	72
VII	370	1
VII	375	184
VIII	52	565
VIII	177	126
VIII	343	285
IX	217	150
IX	220	254
IX	261	396
IX	292	665
IX	312	600
IX	356	233
IX	408	623
X	164	193

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V	369	197
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I	192	332
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VI	99	155
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SLEEP

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V	282	512
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VI	243	81
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VIII	190	608
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X	155	558
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