THE IDEA OF THE HEART

IN LATE RENAISSANCE ENGLISH THOUGHT AND

GEORGE HERBERT'S THE TEMPLE

A Thesis

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by

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Approved by

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To My Mother and Father and to the Followers of The Way
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Preface

The conception and function of the heart in George Herbert's masterwork of English poetry, The Temple, bears investigation for two reasons: first, Herbert's use of the word "heart" 141 times and his association of complex imagery with the heart, all within a body of 164 poems, indicate his serious interest in the matter; and second, this frequency of emphasis should alert the reader to the fact that the heart is a main theme. An examination of both the word "heart" and the seventeenth-century concept of the heart is essential if we are to understand Herbert's poetry.

Our modern understanding of "heart" is clearly different from Herbert's to the extent that we perceive the word as meaning a physical organ or as a metaphor for the center of our emotions. Herbert's idea of what the word meant was a product of the world of a scholar, poet, and clergyman whose literary career flourished between 1625 and 1633. Three backgrounds in that world from which Herbert's poetry emerged were early seventeenth-century physiological/psychological concepts of the heart, the use of the term in the King James version of the Bible (1611), and its use in Elizabethan and Jacobean popular preaching. By judiciously appropriating or rejecting elements of these backgrounds,
Herbert constructed an idea of the heart which embraces more than our sentimental or biological concept of it.

Even those critics aware of the wide range of physical, emotional, moral, and religious possibilities in the seventeenth-century concept of the heart may do Herbert injustice in passing lightly over the term. Helen Vendler, for example, in considering Herbert's exhortation, in *A Priest to the Temple* or, *The Country Parson*, to holiness in preaching "by dipping, and seasoning all our words and sentences in our hearts, before they come into our mouths . . . so that the auditors may plainly perceive that every word is hart-deep," makes the following observation: "Intellectuality alone was of no interest to Herbert: rather ... he thought it positively dangerous insofar as it was likely to distract from feeling."¹ Vendler equates the heart with feeling, and although that meaning exists in *The Temple*, there is a religious or spiritual significance of "hart-deep" that she overlooks. Mary Ellen Rickey, in *Utmost Art*, more nearly approaches recognition of the spiritual qualities of the heart which Herbert emphasized when she asserts the following:

The most important element of all, however, was purity of heart. And it is this very luminosity of spirit which has done Herbert much disservice in our time, for . . . many modern readers insist, as seventeenth-century men did not, upon
innocence as a prerequisite of intense piety.²

Rickey's observation on innocence is correct, but her term "luminosity of spirit" is an insufficient explanation of Herbert's concept of purity of heart. Rickey's phrase merely centers qualities of the heart within man, rather than drawing God into the world of man, as Herbert's idea of the heart certainly did.

In order to visualize the larger picture of the heart which Herbert's emphasis on it demands, it is necessary to turn to the seventeenth-century physiological/psychological view of the heart, the use of the term in the King James Bible, and its use in preaching contemporary with Herbert. The method of my investigation will be to examine these backgrounds and then, in the context of insights arising from that study, to demonstrate Herbert's design for the conception, tone, and function of the heart in The Temple.
I. "The Prince of All Their Parts"

The physical heart in the seventeenth century was considered by medical and moral thinkers to be not only the center of the human body, but also the psychological hub of the individual. Anatomists since Galen easily observed the heart's location in the middle of the breast, but they leaped from the physical to the psychological realm when attempting to account for the heart's function in the body. Jerome of Brunswick wrote in The Noble Experience of the Virtuous Handywork of Surgery (1525) that "the heart is an instrument of all powers and might of the body and a full common bond or fastener of the soul."\(^3\) Vesalius, in Anatomy and the Art of Medicine (1543), described the heart as "the fomes [\text{i.e.}, tinder] of the vital faculty."\(^4\)

Because the heart, by means of heating the blood and infusing it with spirits, linked the body to the soul, its function was glorified. Not even as rigorous an observer of physical reality as William Harvey, whose discovery of the circulation of the blood revolutionized medical science, could avoid imparting ontological significance to the heart. In Exercitatio de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus (1628), he wrote the following: "The Heart of all creatures is the foundation of their life, the Prince of all their
parts, the sun of their microcosm, that on which all
growth depends and from whence all strength and vigour
flows." In the early part of the seventeenth century,
empirical medical findings about the heart were subordinated
to the belief that it held the most essential position in
the hierarchy of man's parts. Without the heart, no other
part could function.

Belief in the primacy of the heart had been a main-
stay of secular physiology/psychology since Aristotle. The reasons for the high value placed upon the heart had
first to do with its supposed function of causing spiritous
blood to flow from it to the rest of the body. Spirits,
thought by some to be air and by others to be vaporous
distillations, resided in the blood and were the agents
of the soul; they formed a kind of executive power whereby
the vegetative soul caused growth, the sensitive soul
caused movement, and the reasonable or rational soul
governed the will and understanding. Even the brain was
subordinated to the heart by virtue of the fact that its
task was to further distill vital spirits originating from
the heart into animal spirits, which caused understanding.
Robert Burton, in The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621-41),
summarizes the importance of the heart in man's psychologi-
cal processes:

And from it (i.e., blood) spirits are first be-
gotten in the heart, which afterwards by the
arteries are communicated to the other parts. . .

. . Spirit is a most subtle vapour, which is expressed from the blood, and the instrument of the soul, to perform all his actions. . . .

Melancthon holds the fountain of these spirits to be the heart, begotten there: and afterward conveyed to the brain, they take another nature to them. 9

The heart as first begetter of the spirits became the well-spring of man's character.

The general conviction that this "laboratory" of the spirits also had transforming power persisted from ancient times to beyond Harvey's age. 10 Galen, borrowing his analogy from furnaces and lamps, likened the heart to these, postulating a heating, smelting fire within the heart which processed nutrients and warmed the body. By means of this inner fire, raw nutrient material was transformed into vital force. The idea of the heart as a propulsive organ occurred to no one of Harvey's stature before his time. It took a physician of his powers of argument and experiment to force the hypothesis into public view and prove it visibly. Yet even Harvey retained the traditional belief that the heart contained innate heat, and he kept Galen's postulate of the existence of vital spirits to explain how food is converted into usable fuel by the human body. Thus, seventeenth-century scientists and laymen
alike continued to believe in a quickening alchemy, accompanied by heat, which occurred in the heart.

This transforming and renewing power of the heart, in addition to its radiation of vital forces to all parts of the body, caused scientists to acknowledge the heart's principality. Harvey, despite the pioneering nature of his discoveries about the movement of the blood, still allowed the heart its governing role because of the revitalizing changes it produced:

In the parts the blood becomes cold and coagulated and as it were enfeebled, whence it returns to its beginning, the heart, as to the fountain or inmost shrine of the body to recover its perfection. There again by natural heat, powerful and vehement, it is again made liquid and is dispensed again from thence through the body, fraught with spirits, as with balm, and these things depend upon the motion and pulsation of the heart.¹¹

For Harvey, the heart's circulatory function added to rather than upset the traditional idea of the heart's importance to the body.

Harvey notes that the heating and replenishing of the blood "depend upon the motion and pulsation of the heart," and we should recognize that the heart's constant beat
also contributed to the belief in its supremacy. Before Harvey proved conclusively that the veins and arteries contained nothing but blood, air was thought to pass through the pores of the skin into the blood vessels with the heart's systole, linking the pulse with respiration as well as with the transfer of heat and spirits to the blood.  

Thus, whether the pulse was a respiratory function or, as Harvey ultimately proved, actually propelled the blood through the vessels, it was recognized and analyzed by medical theorists. Although the seventeenth-century person perceived the heart quite differently from the way we do, he understood well that the heart's industrious and constant motion sustained the life of the body.

Psychologists, or moralists, and philosophers as well as physicians thought the heart to be the most important of the organs, for Aristotle had established the heart's primacy to both the body and the soul. Those who were confident of Aristotle and did not concern themselves with the question of how a material organ could feel the powers of an immaterial soul believed that the heart was the seat of the passions. Nicholas Coeffeteau (1574-1623), a moralist whose work appeared in English in 1621 through the efforts of Edward Grimeston, his translator, took pains to assert that the passions (love, hatred, desire, flight, pleasure, pain, fear, courage, hope, despair, and choler—as Coeffeteau listed them) dwelt no place but in the heart:
"Some have not beleued, that it was so of other passions [than fear], but have appointed them their seats elsewhere. . . . But notwithstanding this, it is most certaine, that both the powers of the sensitive appetite . . . reside in the heart."¹³ However firm Coeffeteau may have been about the passions residing in the heart, other powers of the soul were obviously needed to help explain the relationship between mind and body and make his psychological system fit neatly together. In Coeffeteau's design, the sensitive soul governed the passions, and the power of the sensitive soul called the sensitive appetite (corresponding roughly to the modern idea of instinct) moved the heart. The heart, feeling the effect of this movement, altered the motion and appearance of the whole body.¹⁴

Coeffeteau points out a quality of the heart which was further responsible for the seventeenth century's admiration of it: the heart was the bond of the individual's harmony. In a facile explanation at which Harvey would have blanched, Coeffeteau connects the motion of the heart to the feelings:

So as the sensitive appetite, comming to play her part, shee doth stirre up the moving faculty of the heart, the which dilates itself or shrinke[s] vp, according to the nature of the obiects which haue made impression vpon the sensitiue appetite,
whence grow all the alterations which are made in the body of man.

Coeffetane further explains that the perpetual expansion and contraction of the heart is motion that agrees with nature's "measure and proportion," but "if it once come to break this law, and shew itselfe more violent, or more slow, then the nature of the creature requires, then the naturall harmony is broken."^{15} This type of moral philosophy for everyman was made popular and available by the zeal of men like Grimeston. There were, therefore, a substantial number of seventeenth-century readers who shared the idea that all the natural feelings of sorrow, joy, anger, pity, and a host of other emotions they experienced were dictated by the action of the heart.

Because the heart was considered the source of vital spirits, natural heat, the motions of the passions, and bodily harmony, its care and healing became essential in medicine and psychology. (Psychology, in the seventeenth century, would have been called moral philosophy.) The responsibility for treating physical ailments of the heart fell to medical science, whose practitioners used myriad prescriptions and processes in their efforts. These treatments were set forth authoritatively by Francis Bacon, who, in his attempt to arrange and catalogue the scientific knowledge of his time, helped future ages to under-
stand many of the assumptions which underlay seventeenth-
century cardiac medicine.

Like Coeuffeau, Bacon postulated a balance or decorum
involving the heart whereby the body's harmony was main-
tained. For Bacon, the operation of the affections of
the mind upon the spirits was transmitted in effect by the
operation of the spirits upon the heart. "Over-vehement"
affections injured both heart and spirits--excessive passion
of any kind disturbed the body's harmony. Bacon further
indicated that there were two kinds of passions, harmful
and beneficial. (Presumably the beneficial became harmful
when indulged to excess.) Both these kinds of affections
were regisitered in the spirits and, by transference, in
the heart.

Bacon's comment in Novum Organum on the medicines he
lists for the comfort of the heart that "Many of those
things which have been formerly spoke, touching the spirits,
may be transferred hither," shows that he thought of the
heart in much the same way as Jerome of Brunswick, who
described it as "bond or fastener of the soul." Concerning
the heart's psychological centrality, Bacon in Novum Organum
further maintains, "Of the affections . . . we add only
this, that every noble, and resolute, and (as they call it)
heroical desire, strengtheneth and enlargeth the powers of
the heart."17 That Bacon would include proper control of
the feelings among the physical remedies listed in Novum
Organum, such as orange-flower water and bezoar-stone, shows that he approached the "prince of all parts" as both a psychological and physical entity.

Clearly the interconnection between emotional and physical disorders was centered in the heart, i.e., if something was physically wrong with the heart, emotional therapy was as important as physical medicine to the cure. Behind this notion lay a synecdoche which appeared often in literary and moral works in the seventeenth century: to heal the heart was to heal the whole person. Bacon's contribution to medicine consisted simply of cataloguing evidence for making the synecdoche and using the analogy of part to whole as a diagnostic principle.

Nowhere in Bacon is there information showing that he put any stock in or even noticed Harvey's discoveries concerning the heart's movement and circulation of the blood, although Harvey was Bacon's personal physician. In this inattention to the latest developments of science, Bacon sacrificed focused scholarship to the cause of achieving range and scope. The theory and systematization of knowledge, rather than exhaustive research in a narrow field, consumed his thought.

To summarize thus far, we can say that in the early seventeenth century, the heart was valued as chief among the parts because of the sustenance it gave to all the body and because of its power to transform depleted blood into
useful blood. Natural heat, nutrition, and vital spirits were carried from or through the heart, and by means of the vital spirits, which received the motions of the sensitive soul, the heart exercised its psychological influence. Psychologically, or morally, as the seventeenth century understood the term, the heart was described as the seat of the passions, or elemental feelings, which arose from instinct. Paradoxically, the heart not only harbored these passions (also called the affections), but also felt their effects. Because so much depended upon the heart, the scientific community of the time regarded the heart in living things as, in Harvey's words, "the Prince of all their parts."

The question of how the heart could house and at the same time be subject to the effects of the passions provides a comment on the influence of the heart's position in seventeenth-century religious and philosophical thought. Though the heart was the "bond" of the soul because it made the vital spirits, it was not the soul itself or the dwelling of the soul. When Coeffeteau said that the heart was the seat of the passions, he meant that there is where the passions most rule.¹⁹ Because the church had bequeathed to science the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the soul could be considered separate from the body; thus it was legitimate for moralists to speak of the effects of passions, powers of the soul, or affections of the mind
upon the heart without detracting from the heart's value as chief among the organs. The heart was the closest thing to the soul but distinctly bound to the body.  

Perhaps it was the force of Aristotelian tradition, in which the correspondence was made between the heart and the powers of the soul, that caused the reverence accorded the heart in seventeenth-century thought. Today, when we view the heart in a scientific framework, we are used to thinking of the heart's function as solely mechanical, and we find little compulsion to draw an analogy between the heart and any immaterial energy or influence. In the seventeenth century, however, the bodily operations had not been observed in such minute detail as we are able to see with the aid of modern equipment and centuries of medical experience since the 1600's. What the seventeenth-century analyst could not observe formed the starting point for speculation and theory, and the Aristotelian analogy supplied that theory. Since the heart manufactured the spirits that gave life to the body and prompted the instincts which preserved life, it was only logical to suppose that man's life and basic character began and ended with the heart.
Notes


6 Harvey, pp. 76 and 77n.


8 Edward Grimeston, trans., A Table of Humane Passions


10 Harvey, p. 12.

11 Harvey, p. 76.

12 Harvey, p. 11.


14 Coeffeteau, p. 15. See also Harvey, p. 112n.


17 Bacon, III, 503.

19 Coeffeteau, pp. 20-21: "This power of the soule, be it the irascible or the concupiscible, hath its seat and mansion in the heart: the which cannot be denied in the subiect of feare, for that such as are transported therwith call back the blood and heate vnto the heart, as to the place where feare doth exercise her tyranny."

20 Philosophers of the Renaissance and long afterward debated whether the soul needed a material body to function. Pomponazzi (1462-1524) in Cassirer, et al., pp. 280-381, includes in his treatise an interesting analogy between the parts of the body and the nature of the soul (pp. 351-52) in which he affirms Aristotle's belief in the supremacy of the heart.
II. "The Lord Looketh on the Heart"

If we trace the state of the Psalmist's heart through the Psalms, we find a changing, seeking thing, alternately whole and broken, consoled and forsaken, uplifted and abased. In Psalm 25:17, for example, the Psalmist says, "The troubles of my heart are enlarged." In Psalm 27:8 he says, "My heart said unto thee, Thy face, Lord, will I seek." In Psalm 28:7 he finds a resolution: "My heart trusted in him, and I am helped: Therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth." The fluctuating state of the heart in Psalms obviously does not depend upon the motion of the soul or upon some external influence or feeling; the condition of the heart, rather, depends upon the speaker's relationship with God.

We find in addition that the biblical portrait of the heart is painted almost exclusively in terms of subjective experience. A concrete anatomical organ could be construed in Psalm 104:15, II Samuel 18:14, and II Kings 9:24, but usages that follow these patterns are very few and mean in a broad sense central or vital organs, not the heart muscle.¹

The New Bible Dictionary catalogues the various meanings of "heart" in the Old Testament and supplements this
list with H. Wheeler Robinson's definition: "Heart," according to Robinson, means the personality, character, or inner life in general and denotes emotional states of consciousness, intellectual activities, and volition or purpose. This definition shows the moral and emotional dimension of man's life that is involved in a relationship with God, but nowhere mentions the spiritual life. Unger's Bible Dictionary recognizes the spiritual aspect of the idea of the heart by calling the heart "the center of the rational-spiritual nature of man." Because "spiritual nature" can be understood to encompass many of man's lesser qualities, including emotional and rational, let us suggest simply that the heart of a person in Scripture is the seat of the spiritual life. Certainly the seventeenth-century medical/psychological idea of the heart moves toward this definition in one sense—that the secular concept tries to describe the mechanics of the bond between the heart and the Aristotelian soul—but the Scriptures, especially Job and Psalms, related the character of the heart to a personal God. Furthermore, the biblical writers did not classify mental powers as Greek philosophy did. Therefore, they offered no fixed opinion of the heart as the highest and noblest of the body's members, but instead determined the heart's value by its conformity to God's ethical and moral principles.

The idea of the heart in the Bible is eloquently
summarized by the seventeenth-century English preacher and poet, John Donne. In the following passage, Donne captures three qualities of the idea which have appealed to Bible readers and interpreters for centuries: the heart's dual nature, its conditional value, and its dramatic potential:

O God . . . I can gather out of thy Word so good testimony of the hearts of men, as to find single hearts, docile and apprehensive hearts, hearts that can, hearts that have learnt; wise hearts, in one place, and in another, in a great degree, wise, perfect hearts; straight hearts, no perverseness without, and clean hearts, no foulness within. Such hearts I can find in thy Word; and if my heart were such a heart, I would give thee my heart. But I find stony hearts too, and I have made mine such. I find hearts that are snares, and I have conversed with such; hearts that burn like ovens, and the fuel of lust and envy and ambition hath inflamed mine; hearts in which their masters trust, and "he that trusteth in his own heart, is a fool. . . ." I have found these hearts, and a worse heart than these, a heart into which the Devil himself is entered, Judas heart.
This passage from *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* qualifies as biblical commentary; Donne had obviously used a concordance or done his own lexical work, found a variety of scriptures on the heart, and interpreted his findings. His expostulation represents a type of literal interpretation which, because of the Reformation's break with patristic and medieval allegorical exegesis, was well-established in the seventeenth century.⁵

Donne has perceived here the fundamental duality of the scriptural heart. He implies simply that in relation to God's moral and ethical standards, the heart can be of two natures: good or evil. Donne takes up another argument in his devotion to explain what we will term the conditional value of the heart:

There is then a middle kind of hearts, not so perfect as to be given, but that the very giving mends them; not so desperate as not to be accepted, but that the very accepting dignifies them. This is a melting heart, and a troubled heart, and a wounded heart, and a broken heart, and a contrite heart; and by the powerful working of thy piercing Spirit, such a heart I have. Thy Samuel spake unto all the house of thy Israel, and said, "If you return unto the Lord with all your hearts, prepare you hearts unto the Lord."⁶
The heart, in other words, has no value to God unless His "accepting dignifies" it. To be accepted, the heart must meet certain conditions. This conditional value of the heart gives it no position in any hierarchy unless, by transformation, it becomes valuable. Donne has also begun to exploit the dramatic potential of the heart—a quality of the idea found especially in Job and Psalms—where the heart responds to the promptings of man's mind and of the spirit of God within a person who believes. In Donne's devotion, the troubled, wounded, contrite heart is capable of dramatic interaction with its possessor and with God.

One of the greatest expressions of the duality of the heart in the Bible is embodied in the image of the hard or stony heart set against the tender heart or "heart of flesh." Hardness of heart is used to indicate a general stubbornness against God—a motif which holds throughout Old and New Testaments. Opposed to the hard heart is the tender or believing heart. The image of the stony heart particularly caught the attention of seventeenth-century preachers and poets, perhaps because the symbolism and typology of the stone or rock could be read directly in the pages of Scripture; this "stony heart" analogy had not been fabricated solely in the minds of ex post facto interpreters (i.e., allegorical expositors who found a spiritual level of meaning in every text—a method dating from Alexandrian Christianity of the second century A.D.).
The best known Old Testament occurrence of the image is in Ezekiel 36:26: "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh." While one cannot be sure what scripture is referred to unless the specific book is named by the interpreter, no less an exegete than Paul made use of this image in combination with another Old Testament image when he wrote the following: "Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the Living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart" (2 Cor. 3:3). One instance of the companion image, that of the law being written by God in the heart, is provided by Jeremiah 31:33: "After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts." The two images weave together to form a pattern of meaning; the heart that was once stone, God will make flesh, and the heart that was once stubborn, God will make receptive by engraving within it His law. The underlying idea of this pattern concerns the duality of the heart, for if God saw fit to intervene and transform the heart, it must have had potential to turn to either evil or good.

Although the phrase "hardness of heart" had become a commonplace in the seventeenth century, as it has remained today, the biblical duality of the heart had clear devo-
tional meaning for the Christians of the time. Consider Francis Bacon's "Prayer":

Inflame our hearts with thy love, cast forth of them what displeaseth thee, all infidelity, hardness of heart, profaneness ... and whatsoever advanceth itself in opposition to thy holy will. And grant that ... we may be enabled to lead a godly, holy, sober, and Christian life, in true sincerity and uprightness of heart before thee.  

Bacon, as well as the scriptures, placed hardness of heart in general opposition to God's will. He prayed that God would turn his heart toward compliance.

Divine power to transform the heart from old to new or from sensual to spiritual coexists in the Bible with man's free will, and there is a clear implication in Scripture that man is master of his own heart in important ways. Jesus' "first and great commandment" in the Gospels is recorded in Matthew 22:37: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." The Gospels also record Jesus' judgment that "This people draweth nigh unto me with their lips; but their heart is far from me" (Matthew 15:8, quoting Isaiah 29:13). This identification of the heart with the impulses both to worship and to turn away from God explains the emphasis on the heart in much seventeenth-century devotional prose and
poetry. It was a short associative leap, for example, from the words of the first and great commandment to a thought such as St. Francis de Sales' in _Introduction to the Devout Life_ (1609):

> Turning myself toward my most gracious and merciful God, I desire, purpose, determine, and am irrevocably resolved to serve and love Him now and forever. To this end I give and consecrate to Him my spirit with all its faculties, my soul with all its powers, my heart with all its affections, and my body with all its senses._\(^\text{10}\)_

The intellectual function of the heart, as well as the impulse within it to worship, is dual; in biblical terms, a person can possess a foolish heart, which lacks wisdom and understanding, or possess a wise heart, which contains both. In the Old Testament, Proverbs most reflects this rational, intellectual heart which perceives the knowledge of God. The hearts of the wise and of fools are contrasted throughout the book (e.g., Proverbs 10:8 and 14:33); and although much of this dichotomy between wisdom and foolishness can be interpreted as practical advice, it is evident that religious thinkers of the seventeenth century believed that God addressed the aphorisms to man as spiritual counsel as well as that Solomon addressed them to his son as secular wisdom. Certainly Donne's and others' sermons were
based on that assumption. In Proverbs, then, the heart was seen as the receptive center for comprehending the words of teaching and preaching. This quality of assimilating godly knowledge in the heart gave religious thinkers license to associate wisdom or foolishness with belief or unbelief.

Plainly, the heart can be divided between its two natures, and just as plainly, a single, godly heart is desirable to God. The Psalmist requested of God in Psalm 86:11, "Unite my heart to fear thy name." The heart is not only to be one in worship, as "fear thy name" implies, but in ethics. Psalm 12:2 says of the unfaithful, "With flattering lips and with a double heart do they speak." This duplicity is a behavioral manifestation of disregard for God and man. In fact, any division of the heart has negative connotations in the Bible because, as in the case of worship, a divided heart indicates divided loyalty. Hosea 10:2, for example, says of the Children of Israel who worshipped images, "Their heart is divided; now shall they be found faulty." By contrast, uses of the phrase "singleness of heart" in Acts, Ephesians, and Colossians illustrate the undivided allegiance of a community or individual.11

In Old Testament terms, this divided heart of man can be accepted by God and given value under certain conditions, in the same way an offering is accepted or not accepted. The image of the heart as offering seems to have caught
many seventeenth-century imaginations; Donne and Henry Smith preached fervently on Proverbs 23:26: "My son, give me thine heart." Seventeenth-century meditations, both Catholic and Protestant, reflect the principle of Psalm 51:17: "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

If the heart is to be a sacrifice to God, it must be pure, and purity of heart is a standard biblical theme. Psalm 24:3-5 gives the first usage of the phrase "pure heart" in the Old Testament, and this passage establishes a pattern of biblical meaning: the man who has "clean hands and a pure heart" will stand in the Lord's holy place, receive the blessing from the Lord, and receive God's righteousness. The benefits of a pure heart, especially the access to God it provides, are thematically connected between Old Testament and New Testament through several scriptures. Jesus says in Matthew 5:8, "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." Right behavior is linked in 2 Timothy 2:22 with "them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart." The reader is led in James 4:8 to the same conclusion as in Psalm 24 above, though by a different rhetoric: "Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you. Cleanse your hands, ye sinners, and purify your hearts, ye double-minded." The pure heart, biblically, was the heart which could approach closest to God.

Purification of the heart was a process analogous to
the ritual purification of the external person in the Old Testament. When the biblical writers exhorted to pureness of heart, they were placing emphasis on the spiritual man, the one whose internal self yearned toward God. In the Old Testament, the idea appears that the true purpose of the Mosaic law was to symbolize and at the same time demonstrate an inner belief. Deuteronomy 5:29 exclaims, "O that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always!" Beginning with the Gospels, this inner belief becomes a given--once the law is removed, right conduct from the heart is expected without the necessity for detailed codes.

Seventeenth-century Christians saw an analogy between the purification process in the Old Testament law and the pureness of heart commanded for the New Testament age; they felt the cleansing of their own hearts to be required procedure. The devotions of St. Francis de Sales provide a good example: "To cure ourselves of our vices it may be good to mortify the flesh, yet it is still more necessary to purify our affections and cleanse our hearts."\(^{14}\) Despite adamant efforts by Luther, Tyndale, and other reformers to promulgate justification by faith alone, the meditative effort to purify and somehow lift the heart to the end of acceptance by God continued in devotional writing, both Catholic and Protestant.

This focus on the need to transform the heart gave
religion a means of communicating process and tension—perhaps a return to the medieval allegory of the Christ Knight—on an inner, spiritual level. The struggles of the heart against the world, the flesh, and the Devil made good drama, especially when there was ample Scripture to use as illustration. As David and Job held intense colloquies with God, so did many seventeenth-century Christians at devotions. The changing, broadly depicted biblical heart is readily adaptable to expressing inner conflict, and clergyman-poets like Donne, who revealed that heart to their own age, found a wide audience.

The foundation of this heart drama in the Bible is personification, first, of God and second, of the heart. To play his role in the drama, God has to be personified—there is no other way to express Him. Theologically, the actions of a God who is Spirit must be expressed to man who is flesh by the figure of speech anthropopatheia (in terms of "the ways of men"), and historically, the God of the Hebrews was a "personified"—a personal—one. In Job, this personified God is shown in lengthy interaction with an individual. The two places in Job where God is said to possess a heart attribute to Him both emotional benevolence and intellectual power—rational thought. Job 7:17 portrays his emotional aspect: "What is man that thou shouldest magnify him? and that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him?" Here, the heart is the center of God's love and con-
cern. Rationality is attributed to God through a heart image in Job 9:4: "He is wise in heart, and mighty in strength." God's heart is used in personification to make concrete something spiritual and abstract. If God could have a spiritual life, these usages would describe it. Since, however, He is being personified, the only possible meanings for "God's heart" must pertain to his relationship with man. God's heart shows His perspective toward man, and references to man's heart denote man's view toward God and other men. Drama begins to unfold as we understand the efforts of God and man to unite with each other. The motions of man's spiritual life toward God's emotions and intellect, and vice versa, become a dialogue between two characters offering scenes of conflict, friendship, confidence, doubt, and most human states in between.

The acts of this drama progress through Job and Psalms. We identify with the human heart as it seeks or submits to the proper relationship with God. Job's question in Job 7:17 above makes a plausible beginning for the dialogue. We can expect the state of Job's heart to alter in response to God as Job explores the reasons for God's concern, or apparent lack of concern, for man. Job's heart reacts to his endurance and sufferings in Job 23:16: "For God maketh my heart soft (i.e., weak, troubled), and the Almighty troubleth me." It is worth noting here that even though Job's spiritual life was strong, as the first verse
of the book explains (he was "perfect and upright, and one that feared God and eschewed evil"), the center of that life within him could be shaken to the roots. A dramatic tension arises when Job's sufferings are considered against the fact that God has set his heart on man. If one as upright and dear to God's heart as Job suffers so much that he wishes he had never been born, why does God allow it? The struggle of Job's heart to come to terms with this question provides a drama illustrating spiritual courage, endurance, dejection, and, ultimately, restoration.

After Job's heart has absorbed as many blows of disaster as it can, he maintains his integrity before God by defending his behavior, simultaneously identifying the heart as the root of sinful behavior: "If my step hath turned out of the way, and mine heart walked after mine eyes, and if any blot hath cleaved to mine hands; Then let me sow, and let another eat; yea, let my offspring be rooted out" (Job 31:7). Job claims that his heart has not gone astray because of his senses, but has stayed spiritually centered. It remains to understand how the drama will be resolved. God has allowed Job's heart to be crushed, yet Job rightly justifies his control and restraint of his heart.

Near the end of the matter, God asks Job a question which Job cannot answer: "Who hath given understanding to the heart?" (Job 38:36). The rhetorical question is designed to make Job realize that any wisdom or understand-
ing by which he could justify himself is given to him by God; God's wisdom and understanding regarding Job's heart, and regarding all the other things with which He challenges Job in Chapters 39-41, is greater than Job's understanding of his own heart. Part of Job's healing and restoration at the end of the book comes by understanding where his inner reasonings stand in relation to God's thoughts. Thus, the state of his heart parallels his spiritual development.

In Job, dramatic movement is begun; God is strongly personified, and, in a few places (Job 31:27 and 37:1), the heart is personified. In Psalms, however, the heart is frequently personified, making it emphatically a character, and the dramatic dialogue between the heart and God continues in a more detailed fashion.

There are many colloquies with God in Scripture, but Psalms is the book which presents this device most fully. Here, we often find the motions of the heart effectively described in terms of concrete, human characteristics. Even though expressions which are found abundantly in Psalms, such as "My heart is glad," "My heart shall not fear," "My heart said," and "My heart trusted," have become commonplaces, they nevertheless are personifications of the heart. The book of Psalms so often uses this type of personification that if we were to isolate the human traits by which the book describes the heart, we could create a
character. The Psalmist's heart plays this character consistently, and the state of his heart changes as dramatic progress occurs.

Psalm 13 provides an illustration of the drama in brief. Separation from God progresses to unity, and the unity is confirmed by a heart image. The Psalm begins, "How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord? for ever? how long wilt thou hide thy face from me?" (v. 1). The complaint continues in verse 2, bringing the heart into the dialogue: "How long shall I take counsel in my soul, having sorrow in my heart daily?" A petition to God follows to consider and hear. After the petition, the Psalm changes tone, signifying a resolution of the heart's crisis: "But I have trusted in thy mercy; my heart shall rejoice in thy salvation" (v. 5).

There is a simple three-part dramatic structure in the Psalm: problem or conflict, turning point, and resolution. A brief glance at the Psalms shows how the heart progresses through the stages in this structure and is made to express all the qualities of intellectual and emotional change along the way. In Psalm 38:10, the heart pants. In Psalm 39:3, it is hot within the person. In Psalm 40:2, it fails. In Psalm 44:18, it is not turned back, and in Psalm 45:1, it is inditing a good matter. Thus, for the biblical writer, the heart became a vehicle to express a person's relationship to God while it became the tenor of a con-
tinuing metaphor of personification. We need only look back at Donne's expostulation to see how the heart began to be described and defined in terms of human characteristics so that it could be placed in a dramatic context. The next step was to personify the heart so that it could speak and interact with God.

The use of "heart" in Psalms is so close to the thought of Catholic meditation and Protestant devotion published in the seventeenth century that in both substance and structure we may connect the two, and further, affirm that the dramatic quality with which the heart is related to God in the seventeenth-century exercises comes from the Scriptures, in which the minds of these Christian preachers and authors were steeped.16
Notes

1 J. D. Douglas, et al., eds., The New Bible Dictionary (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1962), s.v. "heart." See also Harper's Bible Dictionary, Madeleine S. Miller and J. Lane Miller, eds. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973), s.v. "heart." Harper's, searching apparently for modern connotations in I Samuel 4:18, maintains that Eli suffered a heart attack. I think it more probable that he died of the broken neck plainly mentioned in the text rather than a cardiac condition, which may be implied by "for he was an old man, and heavy." Harper's reading is untenable because it ignores the hundreds of uses of "heart" whose contexts indicate that the Scriptures were little concerned with the cardiac medicine of the times.

2 Merrill F. Unger, Unger's Bible Dictionary (Chicago: Moody Press, 1960), s.v. "heart" (2).

3 Colin Brown, ed., The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976), II, s.v. "heart." Note especially OT 2. (c) and 5. (b), and NT 1. (a) and (b). The discussion of the heart here depicts the thing as the seat of the spiritual life, in both Old and New Testaments, in exactly
the sense in which I mean "seat of the spiritual life."
The seventeenth-century clergy, as do many clergy today,
translated the biblical patterns of usage into a practical
theological concept. Note also NBD's remarks on the bibli-
cal value of the heart:

"As a broad general statement, it is true that the
Bible places the psychological focus one step lower in the
anatomy than most popular modern speech, which uses 'mind'
for consciousness, thought, and will, and 'heart' for
emotions. . . . And the Bible does not distinguish the
rational or mental processes in the way that Gk. philosophy
does."

4 John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, 11,

5 Basil Willey, *The Seventeenth Century Background*

6 Donne in Hebel, et al., p. 639.

7 See Matthew 19:8; Romans 2:5; Hebrews 3:8, 15.

8 The biblical type of the tables of stone on which
the Ten Commandments were written has its New Testament
correspondent in the "tables of the heart." Other types
involving rocks and stones were the rock that Moses smote
in Numbers 20:7-13, confirmed in the New Testament by I Cor-
inthians 10:4, and Christ as the "stumbling stone" of
Israel, later to become the foundation of the Church
(Psalm 118:22, Romans 9:33, and Ephesians 2:20). God was
also the "rock of salvation" (Psalm 42:9), and the stones of the altar built during the Exodus were also significant (Deuteronomy 27:2-6).

9 Bacon, II, 406.


13 See especially, for the Catholic context, St. Francis de Sales, pp. 48, 53, and 69.

14 St. Francis de Sales, p. 183.

15 I do not presume in this essay to solve the problem of the literary unity of the book of Job. Theologically, its unity is demonstrable through an understanding of the permissive will of God, the monotheistic Hebrew concept of the spiritual realm, and the law of believing faith. Both those principles and the literary question of the "blasphemous" passages in Job require a much lengthier and more detailed discussion than I can give here. I assume it
is not difficult, however, to agree that there is a dramatic development centering upon the state of Job's heart throughout the book.

16 The Book of Common Prayer is a case in point.
III. The Heart of the Seventeenth-Century Pulpit

Heart imagery in Jacobean and late Elizabethan preaching was affected by the style of the preacher. Clergymen conformed their style to their religious background and to the type of audience they wished to reach, and the way in which they presented the idea of the heart differed according to their stylistic preferences. A discussion of style, then, becomes important to our understanding of the early seventeenth-century religious conception of the heart. Styles of pulpit oratory in the early seventeenth century ranged from the metaphysical or "witty" of Lancelot Andrewes to the direct, plain style of the Puritan preachers, among whom was Henry Smith (1560-1591). Andrewes clearly represented an extreme; his elocution was so filled with schemes, allusions, and tropes that his sermons are difficult to follow for a modern reader, and even in his own day, he was criticized for playing with the text. Nevertheless, the loyal portion of his audience, which was large, gave him the title Stella Praedictantium (The Star of Preachers). The noted poet and clergyman John Donne (1572-1631) also preached in the metaphysical style, but he achieved greater continuity than Andrewes. A comparison of passages from the two illustrates their similarities and
differences.

Andrewes' style hinged upon the witty "turn," used as a method of surprise to cement his points in the reader's mind:

He that was weake to suffer, became mighty to save. Of calcatus, he became Calcator. He that was thrown himselfe, threw them now another while, into the Presse, trode them downe, trampled upon them, as upon grapes in a fatt, till he made the blood spring out of them, and all to sprinkle His garments, as if he had come forth of a wine-presse indeed.¹

These turns, of which we see examples both in English and Latin above, are effected mainly through antithesis and wordplay: the weak to suffer becomes mighty to save, and calcatus ("the downtrodden" because Christ was trodden in the "winepress" of the crucifixion) becomes calcator ("he that treadeth in the winepress" from the Vulgate text of Isaiah 63:1-3). The antithesis is further illustrated by a figure from wrestling: "He that was thrown himselfe, threw them now another while." Perhaps the most surprising turn is the play on Latin words, although those used to Andrewes' style came to expect such locutions regularly. The witty, learned quality of this double exposition of Latin and English texts simultaneously is woven throughout
Andrewes' sermons. The figured nature of his prose is compounded by the fact that these turns are used here to summarize and emphasize the central analogy of the sermon--Christ as the savior, first humbled and crucified, then glorified and risen, compared to him "that commeth from Edom, with redd garments from Bozra" in the Old Testament text. Andrewes' wit also owes much to the compression of his antithetical turns into short sentences. His thought jumps back and forth frequently and tersely from one point of the antithesis to the other. The quick alternation, however, is coupled with a tenacious adherence to the scriptural text, from which word-by-word and phrase-by-phrase analysis is expanded into a carefully controlled series of turns and associations. More than a page in Andrewes' sermon is devoted to Christ's triumph over his enemies, his harrowing of hell, and his embodiment of the lamb slain and of the Lion of Judah. Andrewes concludes his passage with antithetical divisions of images linked to Christ; he speaks of two vines, the sweet and the wild, two presses, that of Jewry and that of Edom, two cups, one of blessing and one of cursing, and two fluids in the cups, blood and wine. To end this analysis, the passage closes, "And so much for Torcular_calcavi" (the first two words of Isaiah 63:3). Such exposition, by purposeful, frequent, and surprising turns of thought, earned Andrewes his reputation for wit.
Donne's metaphysical style draws wit from many of the same characteristics as Andrewes' does. Antithesis and wordplay are present in Donne's preaching, and Donne also frequently divided passages under headings based on variations in the form of an English or Latin phrase (see his cor nullum, cor duplex, and cor vagum below). Both Donne and Andrewes shared the technique of expounding Latin and English texts in integrated fashion and sometimes extended the exposition to Hebrew and Greek words. In addition, lengthy analogies often were the core themes of many sections of their preaching.

Donne's use of secular learning in his analogies seems to me more conspicuous than Andrewes' use of it. For example, Donne made the following specific and detailed reference to the Bezoar-stone (The OED defines Bezoar-stone as an antidote for poison made from calculi in the stomachs of ruminant animals):

When, as the world began in a community, that every thing was every bodies, but improved it selfe, to a propriety, and came to a Meum & Tuum, that every man knew his owne; so, that which is Salus Domini, the Salvation of the Lord, as it is in the first Decree, and that which is Salus Mundi, the Salvation of the World, as it is in the accomplishment of the Decree by Christ, may be
Mea & Tua, My salvation, and thy salvation, as it is applyed by the Holy Ghost, in the Ministry of the Church. Salvation in the Decree, is as the Bezar stone in the maw of that creature; there it growes. Salvation in Christs death, is as that Bezar in the Merchants, or Apothecaries provision; but salvation in the Church, in the distribution, and application thereof, by the Holy Ghost, is as that Bezar working in my veins, expelling my peccant humours, and rectifying my former defects. ²

Andrewes would probably not have expected his audience to be engaged by such a detailed comparison introduced from outside biblical or typological studies.

I have indulged in a lengthy quotation from Donne because other elements of his style are worth noting in the passage above. First, the sentences are smoother than Andrewes'. Their development and rhythm, as well as the movement of their ideas, is more direct than alternating. Andrewes' terseness and compression are absent, and there are no series of antitheses. Second, Donne was more willing than Andrewes to depart from his text and discuss general concepts from patristic and theological sources. (Later in the same sermon, Donne culls references from the Fathers on the theme of the Comforter in the same manner that
Andrewes might have used concordant Scripture references.) In sum, it is not the witty turn or frequent antithesis that create memorable impressions in Donne's sermons so much as it is the importation of striking images from the academic realms.

Compared to Donne's and Andrewes' preaching Henry Smith's is more direct and less learned than Donne's or Andrewes', although definitely not crude or simplistic. The Puritan strain of bold moral exhortation is unmistakable in Smith, as well as the absence of multilingual textual parsing, exhibitions of theological and secular scholarship, and close analysis by division. Nevertheless, Smith's imagery is rich and varied, and he is as ready with a simile or metaphor as Andrewes is with a play on words. In the following passage, Smith compares the heart to a young bride and follows swiftly with a simile drawn from an Old Testament narrative:

Therefore let all Sutors have their answere, that thy heart is married alreadie. As Isaac answered Esau, Iacob haue I blessed, and he shalbe blessed: So thou maist say, God hath my heart, and he shall haue it; and them that craue it hereafter, send them to Christ for it, for it is not thine to giue, if thou haue giuen it to God alreadie. But take heede thy heart do not lye to thyselfe, and say it is Gods when it is the worldes, like
Ieroboam's wife, which woulde not seeme to bee Ieroboam's Wife.  

Smith was an Elizabethan and exhibited the fullness and variety of thought for which his age was noted. He was not unlearned, as occasional references to the classics in his sermons show, yet his material seems intended for a less intellectual audience than Donne's or Andrewes'. In the passage above, and in others like it, he developed a concrete and familiar analogy between the heart and a well-known life situation, and he reminded his audience of an Old Testament narrative which he trusted they recognized rather than of a typological concept or an element of some specialized field of study.

Although degrees of wit and learning varied among the styles of both metaphysical and plain preachers, it should be evident from the quotations above that Donne, Andrewes, and Smith shared affection for and skill in analogical thinking. The type of analogy these clergymen used often depended on whether they were Anglo-Catholics, basing their perspective on patristic and classical, along with biblical, learning or were Puritans or low-church Anglicans; all of them, however, used analogy to reveal and explain the heart. Preachers joined their audiences in relating and comparing parts of their world. Thus, a good analogy had wide appeal. In our examination of various analogies involving
the heart, we will deal with tropes, symbols, and other types of similitude which clergymen assumed would be understood and appreciated by those who heard them.

The heart is a significant theme in early seventeenth-century English preaching. Each time a scriptural text mentioned "heart," the expositor took at least a short space to comment on the meaning of the word. This tendency is seen most in Donne and Andrewes, for their method of expounding a text followed the "learned" pattern of word-by-word analysis. Smith used a small amount of textual parsing in his sermons, but he more often expanded and moralized on a text in a topical manner. The significance of the heart in Smith is found primarily in his sermon "The Christians Sacrifice," one of the last preached to his congregation of St. Clement Danes in London (ca. 1590). His text was Proverbs 23:26: "My son, give me thine heart," and he introduced the sermon in the 1593 edition as "the summe of all my sermons." In it, he amplified the metaphor of the heart as our chief offering to God and called forth a prodigious variety of comparisons to bring his message home to his audience.

As a rhetorical technique for setting the heart against the foil of the surrounding text, Donne and Smith both used figures of repetition. Donne used "heart" as a cohesive word to unify his entire "Expostulation" on Devotion XI and used it in a schematic repetition for
oratorical emphasis (below, epizeuxis), as he does in the following:

God asks the heart, a single heart, an entire heart; for whilst it is so, God may have some hope of it. But when it is a heart and a heart, a heart for God, and a heart for Mammon, howsoever it may seem to be the odds will be on Mammons side against God. 7

Smith used similar patterns (below, anaphora and parallelism) to good effect: "The tongue without the heart is a flattering tongue, the eye without the heart is a wicked eye, the eare without the heart is a vaine eare, the hand without the heart is a false hand." 8

Perhaps the main reason for the emphasis upon the word "heart" among seventeenth-century clergymen is its frequent repetition in Scripture. In the Old Testament, the principal Hebrew word for "heart," לֶב, is so translated 851 times, and in the New Testament, the Greek καρδία is translated "heart" 159 times. For a seventeenth-century preacher who lacked a basic knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, "heart" would have appeared sixteen more times in English, translated from other Hebrew and Greek words than the two above—fifteen times from the Hebrew נֵפֶס and once from the Greek ψυχή. 9 A clergyman of the times, sharing the contemporary understanding that the Bible was unified throughout, would
have interpreted the fact of these 1,010 uses as a reason for pointed emphasis.

Clergymen were concerned with the heart not only because of its frequent use in the Bible, but because the Bible presents it as the seat of the spiritual life. Within the connotations of the spiritual life, however, lie a wide range of meanings for the word. There was little attempt by preachers to unify these meanings with a view toward making one comprehensive definition; instead, they made different statements about the heart in various passages in their sermons, seeking to impress upon their listeners the aspect or meaning of the heart they thought most applicable in the situation. Andrewes might treat the heart in one place as the seat of the affections and desires, in another as the moral conscience. Smith might say in one sermon that the heart is the temple of God, in another that it is a root of corruption. The principal function of heart imagery in the seventeenth-century sermon was, as of other imagery associated with human or divine nature, to press home devotional truth.

The fact that the heart admitted of so many meanings allowed preachers freedom of expression but served also to compound abstraction. Because the heart was already a religious and moral metaphor in the seventeenth century, using it in an analogy gave figurative meaning to something that already had figurative meaning. If Donne, for example,
said that the heart was an enclosed garden, he meant that inwardness or secrecy and lush delight characterized a part of the spiritual life—the figure had nothing to do with the physical organ but relied upon a religious metaphor most people understood because they had heard it before.

The definition of the heart, then, was quite flexible in the seventeenth-century religious mind, as it is today. In addition, the word and the concept "heart" lent themselves to profuse amplification and illustration. In the matter of definitions, Andrewes implied a meaning close to the medical/psychological view of the times—that the heart is the seat of the affections; "And so [Repentance] requir-eth not only an alteration of the mind, but of the will: a change not, of certain notions only in the head, but of the affections of the heart too. Else, it is vertigo capitis, but not conversio cordis."¹⁰ Donne elaborates upon the heart as the whole man and also as the conscience: "When God sayes, Puli da mihi Cor; My Son, give me thy heart, God means, the whole man," and "Now, if our owne heart, our owne conscience condemne us, this is shrewd evidence... for mine owne conscience, single is a thousand witnesses against me. ... But then, God is greater then the heart." Smith's sermons display the greatest variety of definitions of the heart for different purposes. Smith called it the "temple of God," "loue," and the "store-house" of man's treasure. The closest he came to implying a conventional
idea of the heart as embodying emotional or intellectual functions was when he asserted that it is the sum of man's parts, "wherein all is offered together, a wise tongue, a diligent hand, a warie foot, a watchfull eye, an attentive eare, an humble minde, an obedient flesh." Among the three preachers under discussion, Smith was the most given to stating the nature of the heart in simple metaphor.

Metaphor and other means of illustration by analogy became more complex as pulpit oratory passed from the Elizabethan years to the Jacobean period, which framed the metaphysical style. There is a group of images, based on the Bible and tradition, which was shared by preachers of all affinities--the heart as the consummate offering of man to God, the heart as a room or storehouse of spiritual and moral purposes, the heart as seat of the thoughts and understanding, the heart as the will and desires, and the heart as being stony or fleshly--and which was established in religious minds. When, however, preachers took the liberty to originate their own comparisons and relationships for the heart, distinctions emerged between learned, elaborate analogies and those aimed at simpler audiences.

Perhaps Donne's "A Lent-Sermon Preached to the King, at White-Hall, February 12, 1629" contains the best example of the learned method of expounding the heart. The text is Matthew 6:21: "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." Donne makes "Y" a symbol for the
sense of this text, the left branch being the treasures of this world and the right branch being the treasures laid up for the world to come. Then he compares the "stem of this Symbolicall Letter" to "That firmness and fixation of the Heart, which God requires." Donn uses the stem of the "Y" as an occasion to consider all aspects of cor fixum, the fixed heart, and in that meditation performs a concordant study of eleven scriptures which mention "heart," leading eventually back to his opening text at the end of the passage. In addition, he divides the meditation into three subsections: Cor nullum (no heart at all), Cor duplex (the double heart), and Cor vagum (the wandering heart). This division and analysis add to the objectivity and sophistication of the sermon, even though Donne speaks extensively in the first person in several of his examples.

The central analogy in the "stem of the 'Y'" section is one between the heart and the whole man. The analogy is capsulized in a metaphor ("The heart is the man") under the heading of Cor fixum and expanded through Cor nullum, Cor duplex, and Cor vagum by enumeration of human qualities associated with the heart in the Bible. The biblical phrases "all thine heart," "full heart," and "whole heart" are used to illustrate the unity of the fixed heart; then "incogitancy," inconsideration, and thoughtlessness amplify Cor nullum; perplexity and irresolution expand Cor duplex; and wandering, wayfaring, and inconstancy illustrate Cor
vagum. In a kind of moral allegory at the end of the "'Y' stem" segment, the three kinds of hearts, Cor nullum, duplex, and vagum are made "Enemies to that firmness, and fixation of the heart, which God loves, and we seek after."

Donne makes in the course of his exposition the following comparisons of the heart: of an indivisible heart to "a Point, because it cannot be divided, cannot be moved: the Centre, the Poles, God himself, because he is indivisible, is therefore immoveable"; of a heart whose coldness the heat of God's judgments has overcome to metal softened in smelting and then poured into a mold; and of a contrite heart to a marble artifact which his sighs and tears have worn away and "emptied the room of that former heart, and so given God a Vacuity, a new place to create a new heart in." The figurative terms (i.e., that to which the literal noun in a metaphor is compared) of intricate conceits such as this earned Donne the title "learned." His academic, technical, and esoteric imagery appealed to hearers of wide experience and intellect, and the transformations of imagery which flowed rapidly yet smoothly through his depiction of the heart were directed at the spiritual lives of this audience.

Henry Smith's treatment of the heart relies for the most part on imagery from everyday life and on tersely developed simile for effective communication. Stressing spiritual renewal to his congregation, Smith preached in
"Food for New Borne Babes," ". . . We must not patch and peece vp our hearts for God like a beggars cloake which is made of shreds."\textsuperscript{14} "The Christians Sacrifice" shows as its central analogy the heart as offering; the sermon's unity is built on the metaphor in the title and continued by simple amplification of the text. The exposition proceeds by a series of topical and moral observations and uses figurative comparisons and relationships as the opportunities arise. There is nowhere a complex system of division and analysis like Donne's which supports the main argument. In both organization and imagery, Smith's patterns are more straightforward than those of the learned preachers.

Smith's moral outlook contributed largely to his directness.\textsuperscript{15} He continually associated the heart with moral choice, and his presentation of it as the contested prize in the battle between God and the Devil demonstrates how unflinchingly he thrust the choice upon his audience:

Therefore there is such strife for the heart, as there was for Moses bodie, Giue it mee saith the Lord, giue it mee saith the Tempter, giue it mee saith the Pope, giue it mee saith riches, giue it mee saith pleasure. . . . now here is the choyce, whether thou wilt giue it to God or the diuell.\textsuperscript{16} 

Smith's method is one of moral exhortation rather than of
the moral observation and analysis favored by the learned preachers, and he made the heart the center of moral choice: "Therefore now aske your hearts, whose they are, and how they are moved with these wordes."\textsuperscript{17} His efforts were focused on bringing his hearers to the point of decision in practical behavior.

Frequently in Smith we see displayed his ability to make a character of the heart and place it in a dramatic situation. In such characterization, he departs from the analytical tendency of the learned preachers and achieves a rapport with a more common audience. The metaphysical preacher might dilate on the psychological properties of the heart where Smith creates an actor in a scene:

Send for your hearts where they are wandering, one from the Banke, another from the Tauerne, another from the Shop, another from the Theaters; call them home, and giue them all vnto God, and see how hee will welcome them, as the Father imbraceth his Sonne.\textsuperscript{18}

In this passage, and in others such as those where the heart is made into the governor of man's house or a young girl wooed by a suitor, Smith vividly illustrates through the heart man's spiritual responsibility and God's expectations of man.

The clearest examples, however, of Smith's intention to
reach a more common audience than Donne or Andrewes did are his similes. These can seem overly florid, yet they are generally designed to stay in the memories of ordinary folk. In heart imagery, Smith takes full advantage of the briefly developed likeness, sometimes placing one such likeness following another in quick succession. Auditors are exhorted to give to Christ the complete gift of a heart "which sits on the bench like a Judge, to give the charge, and teach the tongue to speake, the hand to worke, the foote to walke, the eare to observe, the minde to choose, and the flesh to obey." Spiritual discernement is enjoined by the following simile: "Such an heart God hath giuen to his servaunts like a touchstone, or a lampe to goe before them, to examine all things, as they goe in this darke wildernesse, least they should take error for trueth, euill for good, or their owne will for the will of God." 20 Finally, constancy is exhorted by the following:

Thus doth man hang in a ballance, like a yong virgin which hath manie suitors, . . . so the heart hath so many suitors besides God, that sometime she marrieth with one, sometimes with another, the world keeps her, the flesh keeps her, the deuil keeps her, which have no more interest in her, than Herod to his sister, but seeke her spoile, like them which marrie for riches, are
glad when one dies, that another may come.  

The concept of the heart in the early seventeenth-century sermon was, in one sense, paradoxical. The inner heart was only a part of man—a part to be explained and illuminated in terms of man's relationship to God. When Andrewes says, "If all our worship be inward onely; with our hearts, and not our hatts... He getts no more but inward worship," he limits the heart to a function within man. In Donne's synedoche of the "Y" sermon, however, the heart can be the whole man also. This paradox did not need to be resolved, for it worked to the advantage of analogical invention. Preachers could draw parallels between the heart and other parts of things that occurred in the cosmos, other wholes, and other relationships between parts and wholes. The purpose of heart imagery among clergymen was not to define but to illustrate.

Perhaps the greatest function of heart analogies in a sermon was to effect qualitative change in the hearers. The transformed heart was not only an element of the "heart" theme in preaching, but also the goal of the practice of preaching. The achievement of that goal necessitated, in the seventeenth century, analogies which were original and artful enough to leave a lasting impression on the hearers.

As we have mentioned before, the distinction between learned and common methods of drawing analogies consists
of differentiation between scholarly or esoteric figurative terms and common figurative terms, where the thing "compared to" is an everyday word or situation. Donne's reference to "Pythagoras, his 'Y'" might have been considered too obscure by Smith, and Smith's heart like a lamp would have been too prosaic to Donne and Andrewes. Both images, however, set the heart under tension; they compare it to a thing that evoked a distinctive response in the mind of the hearers and provoked expectations of further development. In this development of figurative language lay the preacher's opportunity to dramatize his point.

In the seventeenth-century religious concept of the heart, making the distinction between learned and common imagery is more plausible than attempting to differentiate between metaphysical and plain styles. Almost any preacher who used figures of speech could be said, at some point or other, to be metaphysical in Dr. Johnson's sense of bringing disparate ideas together under one figure. Smith, although his normal coherence fails him in this instance, was surely seeking a metaphysical effect when he said, "But the godly heart goeth home, having imbraced this salvation, chewing the cud, & rejoicing like the Apostles." Learned imagery, however, looked to the more sophisticated comparisons in the secular world for analogies which affected the sense of "heart"--Donne and Andrewes, for example, both injected some of the medical connotations of
the word into theological and devotional prose. In contrast, common imagery tried to reach as many people as possible by illustration of universally shared practical and moral notions of the heart. Learned imagery had not as wide an appeal as common, but each had its legitimate purpose and audience in the seventeenth century.
Notes


4 Mitchell, p. 201.

"Renaissance man lived in a universe of analogy which was for him not a fiction but a scientific fact. The primary function of the intellect of man was to discover these analogies, for they were the clues to a unity created by the greatest mind of all, the mind of God."


7 Donne, IX, 179.


10 Story, ed., p. 129.


13 Donne, IX, 173-81. All quotations and paraphrases through p. 49 of this essay are from this section of Donne's sermons.


15 Mitchell, p. 211. The Puritan tendency to moralize
in preaching is assumed to have affected Smith. See also pp. 209-10n. 3.


18 Smith, "Sacrifice," p. 263.


IV. The Heart in The Temple:
Conception, Tone, and Function

In addition to the frequent use of the word "heart" in George Herbert's The Temple (141 times, as indicated above), description or illustration of the term appears in over seventeen percent of the work's poems. This frequency shows the poet's more than passing interest in the concept and the word and its imagery, alerting the reader to its importance in the group of twenty-eight poems in which it is discussed or conceptualized. Not in Donne or even in Herbert's closest contemporary imitator, Henry Vaughan (1621-95), do we find nearly as many occurrences of the word or such a full examination of the theme of the heart. Both Donne and Vaughan shared the view of the heart as the seat of the spiritual life, but they used heart imagery considerably less than Herbert.¹ The emphasis Herbert placed upon the heart by sheer reiteration gives an intensely devotional quality to his poetry, as if he were attempting to focus on the center of man's being—the point at which God's spirit communicated with man.

The quantitative difference between Herbert's treatment of the heart and that of his fellow devotional poets is easily perceived. Qualitative differences emerge,
however, when one examines the conception, tone, and function of the heart in *The Temple* in relation to the seventeenth-century backgrounds, both scientific and religious. This examination will reveal that Herbert shared his conception of the heart with contemporary preachers, yet his tone was his unique achievement; combined with the dramatic function of the heart in *The Temple*, this tone produced a moving account of man's relationship to God.

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Plainly, Herbert's conception of the heart was not scientifically advanced, nor did it rely upon secular standards. In fact, Francis Bacon is the only English author of medical and psychological literature with whom we can definitely establish a connection to Herbert, for it is virtually certain Herbert read and admired Bacon's *Novum Organum*, the first installment of the *Instauratio Magna*, while the poet was a scholar at Cambridge.² Herbert, like Bacon, was interested in healing balm for troubles of the heart but took little notice of the latest medical developments. The quality of our modern idea of the heart as a simple pump matches Herbert's conception in its lack of sophistication.

Evidence from Herbert's poetry shows that his attitude toward medical and scientific values was at least tempered, if not rendered wholly antagonistic, by his love for God. His Latin poem *In Memoriam Matris Sacrum* actually begins
with "Vanity O Galen, your work" (McCloskey and Murphy's translation), and continues in the vein of reproving his physician for treating "the beating arteries of a heap of flesh and liquid" when no medicine but the "heat" of writing laudatory verse can heal his heart of grief for his mother's death. A more mature attitude is displayed in "The Pearle: Math 13:45" from The Temple: "I know the waies of learning . . . /Yet I love thee" (ll. 1 and 10). The primacy of the physical heart was a belief for which Herbert had little use as a devotional poet.

The Temple also largely departs from the medical absorption with the transforming power of the heart. Instead of dwelling upon the qualities of the heart which gave life to the body, Herbert preferred a conception of it which showed the heart's need for healing. "The Glance," "An Offering," "Love-unknowne," and "Longing" are among the poems which contain references to the idea of the heart healed or transformed by God. The healing may come through a gesture of God's grace or Christ's hearing, or through the "baisam" of the blood of Christ. In "Love-unknowne," the heart is not a furnace, but is thrown into a furnace to soften it. We may indeed grant Herbert some use of the medical idea that to heal the heart was to heal the whole person; but in and of itself, the heart had no absolute transforming power in his conception; for the ultimate transformation was wrought by God upon the heart.
It required divine grace to become whole.

Herbert all but forsook the seventeenth-century physiological/psychological conception of the heart for the biblical conception; the heart of The Temple is to be understood as the seat of the spiritual life. In the same manner as the books of Job and Psalms focus upon the heart as the center of the speaker's experience in his relationship with God, The Temple shows the various states of the speaker's heart to be dependent upon that relationship. When we read in "Discipline" that the speaker's heart's desire "Unto thine God's heart is bent" (1. 6), we recall the religious context of the entire Temple, a context in which the joy, sorrow, and hope of the heart find comfort or fulfillment in God.

A significant portion of Herbert's conception of the heart lay in the value he placed upon it within the hierarchy of man's parts. Like the Psalmist, Herbert attached a conditional value to the heart. When he compared the qualities of his own life to the qualities of God's redemptive love, he often came to the conclusion of his own weakness and inadequacy, and he made his heart the representation of this low self-image. No matter how low Herbert's self-valuation sank, however, he found resolution and affirmation in God. In "The Sinner," the poet's hard heart can scarcely groan to God, but in "The Fore-runners" the heart is his "best room" where "Thou art still my God"
is the ruling principle. Plainly, the poet's heart, like the hearts of the biblical writers, was subject to God's moral and ethical conditions, which determined its worth.

This concept of the heart as a thing of little value unless centered upon God is summed up in a brief refrain from "An Offering":

    Had I many,
    Had I any
    (For this heart is none)
    All were thine
    And none of mine.

    Surely thine alone.

    (ll. 31-35)

This refrain is part of the hymn which a temple priest enjoins a supplicant, who has brought his heart as an offering, to sing. The priest has just previously mused upon how a good heart may entitle the bearer to many offerings, or many hearts, by virtue of the good heart's fruitfulness. After this meditation, the priest tells the supplicant that his offered heart has been divided, in a bad sense, by sin and lust, and that if he wishes to offer many gifts in one, he must recover the pieces of his heart. The recovery may be accomplished by applying the balsam of the healing blood of Christ, which drops from heaven. When the supplicant's heart is thus healed, he is to offer it
with the hymn. In the refrain above, the poem plays upon the value of the heart, claiming that it is neither one nor many, but none. Even so, if the supplicant had one heart or many, those would belong to God. The standard of behavior set here is a New Testament one; the condition the supplicant must meet is to seek out and apply the blood of Christ to his heart. By doing so, he will make his offering acceptable to God, giving value to that which had no value. There is a paradox in the impartation of worth to the supplicant's heart: that heart belongs to God no matter what its value, but if it is to be offered back to God, its keeper, it must be healed of sin.

The biblical idea of the duality of the heart, its ability to choose between sin and good conduct or sin and redemption, also pervaded Herbert's view of the heart. "Sepulcher" refers to men's hearts which "can lodge transgressions by the score," and the speaker in "Grace" laments that "Sinne is still hammering my heart/ Unto a hardnes, void of love" (ll. 17-18). On the redemption side of the duality fall ideas such as those expressed in "Praise (III)": "Lord I will meane and speake thy praise,/ Thy praise alone./ My busie hart shall spinne it all my daies" (ll. 1-3) and "Aaron": "Christ is my onely Head,/ My alone onely hart and Brest" (ll. 16-17). In The Temple, the potential and even the reality always exists in the heart for darkness, despair, sin, or grief, but happily the
general pattern of the work is one of redemption through grace—either by the end of a stanza or by the end of a poem, positive resolution through God or Christ's redemptive love almost always occurs.

Among Herbert's fellow clergy, Donne meditated longest and deepest upon the dark side of the heart's duality, but he, Andrewes, Smith, and Herbert all drew upon the biblical conception of the heart as the seat of the spiritual life. One aspect of the spiritual life, for example, that Herbert centered in the heart was praise. In "The Altar," "Antiphon (I)," "Gratefulnes," and "Praise (III)" the heart either brings forth praise to God directly or takes the most important role among the elements of the world which praise God. Another aspect of the spiritual life which dwells in the heart is sin, and sin in the heart disturbs the speaker in "Good Friday" and "Grace." Prayer also comes from the heart in "Busines" and "Deniall" and is described in "Prayer (I)" as "the heart in pilgrimage." The heart is the place of spiritual renewal for the entire person in "Love-unknowne"; and in "An Offering" the heart represents, when made whole by the blood of Christ, the commitment of the whole person to God. In addition to associating these elements of personal devotion with the heart, Herbert often linked feelings or affections with it which were in turn identified with the spiritual life by the general context of the poem. "The Temper (II)," for example, begins with
a question like one that might be found in a love sonnet or lyric, as the speaker asks where his joy has fled, yet the two lines following the question establish that the speaker is addressing God:

   It cannot be. Where is that mighty joy,
       Which just now tooke up all my heart?
   Lord, if thou must needs use thy dart,
   Save that; and mee, or sin for both destroy.

   (ll. 104)

The absence of joy from the heart is a matter taken up with God, making that absence a spiritual issue. Even in poems which use direct address to God, the feelings in the heart are understood as part of the sacred context of the entire Temple.

Like other seventeenth-century clergymen, Herbert showed little concern for attempting to define the heart beyond using it in its accepted spiritual sense. Different poems in The Temple show wide variation in the specific meanings for "heart" within the general conception of the seat of the spiritual life. In "A true Hymne," the heart is treated as the seat of the emotions and intentions in order to convey a religious truth—that God requires the whole person above the person's skills, and He will supply the deficient qualities of a verse if the poet's "heart be moved." In "The Glance," the heart has the double meaning of both
physical organ and origin of moral choice in order to illustrate God's healing power. The devotional point to be made dictated, as with the seventeenth-century preachers, the meaning of the word "heart" in a specific rhetorical situation.

Donne, Andrewes, and Smith paralleled Herbert in treating the heart generally as the seat of the spiritual life and using different meanings for the word within that general conception according to the emphasis they desired for the moment at hand. The heart as the seat of the spiritual life reveals itself in Donne's preaching, in one manner, through his focus on coming to God with the heart: "To come to God there is a straight line for every man everywhere: But this we doe not, if we come not with our heart. Praebe mihi fili cor tuum, saith God, My sonne give me thy heart." Here, as in The Temple, the heart represents the whole man in his commitment to God. In other places in his sermons, Donne took up the themes of uprightness of heart and of purity of heart toward God. In Donne's sermons, as in Andrewes', the conception of the heart as seat of the spiritual life is easily identified through the abundance of Scripture quotations. When Donne spoke of the heart, he was usually expounding a biblical text which contained the word "heart" and so could not venture far from demonstrating that his idea of the heart was founded upon the biblical conception.
Andrewes also based his treatment of the heart on the biblical conception and emphasized various aspects of the spiritual life in connection with the heart as the need arose. In "Sermon 4 of Repentance: Ash-Wednesday 1619," Andrewes, preaching on Joel 2: 12, 13, in which the Lord exhorts Israel to turn to Him with all their hearts, dwells for a considerable space on contrition and repentance from the heart. In "Sermon 10 Of the Holy Ghost: Whit-Sunday 1617," Andrewes styles Jesus as the physician of a broken heart, using Luke 4:18 as his text and clearly teaching that it is a spiritual relationship with Christ which cures the heart of its spiritual maladies.  

Henry Smith's sermons exhibit the same conception of the heart as The Temple and Donne's and Andrewes' sermons. Smith seems to have been particularly taken, as was Herbert, with the idea of the heart as an offering to God, representing by that metaphor man's commitment of his whole self to his Lord. In his 1630 sermon "The Christians Sacrifice," he maintains that the Christian's heart should be the "first offering of all," and though he never explains exactly how one is to offer his heart, whether through prayer or some other form of devotional exercise, he plainly makes the dedication of the heart to God the most important lesson to be learned by hearing what he called "the summe of all my sermons."  

Surely the sum of the clergy's conception of the heart
in the seventeenth century, whether expressed through poetry or preaching, was that it was the seat of the spiritual life, and Herbert's view of the heart fit precisely into this conception. A survey of all the examples of this conception, stated in both plain and figurative language, in sermon, meditation, and sacred poem would reveal a vast theological assumption, based upon Scripture and elaborated through the author's personal religious experience and training, which lay beneath seventeenth-century Christian practice. Herbert accepted and used the idea of the heart as the seat of the spiritual life without hesitation, for it was one of the basic resources of his calling.

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Helen Gardner, Louis Martz, and Frank Kermode have all formulated definitions of the term "metaphysical poetry" which take as their foundation the aim of certain poets' use of metaphor and analogy: Gardner holds that metaphysical metaphor is used as a persuasive device; Martz understands metaphysical analogy as directed toward the synthesis of discordia concors; and Kermode views metaphysical figures as largely intended to shock or surprise.⁸ While these definitions should by no means be rejected, the distinction must be preserved that, in addition to a novel use of analogy, the metaphysical style in preaching exhibited a certain scholarly abstruseness in the author's turn of mind. W. Fraser Mitchell offers criteria based on
this learned character of thought by which preaching could be understood as metaphysical:

The definition passes over readily from the poetry to the preaching. . . . When . . . we speak of preaching as "metaphysical" we mean that it is quaint and fantastic, not because it employs unusual or whimsical expression or images, but that when it does employ such it derives them from a background of remote learning, and adapts them to use by a curious transmutation effected by means of the peculiar temperament or deliberate endeavor of the preacher.  

The consideration of what Mitchell calls the metaphysical way of preaching sharpens the issue of Herbert's identity as a metaphysical poet, for whether or not the imagery of The Temple is quaint and fantastic, it is not based on remote learning and, therefore, if we are to determine the boundaries of the metaphysical genre by Mitchell's criteria, is not metaphysical.

Rather than to propose that Herbert's work is not metaphysical, I wish to suggest that within the metaphysical style are different tones and that The Temple contains a large measure of what can be termed Herbert's "common" tone. In Herbert's treatment of the heart, this common tone, when contrasted with the learned tone of Donne and
Andrewes, shows its main characteristics to be the selection of specific details of imagery which were more accessible to the common man than those of Donne and a manner of development that was more straightforward and linear than that of Andrewes.  

It would be an oversimplification to say that Herbert used no heart imagery that could be associated with the scholastic tradition. The one poem in The Temple that discussed medical aspects of the heart does so in a general way, using Aristotelian notions of the heart's function. In that poem, "The H. Communion," the heart's role in the sustenance of the body is sketched, tracing the entrance of the communion nourishment into the breast, then commenting on the spread of the strength brought by the bread and wine to every part of the body. There is no evidence in the poem to suggest that Herbert entertained a belief in the primacy of the heart, but the thinly outlined procedure of food reaching the heart somehow and from there spreading its benefits had been medical tradition since Aristotle. "The H. Communion" continues to play upon the journey or nourishment through the body, describing how the communion elements cannot get to the speaker's souls because of "the wall that parts/ Our souls and fleshy hearts" (ll. 14-15). The fourth stanza of the poem subordinates Aristotelian analysis to divine grace, describing how only the grace of God knows the way into the soul and "hath the privy key,"
while the spirits attend at the door and await grace's dispatches. We can say of this poem that its heart imagery reflects a basic knowledge of the heart's physiology as taught before Harvey, but not much more, and we can say that the heart's function here is used as a vehicle to convey the ultimate insufficiency of any physical process without God's grace. While Herbert did in this one instance use heart imagery that was arguably learned, his tone does not qualify as learned because he keeps his image to a general level of description and uses it to illustrate the sovereignty of divine grace.

Clearly no learned or scholastic features in Herbert's tone come to light when we set his treatment of the heart against the biblical background. The aphoristic manner of development in "The Church-Porch," the opening segment of The Temple, parallels that of Proverbs, a book which is nothing if not wisdom for the common man. Poems in "The Church," the main segment of The Temple, are often developed as colloquies with God in the same way as Job and Psalms; yet in dealing both with the heart and with other matters, these colloquies support a common tone rather than a learned one, for they are biblical parallels that most Christians of the seventeenth century would have recognized.

When we set The Temple against the background of seventeenth-century preaching, contrasts and similarities emerge among Herbert, Donne, Andrewes, and Smith that merit
detailed examination. Taking the comparisons in order, we come first to Herbert and Donne—a study in differences—and find that Herbert's frequent selection of details in analogies from the everyday life around him created a tone quite unlike Donne's.

Herbert chose nothing like "the stem of Pythagoras, his 'Y'" to communicate thoughts about the heart. A good example of the "ordinariness" of his sensibility occurs in "Affliction IV":

My thoughts are all a case of knives,
Wounding my heart
With scatter'd smart,
As watering pots give flowres their lives.

(11. 6-10)

The knives and watering pots are figurative terms indisputably taken from everyday life. If one seeks a more obscure image than this, it might be found in "Obedience," where the heart is compared to a pen bleeding its "ink" upon a legal deed. Even though the reference to jurisprudence is somewhat specialized, the comparison is still well within the limits of common accessibility. 12

Herbert's imagery frequently looked only to the context of the Scriptures, the life of the church, and the ways of his country parishioners, while Donne's, perhaps
because of a life and ministry centered in London, tended toward the urbane. When Herbert, in "Nature," described the speaker's heart as "a much fitter stone to hide my dust,/ Then thee to hold" (ll. 17-18), he went no further than the churchyard outside his door to discover the figurative term. Donne, on the other hand, in the "Y" sermon, did not rest content with the scriptural "stony heart" image but compared the heart to a marble pavement or the stones in a marble fountain, finally commenting on the "marbleness" of his heart. Donne's intellectuality was probably appropriate to his position as Dean of St. Paul's, but his method of communication could not reach as many as Herbert's method could.

While Herbert avoided Donne's obscure terms and specialized references, he also avoided Andrewes' quick turns and minute divisions of phrases into antitheses. Poems in The Temple such as "Confession" illustrate his ability to color our perceptions of the heart subtly and without the sudden surprises of the most witty preachers. "Confession" opens with an analogical picture of the heart as a house or room in which closets, chests, boxes, and smaller compartments are constructed one within the other. The second stanza, building upon the metaphor of a master craftsman making cabinets, compares the craftsman to one who hides his sins in the depths of his heart. The third stanza continues the metaphor, showing the craftsman making locks
for the closets and boxes within the heart. In the fourth stanza, a smooth open heart with "no fastning /I.e., latch/" is described as one that provides no "handle to affliction." Sound reason triumphs in the fifth and closing stanza, in which the speaker decides to acknowledge his faults and sins--the freedom from grief of a smooth open heart has persuaded him. The heart image in "Confession" changes little throughout the poem. As Herbert reiterates it, its meaning becomes clearer until he contrives to apply the meaning to the speaker at the end of the poem. The moral insight provided by the extended analogy between a carpenter fashioning rooms and compartments and a man fashioning psychological "hiding places" for sin within himself develops not by antithetical turns but by progressive deduction or if-then reasoning.

In addition to linear logical development, freedom from the necessity to quote and translate Hebrew, Greek, or Latin references enhanced Herbert's common tone. Certainly an eloquent display of his study of the Scriptures was not essential to his tone, either. In his treatment of the heart, Herbert's work bears out his statement in A Priest to The Temple or, The Country Parson concerning the preacher's character: "He is not witty, or learned, or eloquent, but Holy."13

The tone with which the heart is treated in Henry Smith's sermons is similar in some respects to the tone
with which it is treated in The Temple. The things to which Herbert chose to compare the heart—a spinning wheel, an egg, an ink-and-writing-paper box, a child's alphabet frame—all evoke the everyday world of the ordinary man of modest intellectual training. The heart in Smith's sermons, which we are to summon from where it is wandering at the bank, tavern, and shop, or which acts as a touchstone or a lamp, appeals to a like audience. Although Herbert's sense of how an image developed was more refined than Smith's, his retreat from the open display of intellectualism of the learned preachers helped give the heart imagery in The Temple its common tone.

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The function of the heart, both the word and the thing, in The Temple, is to provide a dramatic record of every man's relationship to God. Indeed, the entire book of poems does this to a certain extent, but the heart is the focus of the cycle of separation, desire for union, and union with God which characterizes Herbert's art. The similarities between this cyclical process and the process revealed in Psalms are significant in defining the operation of heart imagery within The Temple.

Herbert had immersed himself in the Psalms through general study and through the church liturgy. His inclusion of a translation of Psalm 23 in The Temple and his numerous paraphrases of isolated references in Psalms indicate
that the Psalmist's material and viewpoint influenced him substantially. Though Herbert was no imitator of the style of Psalms, his view of the elemental relationship between the heart and God was often the same as the Psalmist's. This similarity is exemplified in the pattern of the heart's transformation shown in Psalm 13 and "The Method." The poem begins with the line, "Poore hart lament," introducing the opening complaint and, like the Psalm, ends with a change in the heart after the speaker has convinced himself of the accessibility of God's hearing. The final stanza, like the Psalm's, resolves separation into unity, ending with the brief tetrameter "Glad heart, rejoice" (l. 32). The simple progression in "The Method," developing simultaneously with the speaker's discovery of how to pray so that God hears, presents all three parts of the cycle: separation from God, desire for union with God, and union. Although we have no basis for saying that Herbert imitated this particular Psalm, his method for attaining gladness of heart strongly reflected the scriptural background.

Herbert, Donne, and Smith all shared an understanding of the dramatic potential that the Bible imparted to the heart. Donne occasionally conveyed the Psalmist's personal, colloquial sense of the interaction between the heart and God, e.g., his "adamant" simile above, and even brought to light the conflict between the rebellious heart and its
maker. Smith showed a talent for personifying the heart and placing it in a dramatic scene. Herbert, however, developed the drama of the heart's transformations even more fully than these preachers and showed a pointed intention to communicate this drama in common terms.

The dramatic function of the heart in *The Temple* works by personification of the thing. As this personified heart moves through the process of the spiritual life, it manifests the phases of the cycle through the three human capacities of action, speech, and feelings. Herbert used personification of the heart partly because the act of making the heart a character gave it commonness and familiarity. As we trace the heart through its dramatic cycle in *The Temple*, identification with the human qualities given to it makes the spiritual experience immediate.

In "Love II," Herbert depicted the heart-character "panting" (OED "yearning for") God; it was shown actively seeking union with Him after being transformed by love's heat:

> Immortal heat, O let thy greater flame
> Attract the lesser to it: Let those fires,
> Which shall consume the world, first make it tame,
> And kindle in our hearts such true desires,
> As may consume our lists, and make thee way:
Then shall our hearts pant thee: then shall our braine
All her invention on thine altar lay;
And there in hymnes send back thy fire againe.

(ll. 1-8)

Active separation characterizes the heart in "Sepulcher," where "our hard hearts have took up stones to braine thee /i.e., Christ/" (1.14). The heart, by this rebellious action, has lost union with God by rejecting His son. Finally, the heart acts in unison with God in passages such as the end of "Mans medly": "Happy is he, whose heart/
Hath found the art/ To turne his double pains to double praise" (ll. 34-36). These images depict the heart as agent, acting out the cycle of the spiritual life.

In addition to action, speech is a significant attribute of the personified heart in The Temple because Herbert often used the speaking heart in dramatic dialogues between itself and the speaker of the poem and between itself and God. Not only is the heart given a wide range of verbal expressions, e.g., it sighs, groans, cries, sings, and questions, but in "A true Hymne" it speaks its desire for God's approval by exclaiming "O, could I love" (1. 20). The heart's spiritual function is evident in "The Collar," which, after setting forth the heart's complaint (ll.3-16), turns upon the phrase "Not so my heart: but there is fruit"
Here, it is the heart's spoken questioning of God's discipline which incites the speaker to insubordination to separation from God. Thus, the heart-character participates verbally in the spiritual drama.

The cycle of the spiritual life is revealed in the most common terms through the heart's vicissitudes of feeling, for both the ordinary seventeenth-century audience and those who wrote for it and preached for it were accustomed to associating the heart with emotion. In the poems "The Dawning," "The Glimpse," "Gratefulnes," "The Size," "Sion," and "The Discharge," to name only a few, the heart experiences sadness, hope, thanksgiving, joy, peevishness, greed, and gladness, all with some benefit or detriment to man's relationship to God. Through such extensive characterization of the heart, Herbert traced a dramatic movement through The Temple as the heart changed its distance from the presence of God.

Not all of the uses of "heart" in The Temple are personifications, yet even where it is used to represent a thing or place, the heart stands in a dramatic context which relates the spiritual life to the common person. Many of the images which perform this task are commonplaces --the group of metaphors that describe the heart as a stone, for example--found in such poems as "Discipline," where "with Love/ Stony hearts will bleed" (ll. 20-21) or "The Sacrifice," where Christ tests, in the context of his love
struggling with man's lethal hatred, "If stony hearts will melt with gentle Love" (l. 90). This image group was familiar to the seventeenth century through biblical and common usage. Similarly, all that the broken heart represented was readily understood in that age, as now. In "Deniall," for example, the broken heart results from God's inaccessibility as it would from the inaccessibility of a lover or a desired end. When the speaker's devotions cannot reach God, "Then was my heart broken, as was my verse:/ My brest was full of feares/ And disorder" (ll. 3-5).

Herbert used the image of the broken heart again in "Jesu," but developed it into a more touching metaphor than its commonplace meaning by setting it within a small drama and using familiar life as its reference. The heart in this poem becomes a schoolboy's alphabet frame, used to learn spelling.15 The heart bears the sacred name of Jesus "deeply carved there," but a great affliction breaks the frame. The speaker finds in the broken pieces of frame the letters I-ES-U, which become to his broken heart "I ease you" and become to his whole heart "Jesu." The drama lies in the simple process, recalling Psalms, of the fragmentation of the speaker's heart progressing through seeking to final union with Jesus. (Union with God is inferred also because the heart has been made whole; Jesus' intercession was for man to God.) The representation of the heart as a child's classroom aid brings home with genuine
humility the message that the spiritual life should embody a child-tutor relationship with God where the healing that the name of Jesus represents is learned in the heart.

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A large measure of the significance of the heart in The Temple consists of its importance as the receptive center for the healing and wholeness given by Jesus. The purpose of Herbert's conceiving the heart as the center of the spiritual life, setting this conception forth in common terms, and extensively dramatizing man's relationship with God through the heart was to teach his audience the way to make their hearts whole by the grace of God. This aim was not new—the sciences of medicine and moral philosophy looked for its achievement in the physical/psychological category by means of analysis and discovery, yet scientific values were not sufficiently purified by spiritual humility to appeal to Herbert. He rejected those values when he committed himself to God's service, though doubtless he possessed the scholarly acumen to understand the study those values governed, had he wished. Likewise, the Scriptures had sought to teach wholeness through grace since the time they were written, and here, in the Psalms especially, Herbert found the basic patterns he needed to lead him toward his view of the heart and his plan for its function in poetry. Donne, Andrewes, and Smith also had this as their aim. Yet as much as Herbert had in common
with these preachers, he did not share their tone in communicating the idea of the heart to their audience; he branched away from the learned tone and ultimately came nearer the Puritan directness of Smith. What Herbert accomplished in tone and development for the word and the comprehension of the heart's significance was his own achievement.

We may justly call Herbert the poet of the heart, not only because of the frequency with which he discussed its operations as the seat of the spiritual life, but also because of the way in which he made the need to have God transform the heart familiar and identifiable to the reader. His perspective upon the heart leads us to join our hearts with his in pilgrimage.
Notes

1 Donne uses the word eighteen times in thirty-eight religious poems. Vaughan uses the word sixty-two times in one hundred thirty-two poems.


4 Barbara K. Lewalski and Andrew J. Sabol, eds., Major Poets of the Earlier Seventeenth Century (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1973), p. 270. This anthology supplies the most recent edition of The Temple to my knowledge, with an excellent introduction and section of textual notes. All quotations from Herbert's poetry are taken from this edition, unless otherwise noted. I have not supplied page numbers from Lewalski and Sabol.

5 Donne, VII, p. 245 provides the quotation. For the themes of uprightness and purity of heart, see Donne, VII, 244 and 325.


Rosemond Tuve, *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery: Renaissance Poetic and Twentieth-Century Critics* (1947; rpt. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 277-79. Tuve shows here how images of different logical functions impart different tones to poems and passages in poems. I use her assumptions here to establish that imagery is a factor in tone, although I do not go into detail about the logical functions of Herbert's imagery. Tuve argues that imagery in English Renaissance poetry springs from logical functions originally conceived in Aristotle's *topoi*, redefined and reordered somewhat in the Renaissance by Ramist logic. I feel that Tuve's study sheds invaluable light on the subject of Renaissance imagery but that poets draw analogies and imagery from their own experience more than she allows, if their imagery is to ring true. (See Tuve, pp. 252-54).

Donne in Warnke, ed., pp. 326-28. Donne, in his "Meditation" on Devotion XI, refers to the heart as "King of man" and dwells at length upon its primacy. See also
Story, ed., p. 277. Andrewes, in "Sermon 10 Of the Holy Ghost: Whit-Sunday 1617," refers to the heart as the "fountaine of the spirits of life." Both Donne and Andrewes, judging from the tone of these passages, seemed far more determined that Herbert to show their audience that they knew something of physiological/psychological theory.

12 See Donne, VII, 55. Donne takes an example of men with hearts "overgrowne with hair" from Pliny and Plutarch's natural histories--a marked contrast with Herbert's watering pots and flowers.


14 The desire phase of the cycle is expressed in this poem in the third stanza without the use of the word "heart":

Goe search this thing,
Tumble thy brest, and turne thy booke.
If thou hadst lost a glove or ring,
Wouldst thou not looke?

(11. 9-12)

The phrase "tumble thy brest" makes it clear that the speaker is urging himself to search his heart, within his breast, for the cause of his separation so that the desired union may be attained. "The Glimpse" provides another
example of the complete cycle, using the word "heart" all the way through; the heart is without comfort at the beginning, is moved to hope of some delight in stanza four, and is brought by the speaker's argument to union with delight in stanza five.

15 See OED, s.v. "frame."
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