

EARLY EDITIONS OF ‘UPON THE IMAGE OF DEATH’

by DARA KAYE

After Jesuit priest Robert Southwell’s execution in February 1595, his letters and poems surged in popularity, and demand for his newly printed works quickly outstripped supply. *Moeoniae*, a collection of twenty-two poems ‘both Diuine and Wittie’ printed as an addendum to his popular *Saint Peter’s Complaint*, had two editions in 1595 alone, and at least one more before the end of the century. Poem number 18 in *Moeoniae*, ‘Upon the Image of Death’, also appears in the seventeenth-century *Waferer Commonplace Book* (British Library Add. MS 52585) but only in one other manuscript collection with the rest of his poems. Modern Southwell editions have quarantined the poem under headings such as ‘Poem of Dubious Authorship’. And yet the poem, a meditative confession and plea for grace in the face of mortality, does display some elements of Southwell’s style, and is particularly compelling if in fact it was written in the years Southwell struggled to provide spiritual guidance to his loyal congregation while evading capture and execution. This paper investigates the relationship between the commonplace book, the *Moeoniae* print editions, and the manuscript poetry collections from which ‘Upon the Image of Death’ is conspicuously absent, and offers a new annotated edition of the poem.

‘Upon the Image of Death’ is the eighteenth poem in *Moeoniae*, a short collection of ‘excellent Poems and spirituall Hymnes’ by the English Jesuit martyr Robert Southwell, published shortly after Southwell’s execution in 1595.¹ The poem is a repetitive meditation on the ubiquity of death, featuring a repeated admission that the speaker should, but has yet to, ‘amend’ his life in light of his own mortality, and a plea for God’s help in doing so. The poem is rare in contemporary collections of Southwell’s work, and does not appear in the most authoritative manuscript, the ‘Waldegrave’ manuscript held at the Jesuit Stonyhurst College, which was the copy-text used by McDonald and Brown (1967) and Davidson and Sweeney (2007) in their respective editions of Southwell’s work. Indeed, ‘Upon the Image of Death’ appears with his other lyric poems in just one manuscript, the ‘Harmsworth’ manuscript (*F*) held at the Folger Shakespeare Library. With manuscript poems bound into a copy of Wolfe’s 1595 edition of *Saint Peters Complaint*, *F* contains the greatest number of poems attributed to Southwell, including twelve that do not appear elsewhere in manuscript. ‘Upon the Image of Death’ and two other poems that appear in *F* became widely available only when published in *Moeoniae*.

'Upon the Image of Death' occupies a controversial place in Southwell scholarship. It has long been subsumed into the canon by virtue of its publication alongside undisputed works in *Moeoniae*, and is one of Southwell's more frequently anthologized works. However, two major scholarly editions have questioned its inclusion. McDonald and Brown (1967) first expressed reservations about its authorship, designating the three *Moeoniae* poems absent from four major manuscript collections as 'suspect' (p. 153). They even went so far as to say that "'Upon the Image of Death" ... seems unlikely to be Southwell's' (lxxxii), but nevertheless grouped it with the other *Moeoniae* poems rather than relegating it to the 'Poems in *F* of Doubtful Authorship' appendix with other poems found only in the Harmsworth MS. Davidson and Sweeney (2007) quarantine the poem from the rest of *Moeoniae*, exiling it to a special appendix where it appears alone beneath the cautionary heading 'Poem of Dubious Authorship'.

The poem is indeed uncharacteristically simple for Southwell, whose poetry is sometimes described as metaphysical or baroque for its complex phrasing and imagery.² Nonetheless, other features of 'Upon the Image of Death' appear typical of Southwell. As in the prose tract *Short Rules of a Good Life*, Southwell often frames didactic writing in the first person, simultaneously personalizing and universalizing the speaker's experience. 'Upon the Image of Death' also echoes (or perhaps prefigures) language in his more famous writings: the poem's narrator fears the 'bitter pangs' of being separated from God in death, just as Mary suffered 'bitter pangs' after being separated from Jesus in *Mary Magdalen's Funeral Tears* ('What marvel, therefore, that her vehement love to so lovely a Lord should feel as bitter pangs at his loss, as before it tasted joys in his presence'). In another verbal echo, the comparison between the narrator of 'Upon the Image of Death' to Solomon, Samson, and a 'king' ('Not Solomon for all his wit, / Nor Samson though he were so strong, / No king nor ever person yet / Could scape but death laid him along') resonates with St Peter's comparison of his sins to 'David, Solomon, and Samson's falls' in *Saint Peters Complaint*.

The poem's overarching preoccupation with both the importance and difficulty of genuine repentance in the face of mortality is also a characteristic manoeuvre of Southwell's. One of his most famous prose pieces, the *Epistle to His Father*, repeatedly urges his father to consider his advancing age and embrace Catholicism in light of his impending death. And while his writing indicates that he was acutely, constantly aware of his own mortality and the danger awaiting Jesuits in England, several Southwell poems approach mortality almost wistfully, envisioning death as a means to greater closeness with God. In 'Decease release', he writes 'My life my grieffe, my death hath wrought my joye' (16), and in 'Life is but Losse', 'By force I live, in will I wish to die' (1).³ Southwell frequently plays with life as a kind of death in comparison to the eternal

life of an afterlife with God, and frames martyrdom in a particularly positive light.⁴ In 'Decease release', the speaker (almost certainly Mary, Queen of Scots, who describes herself as 'Alive a Queene, now dead... a Sainte', 13) embraces violent execution:

My scaffold was the bed where ease I founde,
The blocke a pillowe of Eternall reste,
My hedman cast me in a blisfull swounde,
His axe cut off my cares from combred breste (21–24).⁵

Martyrdom is here a means to reclaim in death the royal birthright denied the speaker in life. Sentiments welcoming martyrdom surface consistently not only in poetry written from the viewpoint of figures like Mary Stuart, the Virgin Mary, and St. Peter, but also in potentially personal work, such as 'Life is but Losse' ('To him I live, for him I hope to dye', 42).

Despite these ambient similarities, Southwell's editors have had good reason to be wary of firmly attaching his name to 'Upon the Image of Death'. Beyond its suspicious absence from all but one contemporary manuscript collection of his work, the poem itself stands out—rather unfavourably—from the other works in *Moeoniae*. The rhyme scheme, rhyme word choices, and rhythm are numbingly simplistic: one imagines the poet, like Benedick, bereft of any rhyme for *lady* but *baby*. Even when tackling stark themes of sin and repentance, Southwell elsewhere tends toward rich, sensuous imagery, but in 'Upon the Image of Death', a poem whose title suggests the central importance of particular image systems, the narrator's description of the setting is a flat recitation of objects and furniture. Southwell's propensity for striking, unconventional figurative language has more than a little in common with the meta-physicals—just one page earlier, Southwell has a man address one of Christ's wounds as a 'pleasant port' and 'place of rest'—but this poem is highly literal. Moreover, it fails to build on itself or progress toward a revelation or resolution in the manner that has become characteristic of Southwell's work. The first six lines, which include the first of nine instances where the narrator offers a variation of 'But yet alas full little I / Do think hereon that I must die', lay out the poem's premise and central conflict. The rest of the poem merely circles around the same problem over and over until the repetition itself becomes the poem's principal feature, rather than working in concert with other rhetorical and lyrical devices to evolve the reader's thinking.

McDonald and Brown rather more generously ascribe to the poem 'the charm of the work of earlier lyricists who fused the simplicity of the medieval tradition with the musical forms of the Renaissance' (lxxxix). Indeed, the poem's simple, repeated structure might make more sense if the poem were set to music—which is possible, even likely, as the dedicatory epistle 'The Author to His Loving Cousin' indicates that

Southwell intended at least some of his shorter works to be set as ‘hymns and spiritual songs’. Or perhaps a case can be made that the poem’s repetition is meant to serve as a kind of linguistic mandala painting, its steady consistency providing practical use as an aid to reflection and meditation. Certainly Southwell intended other writings to minister to their readers in the forced absence of priests, and as Anne Sweeney contends in *Snow in Arcadia*, his work often leaves a ‘clear blue Southwellian space between the reader and heaven that only he or she, in the privacy of their own conscience, could fill’ (29). ‘Upon the Image of Death’ might then be seen as intentionally sparse, its loose but highly regular weaving leaving room for the contemplative contributions of a reader implicitly invited to think upon the image of his own death.

Even if the repetition might be understood as an aesthetic–liturgical exercise, we are left to tackle the problem of the poem’s peculiarly simple language. Though Brown’s edition is ultimately ambivalent about its inclusion in the canon, she posits that if the poem is genuinely Southwell’s, its linguistic artlessness would make sense if it had been written while Southwell was reacquainting himself with English after his years in Douai and Rome. But where, then, is the missing evolutionary link between ‘Upon the Image of Death’ and the corpus of work recognized as characteristically and authentically Southwellian? There is nothing remotely like it, even among his other work addressing concerns with looming mortality. ‘At Home in Heaven’, for example, transmutes the questions about death’s inescapability and timing that appear in ‘Upon the Image of Death’ (‘If none can scape death’s dreadful dart, / If rich and poor his beck obey, / If strong, if wise, if all do smart, / Then I to scape shall have no way’) into the incomparably more felicitous and hopeful ‘Fair soul, how long shall veils thy graces shroud? / How long shall this exile withhold thy right? / When will thy sun disperse his mortal cloud, / And give thy glories scope to blaze their light?’

The conclusion of the poem also argues against attribution to Southwell. It does not resolve with the narrator’s repentance, nor does it indicate that the narrator is likely to find success before his death. Death and damnation are kept at a distance from the reader by the narrator’s inability to reconcile his abstract knowledge of his own mortality with the emotional and spiritual work that knowledge demands. While the poem may tacitly encourage readers to examine their own relationship with death, it offers no pastoral help to those who, having done so, recognize their own predicament in the narrator’s. This stark hopelessness in the face of death is utterly antithetical to the rest of Southwell’s work, which is altogether more likely to encourage readers to embrace death than to fear it.

No comprehensive treatment of the question of authorship for ‘Upon the Image of Death’ has yet been published, though MacDonald and Brown (1967) provide a short discussion in the ‘Canon and Date of the

Poems' section (pp. lxxvii–xcii). Indeed, the poem's authorship merits further investigation. In addition to considering the text itself, one must consider the circumstances contributing to its publication; in that light, it seems as likely that the *Moeoniae* printer John Busbie slipped in a few poems of questionable provenance to bulk up his edition as it is that he discovered a small cache of early poems discarded by the poet and preserved by devotees. At 32 pages, *Moeoniae* is a small book even with the additional poems, and 'Upon the Image of Death' accounts for three of them. If there was any basis for grouping 'Upon the Image of Death' with the other poems of the hastily compiled and hurriedly printed *Moeoniae*, then given Southwell's partiality toward its subject matter and the sudden, violent absence of a living authoritative source, one cannot blame Busbie for erring on the side of inclusion.

Documentary proof that could conclusively determine the authenticity or otherwise of the poem remains, frustratingly, unavailable. The poem's place in the Southwell canon will continue to be debated. Yet the transmission history of the poem has much to reveal, not only about the poem's Southwellian credentials (three of the variant editions analysed below ascribe the poem to Southwell) but also about the copying, publication and circulation of devotional verse in the 1590s.

The Editions and Their Printers

Moeoniae, subtitled 'Certaine excellent Poems and spiritual Hymnes: Omitted in the last Impression of Peters Complaint; being needefull thereunto to be annexed', was first printed in 1595. Like *Peters Complaint*, *Moeoniae* proved popular enough to warrant more printings in quick succession. The first three printed editions have title pages with slight variations in spacing and font, but identical information and decoration. At the bottom, all read 'London / Printed by Valentine Sims, for / John Busbie / 1595.' For the first edition, the date is accurate; subsequent printings may have been backdated to the year of Southwell's execution and the first edition. While there are variations across all three editions, discussed in detail below, a casual reader might assume they were identical. All three editions' pages are numbered, and 'Upon the Image of Death' appears on pages 24–6.

John Busbie (or Busby) was a London bookseller who is 'chiefly remembered as the procurer of Shakespeare's *Merry Wives* and as having had a share in *Henry V* and apparently in *King Lear*' (McKerrow 1968, p.57). *Moeoniae*, in other words, came out of a vibrant and popular press, one which may have hoped to pitch the book to the same sizeable and versatile audience as the one that bought Shakespeare's plays. Valentine Sims (or Simmes), who was reprimanded and fined by the Stationers on several occasions for printing objectionable or copyrighted material, also printed several of Shakespeare's plays. Between 1597 and 1604,

he printed the first quartos of *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *Much Ado About Nothing*, and the second quarto of *1 Henry IV*. He also printed Southwell's prose *Triumphs over Death* (STC 22971) in 1595, again for Busbie (McKerrow 1968, pp. 245–6). *Triumphs Over Death*'s title page attributes the work to 'R.S. the Author of *S. Peters Complaint*, and *Moeoniae* his other Hymnes', suggesting *Moeoniae* had quickly become popular enough to help sell Southwell's next commercially printed work. Sims apparently had Catholic sympathies, and was fined for 'meddling in Popish books' (Brown 1989, p. 139).

While his name is nowhere mentioned in any edition of *Moeoniae*, the printer John Wolfe was also an important figure in early editions of Southwell. Wolfe printed *Mary Magdalens Funeral Teares* (STC 22950) in 1591, the only edition of Southwell's writing published on an official press before Southwell's death, and printed the first edition of Southwell's popular and influential *Saint Peters Complaint* in 1595, shortly after Southwell's execution (Shell 1999, p. 62). For *Mary Magdalens Funeral Tears*, Wolfe used paper associated with a clandestine Catholic press, with the same watermark appearing in the first printing of *An Epistle of Comfort*, the only edition of Southwell's writing that Southwell himself oversaw and printed (Brown 1989, p. 138). It is curious that Wolfe did not also publish *Moeoniae*, especially given its subtitle tying it to *Saint Peters Complaint*. Perhaps Wolfe did not have access to a complete manuscript with the *Moeoniae* poems, as they would otherwise logically have been included in *Saint Peters Complaint* from the first edition.

The first of the three editions dated 1595 is STC 22955. As a representative of this edition, this paper uses the copy at Cambridge University Library (hereafter *C*). This edition can be identified by the B3^r catchword 'The' and B1^r line 1 ending 'shroude,'. The 'n's in 'London' on the title page are in swash font.⁶

The second edition, STC 22955.5, can be identified by the B3^r catchword 'His'. This paper uses the copy held by the Huntington Library (hereafter *H*). As in *C*, the 'n's in 'London' on the title page are in swash font, supporting the theory that *C* and *H* were printed in sequence, uninterrupted by the last edition.

The third and final edition dated 1595, STC 22955.3, can be identified by the B3^r catchword 'The' and B1^r line 1 ending 'shrowde,'. This paper uses the copy held at the Huntington Library (hereafter *1599*, since recent scholarship has largely followed the STC in dating it 1599).⁷ The 'n's in 'London' on the title page is in normal serif font, and the title page has more white space at the top and bottom margins than *C* or *H*.

The Waferer Commonplace Book (BL, Add. MS 52585, hereafter *W*) is one of three British Library manuscripts containing poems printed in contemporary sources under Southwell's name, and the only manuscript there that includes 'Upon the Image of Death'.⁸ It was compiled between 1591 and 1627, with the poem falling on the early side. The

poem begins on f. 55^r, below an extract from *The Rape of Lucrece*, which finishes 'Finis q[uo]d mr Shakespeare'. The *Lucrece* passage and 'Upon the Image of Death' are written in the same ink and hand, and *Lucrece* may correspond with an earlier draft than the one published in 1594.⁹ The poems are framed in the margins by dicta of a 'Doctor Hall', written in a different ink and different hand. Doctor (Joseph) Hall, Bishop of Norwich, published *Meditations and Vows*, the source of the quotations, in 1605, but as the margin writing is arranged around the main text, the main page was clearly written first. 'Upon the Image of Death' is, unlike *The Rape of Lucrece*, untitled and unattributed, ending simply 'Finis.' It is followed by an English jeremiad beginning 'Repent oh Englande now repent', attributed to Thomas Churchman. Unlike the print editions, *W* does not indent alternate lines. Although 'Upon the Image of Death' appeared without stanza breaks in print, *W* takes care to break each six-line stanza with a blank line and capitalize the initial letter of the first word in each stanza. Where *W*'s scribe twice began a new stanza without leaving a blank line, he struck out and rewrote the line after a space, which suggests *W*'s copy-text had neither stanza breaks nor indented lines.

Connections between Shakespeare and Southwell, including the fact that Busbie and Simmes printed both their works, continue to be mined by scholars interested in Shakespeare's Catholic connections. John Klause published a book and several scholarly articles on similarities of vocabulary, syntax, and phrasing which, he argues, show Southwell's influence on Shakespeare, including striking parallels between *Saint Peters Complaint* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, and between *King John* and Southwell's *Epistle of Comfort*. Joseph Pearce claims in two best-selling books that 'the evidence shows that Shakespeare was a believing Catholic', using comparisons between Southwell and Shakespeare to make his case.¹⁰ American television station PBS even asserts in its program 'In Search of Shakespeare' that 'Shakespeare undoubtedly read Southwell's work, and even used the Burning Babe in "Macbeth"'. While these books and articles range from scholarship to speculation, at the very least, *Moeoniae* and the proximity of *Lucrece* and 'Upon the Image of Death' in *W* establish that some of Shakespeare and Southwell's works not only found their way to the same printer and publisher at around the same time, but also to the same manuscript scribe and readership.

Variants and Chronology

This study compared the three print editions with each other, *W* with the print editions as a group, and *W* with the individual print editions. There are 14 instances where the spelling of a word varies between the print editions, and 39 instances where *W*'s spelling differs from all of them. There are six punctuation variants between the editions and eight where

they all differ from *W*, not counting end-stopped punctuation, which *W* consistently eschews. There are four instances where a word differs between print editions, and nine where *W* introduces a unique word or phrase.

C and 1599 each have six instances where they are unique, where *H* has only five, strengthening the theory that *H* is an intermediary between *C* and 1599. Two of *C*'s unique instances are clearly misprints, corrected in *H* and 1599, showing that *C* preceded *H* and 1599. This theory concurs with McDonald, who reached similar conclusions after noting consistent corrections of *C* in *H* in other *Moeoniae* poems. It appears the compositors of 1599 referred back to *C*, rather than *H*, as evidenced by the fact that where the print editions vary on a word choice, 1599 is aligned with *C* in each case. McDonald and Brown (1967) propose the order was *C*, 1599, *H*, and argue that 'with such a burden of printing faults [*H*] could not have preceded the other two editions' (lxxiv). Indeed *C*, with its two misprints corrected in *H* and 1599, is first. Because compositors for both *H* and 1599 worked from *C*, asserting an absolute order between the latter two is difficult. However, a few pieces of evidence suggest the order *C*, *H*, 1599. The spelling in 'Upon the Image of Death' is closer between *C* and *H*, and even according to McDonald and Brown, throughout *Moeoniae* 1599's spelling is the odd one out: 'the spelling habits illustrated in the text of [1599] show striking differences, and indicate that another compositor was at work'. Furthermore, the greater similarities in the title page's spacing and fonts between *C* and *H* suggest that they were printed in sequence, with 1599's title page variations introduced during a later printing.

Where a word choice or a spelling is unique to one print edition, it is occasionally echoed in *W*, but *W* does not prefer any particular edition's spelling, and only slightly favours *C* and 1599's substantive variants over *H*'s. Thus it seems unlikely that *W* was copied from these editions, and more probable that *W*'s source is an unknown manuscript.

F, the only other manuscript of Southwell's poems known to include 'Upon the Image of Death', has a variant in line three, replacing 'cold names' with 'cold qualmes', which is not reflected in *W*. *W* also diverges from the print edition on the same word, and there reads 'could homes'. 'Cold qualmes', however, appears in a later commonplace book.¹¹ Thus it is unlikely that *W* was copied from *F*, and more probable that *F*, Fairfax's copy, and *W* derive from a common third manuscript source, in which line three deviated from the printed editions (and presented a challenge to copyists).

Substantive Variants and Alternative Readings

While nearly every line has variations between the individual editions and *W*, only five alter meaning. The first is in line 1, where the print

editions have 'the picture', and *W* has 'thy picture'. *W*'s reading potentially affords the opportunity to imagine the speaker addressing the reader / listener, making it all the more ghastly when the poem goes on to describe the face in the picture as 'ugly, grisly, bare, and thin'.

At line 10, *C* and 1599 present 'where eies and nose had sometimes bin', while *H* and *W* offer 'have sometimes bin'. *Had* isolates the life of a single image, a single person's skull, in a linear progression; first the skull *has* a life, and then it *had* a life. *Have*, however, implies an instability or plurality of temporal progression(s) – through human history, living features have grown on and disappeared from skulls like the one described in the poem's gruesome ekphrasis. It is a process that is, if not cyclical, at least repeated through time. The former suggests that from the history and fate of one skull can be extrapolated the fate of all, whereas the later implicates and associates all human lives through representation by one skull.

W agrees with *C* and 1599 at line 23, where they have 'But yet alas [...] I must die' and *H* has 'But now alas'. *H*'s *now* injects immediacy into the flow of thought, whereas *yet* is more abstract. 'Now' also echoes the 'now' in the preceding line, underscoring the imminence of the problem.

W is again aligned with *C* and 1599 in showing 'No king nor person euer yet' where *H* has 'No king nor euer person yet'. The slight shuffle in word order results in a difference of emphasis. The first stresses the difference between kings and people, before revealing how that distinction ultimately disintegrates in death. The second uses a king as an example of a great human, and then widens the net to include all humans great and small, saying something like 'not only is even a king subject to mortality, but every human is'.

Last, *W* alone has 'graunt grace therefore o god y^t I / my life maye mend seth I must dye', where the printed editions are united in showing 'Oh grant me grace O God that I' (line 53). The latter, with its alliteration, open vowels, and natural rhythm, is almost musical. The former reframes the printed editions' plaintive request in rhetorical language, as if building a case for grace.

While there is no consistent pattern in these textual discrepancies, it is still striking that *C* and 1599 always agree in their readings, where either *W*, or *H*, or sometimes both, offer slightly different versions at key moments. These alternative readings seem to heighten either the immediacy and urgency ('thy', 'now') of the poem's pleas, or the sense of the speaker's, and reader's, place in a universal and universally repeatable experience ('euer person', 'have ... bin').

'Upon the Image of Death' invites research on several fronts, engaging bibliographic interest in the instability or flexibility of its text across printed and manuscript copies, its controversial canon status, and relationship to other *Moeoniae* poems, and interest in its content by virtue of

its frank treatment of reconciliation to mortality by (perhaps) an author who embraced martyrdom. In *W*, its context invites as many questions as its text. Hall's *Meditations* marginalia and the poem's placement between *Lucrece* and the jeremiad seem thoughtful, reflecting Southwell's synthesis of poetry and religious guidance and use of devotional poetry as a point of contact between priest and congregation. The proximity to *Lucrece* and Shakespeare's name is exciting, but it and the jeremiad ascribed to Thomas Churchman highlight the missing attribution to Southwell. Was this because his authorship was in question, or perhaps because the Catholic Southwell was too controversial to name? *W* seems elsewhere religiously neutral or Protestant, with works by and in praise of Sirs Philip Sidney and Walter Raleigh. Certainly the most explicitly Catholic material was emended or expunged in the London printings of Southwell's poems—but they were still published under his name, even after his public execution as a Jesuit. If indeed the poem was thought to be by Southwell, it shows an early example of Southwell's writing being actively recorded and shared in manuscript by Protestants.

APPENDIX A

Text and Collation of 'Upon the Image of Death'

Note on the Text: The printed editions capitalize each initial letter, while the Waferer book capitalizes initial letters of a new line only at the first line of a new stanza – I have refrained from marking each place where that occurs. Where two or more print editions agree on punctuation, it has been preserved. Orthography has been modernized throughout, and places where my editorial decisions diverge from McDonald and Brown (1967) and Davidson and Sweeney (2007) are indicated in the footnotes.

- 1 Before my face the picture hangs,
- 2 That daily should put me in mind
- 3 Of those cold names and bitter pang[s],
- 4 That shortly I am like to find:
- 5 But yet alas full little I
- 6 Do think hereon that I must die.

¹ **picture]** *C, H, 1599*; thy picture *W*.

² **daily]** *C, H, 1599*; daiely *W*. **mind]** *C, H, 1599*; mynde *W*; 1599 inserts end-stopped comma.

³ **cold names and bitter pang[s]** *H, 1599*; could homes & bitter pang[s] *W*; *C* inserts comma after names. Davidson and Sweeney follow McDonald and Brown in emending names to *qwalmes*, based on the Harmsworth MS. While McDonald's 1937 Bibliographical Study praised the Harmsworth copyist's 'extreme care' and 'manifest conscientiousness', McDonald and Brown's 1967 Poems takes a 'rather negative' (p. xlix) view of the manuscript.

⁴ **find:]** 1599; fynde *W*; finde: *C, H*.

⁵ The only line where all witnesses are identical.

⁶ **do...die]** doe thinke *C*; do thinke *H, 1599*; doe thinck hereon y' I must dye *W*.

7 I often look upon a face
 8 Most ugly, grisly, bare, and thin,
 9 I often view the hollow place,
 10 Where eyes and nose had sometimes been,
 11 I see the bones across that lie:
 12 Yet little think that I must die.

 13 I read the label underneath
 14 That telleth me whereto I must,
 15 I see the sentence eke that saith
 16 *Remember, man, that thou art dust:*
 17 But yet alas, but seldom I
 18 Do think indeed that I must die.

 19 Continually at my bed's head,
 20 A hearse doth hang that doth me tell
 21 That I ere morning may be dead,
 22 Though now I feel myself full well
 23 But yet alas, for all this I
 24 Have little mind that I must die.

 25 The gown which I do use to wear,
 26 The knife wherewith I cut my meat

7 **look upon**] looke vpon *C, H, 1599*; looke upon *W*.

8 **Most...thin,]** Most vgly, grisly, bare, and thinne *C, H and 1599 delete the Oxford comma*; most uglye griselye bare & thin *W*.

9 **view...hollow]** *C, H, 1599*; vewe y^e hollowe *W*.

10 **eyes...been,]** eies, and nose, had sometimes bin *C*; eies, and nose, haue sometimes bin *H*; eies and nose, had sometimes bin, *1599*; eyes & nose have somtimes ben *W*.

11 **across that lie:]** across that lie: *C, H, 1599*; a cros y^t lye *W*.

12 **little ...die.]** little thinke that I must die. *C, H, 1599*; lytle thynck y^t I must dye *W*.

13 **read the label underneath]** reade the Labell vnderneath *C, H, 1599*; reade the labell underneath *W*.

14 *W* omits comma.

15 **eke that saith]** eake that saith *C, H, 1599*; eke y^t sayth *W*; the *OED* defines eake or eke as 'also, too, moreover; in addition' and 'lengthen, increase, grow'. The print editions' long s evokes 'eake that faith'.

16 **Remember...dust:]** Remember man...durst: *C, a misprint*; Remember man...dust *H, 1599*; remember man thou art but dust *W*.

17 **, but seldom I]** *W*; but seldome I *C, H*; but seldome I, *1599*.

18 **Do...die.]** Doe thinke indeede...die. *C, 1599*; Do thinke indeede...die. *H*; doe thynck in deede y^t I must dye *W*.

19 **bed's head,]** beds head, *C, H, 1599*; beads head *W*.

20 **hearse...tell]** hearse...tel, *C, H, 1599*; hearsh... yt doth me tell *W*.

21 **ere...may]** *1599*; yer...may *C, H*; yer year...maye *W*. Yer is a variant spelling of ere.

22 **now...well]** now I feele my selfe full wel: *C*; now I feele my selfe full well: *H*; now I feele my selfe ful well: *1599*; nowe I feele my selfe full well *W*.

23 **yet alas,]** *C, 1599*; now alas, *H*; yet alas *W*.

24 **Have...die]** Haue litle minde...die. *C*; Haue little mind...die. *H*; Haue little minde...die. *1599*; have little mynde...dy,e *W*.

25 **gown...wear,]** gowne...vse to weare, *C, H, 1599*; garments w^{ch} I use to weare *W*.

26 **wherewith...meat]** wherewith...meate *C, H, 1599*; wherewth...meate *W*.

- 27 And eke that old and ancient chair,
 28 Which is my only usual seat:
 29 All those do tell me I must die,
 30 And yet my life amend not I.
- 31 My ancestors are turnd to clay,
 32 And many of my mates are gone,
 33 My youngers daily drop away
 34 And can I think to scape alone?
 35 No, no, I know that I must die,
 36 And yet my life amend not I.
- 37 Not Solomon for all his wit,
 38 Nor Samson though he were so strong,
 39 No king nor ever person yet
 40 Could scape, but death laid him along:
 41 Wherefore I know that I must die,
 42 And yet my life amend not I.
- 43 Though all the East did quake to hear
 44 Of *Alexander's* dreadful name,
 45 And all the West did likewise fear
 46 To hear of *Julius Caesar's* fame,

- 27 **And...chair,]** And...chaire, *C, H, 1599*; & eke that oulde & auncient chayre *W*.
- 28 **Which...seat]** Which...onely vsuall seate: *C, H, 1599*; w^{ch} is my cōmon usuall seate *W*.
- 29 **All...die,]** *C, H, 1599*; those...tel...die, *1599*; these doe tell me I must dye *W*.
- 30 **And...I.]** & yet my life amende not I *W*.
- 31 **My...clay,]** *C, H, 1599*; Myne auncesters are gon before *W*.
- 32 **And...gone,]** *C, H, 1599*; &...gone *W*.
- 33 **youngers...away]** yongers dayly...away, *C, H, 1599*; yongers ...away, *1599*; yongers daiely dropp a waye *W*.
- 34 **And...alone?]** And can I thinke...alone? *C, H, 1599*; & can I thinck...alone *W*.
- 35 **No...die,]** *C, H, 1599*; noe noe I knowe y^t I must dye *W*.
- 36 **And...I.]** *H, 1599*; And...amsnd not I *C, misprint*; & yet...I *W*.
- 37 **Solomon...wit]** *Salomon...wit, C; Salomon...wits, H; Salomon...al his wit, 1599*; Solomon...witt *W*.
- 38 **Samson...strong]** *Samson...strong, C, H, 1599*; Samson...stronge *W*. *McDonald and Brown point to similar wording in St. Bernard's hymn, 'Cur mundus militat'*.
- 39 **No...yet]** No...person euer yet *C*; No...euer person yet *H*; No...person euer yet *1599*; noe Kinge nor person ever yet *W*. Person, *still an alternate spelling for parson, could be not only 'an individual' but also 'a clergyman'*. *C contains the seventh stanza copied out by an unknown individual on the final page of the book, but the scribe spells it 'parson'*.
- 40 **Could...along:]** *C, H, 1599*; coulede scape but death layde him alonge *W*.
- 41 **I know...die,]** *C, H, 1599*; since then I needs must die *W*.
- 42 **And...I.** *C, H, 1599*; oh that my life amende nought I *W*.
- 43 **hear]** heare, *C, H, 1599*; heare *W*.
- 44 **Alexander's ...name,]** *Alexanders...name, C, H, 1599*; Alexanders...name *W*.
- 45 **likewise fear]** likewise feare, *C, 1599*; likewise feare. *H*; likewyse feare *W*.
- 46 **hear of Julius Caesar's fame,]** heare of *Iulius Casars* fame, *C, H, 1599*; heare of Julius Ceasers fame *W*.

47 Yet both by death in dust now lie—
 48 Who then can scape but he must die?
 49 If none can scape death's dreadful dart,
 50 If rich and poor his beck obey,
 51 If strong, if wise, if all do smart,
 52 Then I to scape shall have no way.
 53 Oh grant me grace, O God, that I
 54 My life may mend sith I must die.

APPENDIX B

Transcription from the Waferer Commonplace Book

'Upon the Image of Death' is untitled and unattributed. It appears on fols.55^r–55^v, directly following a quotation (also untitled) from *The Rape of Lucrece*, which is attributed to 'm^r Shakespeare'.

Before my face thy picture hangs
 that daiely should put me in mynde
 of those could homes & bitter pang
 that shortly I am like to fynde
 but yet alas full litle I
 doe thinck hereon y^t I must dye

I often looke upon a face
 most uglye griselye bare & thin
 I often vewe y^e hollowe place
 where eyes & nose have somtimes ben
 I see the bones a cross y^t I lye
 Yet lytle thinck I y^t I must dye

I reade the labell underneath
 that telleth me whereto I must
 I see the sentence eke y^t sayth
 remember man thou art but dust

47 **both...lie—**] both by death in dust nowlie, C; both...now lie, H, 1599; these by death in dust nowe lye W.

48 **Who...die?**] C, H, 1599; whoe...dye W. On the next line, W has the first four words of the next stanza struck out at the end of this one, then rewritten properly after a stanza break.

49 **If...dart,**] If...deaths dreadfull dart, C, H, 1599, Yf then none scape deatnes dreadfull dart W.

50 **If...obey,**] If...poore his becke obey, C, H, 1599; yf ritch & poore his beck obaye W.

51 **If...smart,**] C, H, 1599; yf stronge if wyse if all doe smart W.

52 **Then...way**] Then...haue no way, C, H, 1599; then...noe waye W.

53 **Oh...I**] Oh...grace O God that I, C, H, 1599; graunt grace therefore o god y^t I W.

54 **My...die.**] C, H, 1599; my life maye mende seth I must dye W. W appends Finis. right justified on a new line.

but yet alas but seldom I
doe thinck in deede y^t I must dye

Continually at my beads head
a hearsh doth hang y^t doth me tell
that I yer year morning maye be dead,
though nowe I feele my selfe full well
but yet alas for all this I
have little mynde that I must dye

The garments w^{ch} I use to weare
The knife wherewth I cut my meate
& eke that oulde & auncient chayre
w^{ch} is my cōmon usuall seate
all these doe tell me I must dye
& yet my life amende not I

myne auncesters are gon before
Myne auncesters are gon before
& many of my mates are gone
my yongers daiely dropp a waye
& can I thynck to scape alone
noe noe I knowe y^t I must dye
& yet my life amend not I

Not Solomon for all his witt
nor Samson though he were so stronge
noe Kinge nor person ever yet
coulde scape but death layde him alonge
wherefore since then I needs must die
oh that my life amende nought I

Though all the East did quake to heare
of Alexanders dreadfull name
and all the west did likewyse feare
to heare of Julius Ceasers fame
yet these by death in dust nowe lye
whoe then can scape but he must dye
~~yf then none scape~~

Yf then none scape deathes dreadfull dart
yf ritch & poore his beck obaye
yf stronge if wyse if all doe smart
then I to scape shall have noe waye
graunt grace therefore o god y^t I
my life maye mende seth I must dye

Finis.

NOTES

- ¹ *Moeoniae* title page.
- ² See, for example, White's 1964 article 'Southwell: Metaphysical and Baroque'.
- ³ Southwell quotations are from McDonald and Brown (1967), unless otherwise noted.
- ⁴ See also 'I die alive', 'What joy to live?', 'Lifes death loves life'.
- ⁵ The poem's association with Mary Stuart and celebration of martyrdom ensured that this poem was not printed in the early modern period. See Davidson and Sweeney (2007) pp. 158–9.
- ⁶ I am indebted to McDonald and Brown (1967) for noting the swash font in *C* and 1599 (p. lxxii).
- ⁷ Neither the STC, McDonald's Bibliographical Study, nor the textual notes in any edition of Southwell's poems available at the British Library provide a reason for dating the third edition to 1599, some seemingly following the STC without comment, disregarding the '?' appended to the date. Further research is needed to confirm or revise the chronology.
- ⁸ The executor of Southwell's brother-in-law's estate was an Arden Waferer (Woudhuysen 1996, p. 244). I have so far been unable to determine what, if any, was the relationship between Arden and the Waferer book; but the uncommon name and Catholic connection make an association inviting.
- ⁹ See Frye, 1965.
- ¹⁰ *Through Shakespeare's Eyes*, p. 13. As supporting evidence for this statement, Pearce helpfully provides a footnote to his own previous book, *The Quest for Shakespeare*.
- ¹¹ Bodleian MS Eng. poet. b. 5, compiled 1651–4 by the Catholic yeoman Thomas Fairfax, and possibly others in his circle (see Brown, 2003). That copy of 'Upon the Image of Death' deviates from print editions in several places. The Fairfax book also contains, along with works by other authors, thirty-one of Southwell's poems, including some, like 'Decease release', which existed only in manuscript. Despite the availability of twenty print editions of Southwell's poetry, the Fairfax book reveals that it continued to circulate in manuscript well into the seventeenth century, and a comparison of that manuscript with other manuscripts and print editions 'shows that in almost every case its readings are closer to those of the best manuscript tradition than to those of Busbie's text' (McKay 1970, p.187).

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