ROBERT SOUTHWELL'S *MARY MAGDALEN*

By NANCY POLLARD BROWN

The imaginative life of Robert Southwell in Rome as a student and in England as a mission priest was energized by the figure of Mary Magdalen. From the translation of a Franciscan sermon to an extended meditative prose work, in poems and illustrative reference, he explored the complexity of her life, finding in it a depth of emotional experience in which he himself was immersed. Her torment of sorrow was seen reflected in the life of Catholics in England, in their suffering and in the strain of endless endurance. It is an irony that through his writing on Mary Magdalen's witness to the Resurrection in the garden, Southwell's message of comfort and hope introduced England to the 'literature of tears'.

The feast of Mary Magdalen was the first festival mentioned by Robert Southwell when he arrived in England with Father Henry Garnet, landing near Folkestone on July 7, 1586.[1] The two priests made their way independently to London, where they met the next morning at breakfast at one of the prisons. In this first letter to Claudius Aquaviva, Father-General of the Society of Jesus, Southwell speaks of seeing his first Catholics 'inter gladios', 'amid swords', an enigmatic phrase that may have been a metaphor for the Catholic prisoners. He knew where to find priests and laymen able to guide his moves.

In the next few days Garnet and Southwell met William Weston, the only Jesuit in England at that time, and travelled with him to the house of Richard Bold, the manor of Harlesford, on the Buckinghamshire side of the Thames two miles above Marlow, and opposite the village of Hurley, in the county of Berkshire—county boundaries that protected the house by giving its visitors a means of escape if Buckinghamshire pursuivants came raiding. Robert Bold was a Lancashire man. He had served as sheriff of the county and had been attached to Leicester's household, with unfortunate consequences. He had then moved to this remote house on the Thames, facing the ridge of the Chilterns. The house no longer exists, but it is still a quiet place. On this occasion a number of notable Catholics, including William Byrd of the Queen's Chapel, gathered to meet the newly-arrived Jesuits and to celebrate the feast of Mary Magdalen on July 22.[2]

This was a turning point in Southwell's life. The letters he wrote from the Continent to his friend John Deckers reveal the tension implicit in the last stages of the journey to England: 'It is true I am being sent "amongst wolves", and likely enough '"to be led to the slaughter"—I only wish it

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were "as a lamb"… It is true that the flesh is weak and can do nothing, and even now revolts from that which is proposed'.[3] In contrast the first letter from England shows relief and thankfulness: 'We have reached England after a most fortunate journey', he wrote, clearly elated by the enthusiasm with which the two priests were received: 'Our arrival here has wonderfully cheered and inspirited the Catholics, for they had previously been complaining that they were practically abandoned by the Society, and were full of misgiving, thinking that their pastors, dismayed by difficulties, were abandoning the flock that never stood in more need of their care.' For the moment he was protected from immediate arrest, surrounded by friends, and men and women of good will, and strengthened in his religious life with the renewal of vows, his happiness enhanced by the prospect of a festival Mass.

But he was not to enjoy the music that was being rehearsed for Mary Magdalen's feast day. He writes that he was 'called elsewhere', and for the time we lose sight of him.

These days were for him the result of ten years' preparation. He had left England a boy of fifteen, admitted to the English College at Douai on 10 June 1576,[4] but still a schoolboy, studying at the Jesuit school in the town. Within a few months he was sent to Paris for greater safety, to escape the threat from the intermittent fighting in the area. Returning to Douai on 15 June 1577 he had already formed the resolution to make his way to Rome, with the intention of joining the Society of Jesus. It was a bitter disappointment when his entry was refused, and it must have been all the more acute because John Deckers had followed him and been immediately accepted and had entered the noviciate in Naples.[5] Southwell wrote a passionate plea to be reconsidered. He wrote in English, and it is in this form that it is preserved in part in the Jesuit records in Rome.[6] His appeal moved Jesuit hearts, and he was admitted to the probation house of Sant'Andrea on 17 October 1578, when he was almost 17.

When he had completed the noviciate of two years he moved into the English College, studying first philosophy and then theology at the Roman College. His skills were recognised by Alphonso Agazzari, Rector of the English College, who seems to have employed him as a secretary. His handwriting appears in the two volumes of the *Liber Ruber*, one containing the list of admissions and the second the annual reports. He wrote the obituary of Edward Throckmorton, a childhood friend in England who died at the College in November 1582, received into the Society of Jesus on his deathbed.[7] There survives also a newsletter recounting the suffering of priests and laymen in England, addressed to the Provincial of the Society in Naples, a newsletter of the kind he was to write to Aquaviva from England.[8]

Throughout his training he kept a series of small notebooks. Some of these personal papers were later put together and copied in no clear order as *Exercitia et Devotiones*.[9] Others remained loosely grouped, and

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were bound together; the pagination indicates that there were originally many more leaves.[10] Four other smaller notebooks have recently come to light, three bound together, and one an unbound notebook of 16 leaves.[11] This unbound notebook outlines the routine of Southwell's life as a scholastic in Rome. It contains scribbled lines, written upside down: 'hoc assequi posse diffido/hoc officere non possum/eo progredi nequeo'. ('I find it difficult to make progress in this; I am not able to carry this out; I do not know how to go on in that.') It is a cry that is familiar to most earnest students, but it also points to the anxiety approaching despair from which he suffered at this time. Perhaps it was with such foresight of his reaction to the severely disciplined demands of the training that caused his earlier rejection by the Jesuit admissions committee. But he did not break, and this period may have strengthened his determination to justify his acceptance.

He was ordained at the beginning of 1584 (when his title changes from *Frater* to *Pater*), and he was appointed tutor and then prefect of studies at the English College. It was a time of dissatisfaction amongst the students, based on their resistance to Jesuit authority. In January 1585 Southwell was required to write a report on the situation to Aquaviva, ending the letter with a request that he should be allowed to serve on a revived English Mission: 'In the same way that your Paternity approves of my present work among the English, so by the inspiration of God you may also approve of my service in England itself, with the highest hope of martyrdom'.[12]

No Jesuit had been sent into England for some years, but Southwell's hopes remained stubborn. If he were to return he would have to be ready to move freely among people who might betray his presence. He was aware that his long residence overseas had robbed him of normal fluency in English. The language of schooling, training, his religious life, was Latin. Although he had lived with Englishmen at Douai and in Rome, he used little English. When he recounts a discussion during recreation in Rome on 8 May 1582 he relates part of the conversation in Italian.[13] And so he set out to recover fluency by undertaking translation.

Among his papers is a draft translation from the Italian of Luigi Tansillo's poem 'Le Lagrime di San Pietro'.[14] He headed it 'Peeter Playnt', and it was his first attempt at the subject. His longest poem, probably his last work and left unpolished, 'Saint Peters Complaint', comprises a meditation on Peter's suffering after he disowned Jesus in the courtyard of the High Priest.[15] His highly emotional progress towards the reconciliation offered in the sacrament of penance reaches its climax in the final prayer, a cry at the same time that redemption is being enacted on the Cross: 'Tender my suite, clense this defiled denne, /Cancell my debtes, sweete Jesu, say Amen'. This figure of Peter, who, after denying Jesus, 'went out, and wept bitterly', became a commonplace as the example of the penitent sinner following the redefinition of the sacrament at the Council of Trent.

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Beside Peter, the symbolic figure who was also recreated as a recurring example of a penitent was Mary Magdalen, and this aspect of her story overshadows even her importance as witness of the Resurrection. In this work of translation Southwell seized upon a medieval sermon on the Magdalen, translating Latin into English in two separate attempts, neither of them completed, and the second only a few lines.[16] It was a sermon regularly attributed to Origen and printed with his works, but it has the hallmarks of early Franciscan meditation.

The figure of Mary Magdalen and the part she played in the gospel narratives had struck deep into medieval sensibilities. She was a shadowy, puzzling character. Only in the Gospel of St. John is she given a central role as the first reported witness of the risen Christ, and the thirteenth-century sermon gives an account of that event, a study of the mental turbulence that Mary endured when she could not find the body of Jesus.

What might have remained mysterious and unexplained about her had been given greater substance by the traditions that had gradually accrued around her. Commentary, sermon, legend, prose story and verse and early drama all subscribed to the enriching of the accounts. The gospels were seen to supply a full-scale biography deriving from the hint given in brief references to her as the woman from whom Jesus had cast out seven devils (Mark xvi. 9; Luke viii. 2). She was identified with the penitent sinner, a woman known for her sexual promiscuity who came to the house of Simon the Pharisee to wash Jesus' feet, and as that other nameless woman who appeared at the house of Simon the leper in Bethany with 'an alabaster box full of precious ointment' a few days before the Passion. John, writing as if there were one woman only, identifies her with Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha and Lazarus. By this aggregation of incidents two apparently contrasting figures, one a social outcast, mentally disturbed and morally lax, the other a member of a distinguished family, self-possessed and thoughtful, formal in her respect for Jewish custom, became one woman who showed her love for Jesus by watching the Crucifixion and returning to his tomb. Although by the sixteenth century some doubts about this fusion of the gospel narratives had begun to be expressed, Southwell followed the text of the earlier sermon without question, and enlarged the references when he turned to it for the third time.

The whole homily concentrates on Mary's distress at the sepulchre. The homilist speaks as an observer, watching and interpreting Mary's misery. In Southwell's translation: 'She had lost the lyfe of her soule and now she thought it better to dye then to lyve for peradventure she myght fynd dyynge whom she could not fynd lyvinge and without whome lyve she could not'. He addresses her directly: 'O Marie what hope what hart what meanynge haddest thow to staye alone at the tombe the disciples departynge?' When she sees the two angels in the tomb and refuses to answer their questions, the homilist rebukes her and to shock

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her pretends ignorance of the situation: 'But he whome thou seekest seemeth to neglect thy sorow and not to regarde thy teares. Thow callest to him and he listeneth not, thow prayest and he hereth not thow seekest him and fyndest not, thow knockest and he unlocketh not, thow folowest and he flyeth'. At last she replies, admitting that the appearance of the angels offers no help in her search for Jesus. She speaks of leaving the place, but has no hope of finding him elsewhere: 'If I linger at the grave I fynde him not. If I depart from the grave I shall wander I know not whether'. It is a long disquisition from a desperate woman, echoing the passionate language of the Canticle: 'Shew me thy countenance, lett thy voyce resound in my eares, for thy voyce is sweete and thy countenance comely'. But when she sees Jesus she does not recognise him, and the homilist has to urge him to make himself known to her.

Southwell stays close to the Latin text. The manuscript reveals all too clearly with what difficulty he found the words and phrases he needed. The paper is filled with deletions, interlineations, overwriting, and occasional marginal notes. At times he could not think of the English word he wanted, and so he wrote the Latin equivalent over a space he later filled up. He writes: 'Her griefe was renewed in that first she had bewayled his takyng a way…': 'defunctum' is written above the line which is filled in with 'out of lyfe'. A few lines later 'corpus defuncti' is written above the line, as if he was searching for alternative English words for the repeated Latin 'his ded bodye' fills the space to the left. Similarly 'exanimis' is filled in with 'breathless'. In order to obtain a balance of phrases and internal rhymes he revises: 'she would not morne for him as ded but reioyce of him as alyve', when 'morne' becomes 'be sad' and 'reioyce' becomes 'be glad'; 'ded' is replaced with 'unlived' and 'alyve' becomes 'revived'. These are not happy revisions. Mary's hesitation to speak to the angels is expressed with a rhythmical phrase that he was probably rather pleased with: 'I feare me that my love will be rather spent then spedd'. The original Latin is written in the margin: 'magis impediant quam expediant', evidence that the Franciscan preacher also enjoyed the sound of his own words. For some reason Southwell abandoned the translation about two-thirds of the way through.

Some time later, however, he returned to the homily and started a new version. This time he is much freer in his treatment of the text. It would seem he already had the idea of using the sermon as a springboard for another type of prose writing. He omits the prefatory words greeting the congregation, and he goes on to describe the scene when he finds Mary alone at the sepulchre, adding the conceit: 'in the tomb within she lyeth and within she sleepethe. In her body she standeth uppe but in Christes body she lyethe downe in her owne eies she weepeth in Christes eyes she sleepethe'. He does not get very far; after a single page the work is left.

A few months later he was in England at Harlesford celebrating the feast of Mary Magdalen. It has been suggested by Southwell's

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biographers that when he was called away from the group of Catholics gathered there he travelled to London and was the priest who was reported to have preached on 'Magdalen's day' in the Marshalsea prison. Francis Milles, Walsingham's secretary, wrote to his employer that the spy recalled that the priest 'catechised the company with the doctrine of popish repentance, taking for his theme the story of Magdalen'.[17] The time-sequence makes this identification impossible. (Harlesford was a long day's ride to London and Southwell did not leave until the 23rd.) The figure of the penitent was not the aspect of the Magdalen that had engaged him so recently and to which he was to return.

The temptation to identify the priest as Southwell lies in the spy's additional information that among those attending the service were two daughters of Sir John Arundell, 'very brave in their attire'. Dorothy Arundell, who may have been one of the daughters present, has been named as 'Mistress D. A.' to whom Southwell dedicated his longest work on Mary Magdalen, her *Funeral Teares*. Dorothy's father, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall, called 'the great Arundell' because of his wealth, was a devout Catholic. He and his family were living in his house in Clerkenwell and in other London houses in the 1580's. He spent many months in prison or confined in other people's houses, and died in 1590. The family sheltered John Cornelius, a priest whom Sir John had sponsored during his training in Rome. Cornelius had studied at the English College for three years, while Southwell lived there, and it is most likely that they were in touch in London. He had long hoped to be admitted to the Society of Jesus. He was arrested at Chideock, Dorset, where Lady Stourton, wife of Sir John, lived after his death, and was martyred with three laymen in Dorchester on 4 July 1594,[18] proclaiming that he died a Jesuit. His life was written by Dorothy Arundell. Dorothy and her sister Gertrude went into exile with the intention of entering the Order of St. Bridget, but instead they were received with the other six highborn ladies who founded the English Benedictine convent in Brussels in 1598. She was professed in 1600, and died in 1613.

From this slight evidence it is reasonable to suppose that Dorothy Arundell is the recipient of Southwell's *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*. His 'Epistle Dedicatorie' addressed to 'Mistres D. A.', conforms with the address used for ladies of her rank: 'To the worshipfull and vertuous Gentlewoman', but it is a form that would not be suitably deferential as an address to Anne Howard, formerly Anne Dacre, Countess of Arundel, his patron, who has also been proposed as the dedicatee.

In the course of his dedication Southwell describes the *Funeral Teares* as a task undertaken at her special request 'to whiche your deserts gave the force of a commandement' and trusts that his choice of subject will be 'pleasing I hope unto yourself, and fittest for this time'.[19] During his six years of activity before his arrest he wrote six pieces of prose, each one of a different character and each springing from a particular need.

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In his choice of the *Funeral Teares* as 'fittest for this time' he saw in the suffering of the Magdalen an image of the sense of loss endured by devout Catholics deprived of regular priestly ministrations and cut off from the enriching life of church and monastery that had sustained their belief for so long.

In one of the houses that gave him shelter in these first years on the Mission he found a copy of the homily he had attempted to translate in Rome. Translating it once again he incorporated almost the whole of the text into his account of Mary's ordeal in the hours before the Resurrection was revealed to her. In this extended version he has created a very different work.

Now the narrator becomes more deeply involved, a participant in a dramatic dialogue, challenging Mary's weeping and finding her so strong in her convictions that he is incapable of persuading her of the futility of her searching for the body of Jesus. Like us, he knows the outcome, but Mary will not listen to his arguments, any more than she will take notice of the angels she sees in the sepulchre. Though almost crazed by her helplessness she shows herself a woman of spirit. She insists that she will carry away the body of Jesus. The narrator, realising how irrational she has become, is aware of her physical weakness and the danger she is in from the soldiers guarding the tomb: 'Alas seely [that is, feeble] souldier thy arms are too weak to manage weapons, and the issue of thy assault, would be the losse of thy selfe.' (sig. F5v) He feels not only superior in physical strength but also in intellectual ability.

Unable to reach this woman in the grasp of passion, the narrator has to admit his own incapacity: 'I know this Logicke little pleaseth thee, and I might as soon win thee to forbeare living, as to leave weping.' (sig. C5v) He suggests, as in the homily, that such profound grief may be sinful: 'For if thou and he are one, for which soever thou weepest it is all one, and therefore sith for him thou maiest not weepe, forbeare all weeping least it should offend.' (sig. C5v) He answers his own argument, putting into words a rebuttal and a sharp response to his criticism, as if Mary is speaking: 'The fault therefore must be, in being one with him, that maketh the weeping for myselfe, a weeping also for him. And if this be a fault, I will never amend it, and let them that thinke it so, doe penaunce for it.' (sig. C6) As the discussion continues, the interpolations grow longer, and the baroque imagery grows ever more fanciful. The framework of the homily disappears for long stretches, and when it occurs, may be reduced, or considerably edited.

The narrator grows in sympathy with greater awareness of the depth of Mary's love, 'thy faith teaching thee, the infinite dignitie of thy maister, and thy understanding being no dull scholler, to learne so wel liked a lesson, it fell out to be the bitterest part of thy miserie, that thou diddest so wel know howe infinite the losse was that made thee miserable.' (sig. E4v)

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Mary, finally reduced to silence, 'seeing the Angels with a kind of reverence rise, as though they had done honour to one behinde her' (sig. G2v), turns and sees Jesus, and does not know him. The narrator is shocked: 'O Marie is it possible that thou hast forgotten Jesus?…Are thy sharp seeing eies become so weake sighted, that they are dazeled with the sunne, and blinded with the light?' (sig. G3) He corrects himself immediately. He realises that Mary's eyes are 'dimmed with weeping for him' and her ears 'possessed with the doleful Eccho of his last speeches…' (sig. G3v) He is more surprised when Mary mistakes him for a gardener, a man of such low social standing, 'a meane laborer'. (sig. G7) But he then works out the reason:

> As a Gardener was the foyle of mankind, the parent of sinne, and author of death: so is this Gardiner, the raysor of our ruines, the ransome of our offences, and the restorer of life. In a garden *Adam* was deceived, and taken captive by the divell. In a Garden Christ was betraied and taken prisoner by the Jewes. In a garden *Adam* was condemned to earn his bread with the sweate of his browes. And after a free gift of the bread of Angels in the last supper, in a Garden Christ did earne it us with a bloudy sweat of his whole body. By disobedient eating the fruite of a tree, our right to that Garden was by *Adam* forfeited, and by the obedient death of Christ upon a tree, a farre better right is nowe recovered. When *Adam* had sinned in the garden of plesure, hee was there apparelled in dead beastes skinnes, that his garment might betoken his grave, and his liverie of death agree with his condemnation to die. And nowe to defray the debt of that sin, in this garden Christ lay clad in the dead mans shrowd, and buried in his Tombe, that as our harmes began so they might ende, and such places and meanes as were the premises to our miserie, might be also the conclusions of our misfortune.
> (sig. G6r–v)

Throughout the *Funeral Teares* there are phrases and images found in Southwell's verse. There are clear echoes of the poem 'Marie Magdalens complaint at Christs death'. It begins:

> Sith my life from life is parted
> Death come take thy portion.
> Who survives, when life is murdred
> Lives by mere extortion.
> All that live, and not in God
> Couch their life in deaths abode.
>
> Seely starres must needes leave shining
> When the sunne is shaddowed.
> Borrowed streames refraine their running
> When head springs are hindered.
> One that lives by others breath
> Dieth also by his death. [20]

The lines recall Mary's longing for death beside the tomb: 'The worst shee could feare was the death of her body, and that shee rather desired then feared, sith shee had already lost the life of her soule, without which any other life would be a death…But now she thought it better to die then

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to live…' (sig. B5) Mary addresses the tomb: 'O heaven of my eclipsed sunne, receive into thee this sillie starre, that hath nowe also lost all wished light'. (sig. D2v) The narrator sees that the beauty of the two angels appears to Mary as 'signes, not salves of thy calamitie'. (sig. E5) The poem speaks of 'signes, not salves of miserie'. (1.22)

Another passage in the prose is close to the poem 'A vale of teares': 'Thy eies seeme to tel thee that every thing inviteth thee to weepe. carrying such outward shew, as though all that thou seest were attired in sorrow…. Thy ears perswade thee, that all sounds and voices are tuned to mourning notes, and that the Eccho of thy own wailings, is the cry of the very stons and trees…'. (sig. E3v) In the place of penitence described in the poem, 'Sorrow springs from water, stone and tree, Where everie thing with mourners doth conspire'.[21] And there

> When *Eccho* doth repeat thy plainfull cries,
> Thinke that the verie stones thy sinnes bewray….(11.65–66)

These poems were surely written at the same time as the *Funeral Teares*.

Southwell has found the fluency in English that he sought, a poetic voice with the purest musical sense. As soon as the *Funeral Teares* was completed, copies began to be made. In his address 'To the Reader' Southwell complains that 'the copies therof flew so fast, and so false abroad, that it was in danger to come corrupted to the print: it seemed a lesse evill to let it flie to common viewe in the native plume, and with the owne wings, then disguised in a coate of a bastard feather, or cast off from the fist of such a corrector, as might happily have perished the sound, and imped in some sicke and sory fethers of his owne phansies'. (sig. A8) (John Gerard remembered that he had to teach Southwell the terms used in falconry[22]—necessary for his disguise as a young gentleman.) Southwell is speaking here of the falconers' trick to engraft longer feathers into the tails of their birds to increase the speed of their flight. None of these early copies is known, and Southwell would not have wished them to have survived.

In 1591 *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares* was printed anonymously by John Wolfe for Gabriel Cawood, who submitted either a manuscript or a copy of the printed book to the Stationers' Company and received the copyright on November 8, with licence from Richard Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. This was the first printing of any of Southwell's work by a London commercial printing house. Although the title is not one would expect to be a bestseller, two more editions followed rapidly in 1592 and 1594, and these were the only commercial editions of any of his work before his execution in 1595. A single copy, lacking the title-page, of another early edition, printed possibly about 1596, has been preserved at Ushaw College, University of Durham. Other editions, published by William Leake, appeared in 1602 and 1609. The work was included in selections of Southwell's verse and prose: two editions from the St. Omer press, and three from English presses—and these with a Puritan bias—before 1636.

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Southwell's anxiety for an accurate text tells us something of the nature of the writer, sensitive about implicit criticism in changes that might be made, not unaware of the importance of his work, eager that it should be read, and now confident that in the course of printing the text will not be fudged by the activities of a 'corrector', that is in this case, a reader at the press who might make his own unauthorised changes. This suggests that he had given Cawood the holograph copy, that John Wolfe knew who the author was, and that Southwell was his own proofreader, standing beside the press as the sheets came off.

We cannot underestimate the sympathetic understanding that Southwell felt for the endurance of Mary Magdalen during those hours of the early morning. He had also experienced the sense of abandonment in the long years of exile, the feeling of inadequacy, fear of failure, the loss of friends. Now he was surrounded by others who were in desperate need of encouragement and comfort. He wrote the *Funeral Teares* for a young woman of an ancient and honourable family, who for all her brave attire lived in a dark world that threatened daily arrest, torture, and ruin, finding the consolation of her faith in prisons. Like Mary she had to learn a way of life in a narrower sphere. Dismissed from the presence of Jesus to tell the news of his Resurrection to the disciples, Mary is hurt and disappointed:

> But alas I must bee contented to beare a lower saile, and to take down my desires to farre meaner hopes, sith former favors are now too high marks for me to ayme at. (sig. 18v)

Southwell urges Mary—and all his readers, whether Catholic or Anglican—to take upon herself true discipleship: 'preparing thee with diligence, comming with speede, standing with high lifted hopes, and stouping with inclined heart…' (sig. K4)

He lived such an apostolate himself. The presence of Mary Magdalen was never far from his imaginative life. In a work written during the last months of freedom he recalled the scene at the tomb and the extraordinary reversals that took place there. He was writing to console Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, a prisoner in the Tower, on the death of his half-sister, Lady Margaret Sackville:

> If Christ had bene truly taken out of his tombe, as poore *Mary Magdalen* saied and supposed, she could have sunck no deeper in greife then she already had plunged her self, and yet that which she ymagined the uttermost of evills, proved in conclusion the very blisse of her wishes.[23]

NOTES

[1] Southwell to Aquaviva, 25 July 1586 (intercepted letter); translation in J. H. Pollen, *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs, vol. 1, 1584–1603*, C. R. S. 5 (1908), p. 308.
[2] *William Weston: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, translation, Philip Caraman (London, etc., 1955), pp. 69–70, notes 5, 6, 9.

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[3] Henry More, *Historiae Provinciae Anglicanae S. I.* (St. Omer, 1660), 5, pp. 182–83; translation, Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr* (London, etc., 1956), p. 99.
[4] *Douai Diaries*, ed. T. B. Knox (London, 1878), p. 105.
[5] Pollen, p. 294.
[6] Part of the original is cited in *Catalogus primorum Patrum et Fratrum S. I., ex Anglia collectus Romae 1640*, under date 1578, Archivum Romanum S. I., Anglia 14, f.80. Before this entry was found by T. M. McCoog, S. J., the full text was known with the title 'Querimonia' in More, 5, pp. 173–75.
[7] *Vita Edwardi Throgmortoni.* Two contemporary copies are preserved in the necrologies in the Jesuit archives in Rome in which the work is attributed to Southwell. Early biographers expressed doubt concerning the authorship, suggesting that it might be the work of Alphonso Agazzari. Internal evidence, such as reference to childhood and student experience suggests that Southwell wrote it at Agazzari's request, so that a record might be kept in the Jesuit central archive.
[8] Pollen, pp. 303–06.
[9] Published as *Spiritual Exercises and Devotions*, ed. J.-M. de Buck; translation, P. E. Hallett (London, 1931).
[10] These were passed to More when he was preparing his history. They eventually reached Stonyhurst (MS. A. v. 4) and are now at Farm Street.
[11] Bodleian Library, Arch. F. g. 4.
[12] Archivum Romanum, S. I., Fondo Gesuitico 651, letter of 23 January 1585; translation, Devlin, p. 88.
[13] *Spiritual Exercises*, Appendices 1a, p. 195, and 1b, p. 197.
[14] Stonyhurst MS. A. v. 4, f.50–51v.
[15] *The Poems of Robert Southwell, S. J.*, eds. James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown (Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 75–100.
[16] Stonyhurst MS. A. v. 4, ff.56–60, 62.
[17] *Catalogue of State Papers, Scottish*, 8, p. 542; Devlin, pp. 117–18. Devlin proposes that Dorothy Arundell had persuaded Southwell to return early to London and that his sermon was later developed at her request into the *Funeral Teares*. A sermon on 'popish repentance' identifying Mary Magdalen as the penitent sinner could not have served as the source.
[18] Garnet to Aquaviva, 9 August 1594, Fondo Gesuitico 651, f.66; Philip Caraman, *Henry Garnet, 1555–1606 and the Gunpowder Plot* (London, 1964), p. 189.
[19] *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, 1591, sig. A3r–v. Further references to the text will be identified by signatures cited after quotations. The original spelling (except for the normalisation of i/j and u/v) and punctuation have been retained.
[20] *Poems*, p. 45.
[21] *Ibidem.*, p. 42, 11. 59–60.
[22] *John Gerard: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, translation, Philip Caraman (London, etc., 1951), p. 15.
[23] *The Triumphs over Death*, Stonyhurst MS. A. v. 27, f.28.

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