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QUAM OBLATIONEM: THE ACT OF SACRIFICE IN

THE POETRY OF SAINT ROBERT SOUTHWELL

by

Mary O'Donnell

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the Faculty of The Graduate School at
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Approved by

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The poetry of Saint Robert Southwell, priest, Jesuit, and martyr, has never been examined in the light of his most important role. Nineteenth-century scholars saw him as a martyr, and regarded his poetry as an expression of his suffering and desire for death. Twentieth-century scholars have viewed him principally as a Jesuit, and have studied his poetry as influenced by the Spiritual Exercises, which played an important role in his spiritual life. However, the Exercises have been overemphasized, inasmuch as they are not a recipe for poetry, nor were they Southwell's principal form of prayer.

For Southwell was, primarily, a priest. His first duty was to offer the Sacrifice of the Mass, and to make the Mass available to English recusants. The laws passed during Elizabeth's reign made his martyrdom inevitable, but he was a martyr because he was a priest. As a Jesuit, he belonged to a specific order of priests; but he was, first of all, a priest.

Yet the liturgy of the Church year, the readings and prayers of the Mass, and Catholic doctrines regarding the Eucharistic Sacrifice have been almost completely ignored in studying his poetry. The purpose of this study is to rectify this oversight, and to examine Southwell's writings

as scholars have examined George Herbert's. The first chapter will review doctrines of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. In the next chapter, Southwell's poetry on the Nativity will be seen to use these doctrines to depict the sacrificial nature of the Incarnation; Southwell uses sacrificial teachings of Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Trent, portraying Christ's sacrifice as his total surrender to God. The study will also examine how Southwell's poetry uses the calendar of the Church year, and the texts of the Mass, so as to make the Mass accessible to recusants for whom no priest was available. Finally, the study will examine Southwell's portrayal of martyrdom as the ideal sacrifice, as it emulates Christ's sacrifice made present in the Mass, and will consider apostasy as the denial of Christ and the Eucharistic sacrifice.

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APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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All citations of Southwell's poetry are from The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J., Eds. James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown, 1967. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER I
THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

Introduction

St. Robert Southwell was born at Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk, at about the end of 1561. In 1576, he left England to attend the seminary at Douai, and later, the English College at Rome. He was admitted into the Society of Jesus as a novice in 1578, and was ordained a priest in about 1584 or 1585.

In May 1586, he left Italy with Henry Garnet for missionary work in England. For the next six years, he was an active and important leader of the English Mission, working chiefly in London, where he operated a secret printing press and attended to pastoral duties. In June 1592, he was arrested by the notorious priest-hunter Richard Topcliffe. Following a month of torture, he was transferred to the Tower at the request of his father, Sir Richard Southwell. In February of 1595, he was executed for being a priest; he was canonized a saint in 1970.¹

As a priest assigned to the English mission, Southwell wrote much of his poetry and prose for apostolic purposes. Scholars agree that Southwell wrote to strengthen all Christians in their faith (Brown, "General Introduction"

xviii), to encourage Roman Catholics in their efforts to remain faithful despite the severe penalties which they faced (Takano 62; Scallion 114),² and to bring lapsed Catholics back to the Church (Scallion 142; Brown, "The Structure of 'Saint Peters Complaint'" 4), and to stress those things which Catholics and Protestants had in common (Brown, "Structure" 4; Scallion v). Towards these ends, he wrote religious poetry on the life of Christ, poetry which emphasized the shortness and futility of this life (Scallion 139-140), and poetry stressing the need for repentance.³ Similarly his prose works, such as An Epistle of Comfort, addressed the difficulties of the Catholic population at large.

If his work was apostolic, one might expect that the issue of the sacrifice of the Mass should be addressed somewhere in his works, and that this issue should be addressed by scholars of his works. The Mass was the most disputed issue of the Reformation; various Protestant denominations disagreed on issues such as infant baptism, and on exactly what liturgy should replace the Mass, but all agreed that the Mass was to be abolished. A product of the Counter-Reformation, however, Southwell was committed to preserving the Mass. A priest as well as a poet, Southwell would have believed in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist; that is, he would have believed in

the change [in the Eucharistic rite] of the entire substance or basic reality of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ, while the outward appearances . . . of the bread and wine are unaffected. (Vollert, "Transubstantiation" 259)

Southwell also would have believed that Christ's sacrifice was made present sacramentally through the celebration of the Mass. For Southwell, the Mass was not merely a reminder of Christ's life on earth fifteen hundred years earlier, or of the spiritual presence of Christ which could be experienced through prayer, but a constant means of receiving Christ's physical presence, in and with the believer. Southwell participated daily in the act of redemption, not only as a Catholic who attended Mass, but as the priest who stood in for Christ and re-enacted the moment of redemption in the liturgy.⁴

Since Southwell's work was apostolic, one should expect that he would have seen a need to address the issue of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Clearly, he might have addressed the issue indirectly: literature professing Catholic doctrines would have been dangerous to possess. However, in trying to emphasize common ties between Roman Catholics and Protestants, he might have stressed those elements of Catholic doctrine which would have appealed to Protestants--and which would have been acceptable to the censors. One might also expect that scholars who have seen

Southwell's poetry as an extension of his pastoral work might study the use of Eucharistic and sacrificial imagery in Southwell's poetry. Yet no such study exists; aside from a few brief articles such as Schten's "'Christ's Bloody Sweat': A Meditation on the Mass," no scholarship examines Roman Catholic doctrines of Eucharistic Sacrifice or the Mass in connection with Robert Southwell's poetry.

Southwell's Debt to Church Liturgy

Scholars have noted how Southwell draws on secular motifs and poems for his religious verses;⁵ however, they have neglected his use of prayers and themes from the Mass in his poetry. Sells credits the appeal of Southwell's poetry to the "childlike piety of his verses" (314). In doing so, however, he fails to do Southwell credit, for his poetry, when examined, reveals a number of multiple meanings, and while his poetry did appeal to those readers whose tastes and piety were unsophisticated, much of his poetry also could be used for apostolic and meditative purposes. Some of his poetry provides not only the Ignatian meditation which Martz and other scholars have noted, but also the practice of "mental attendance at Mass . . . which Southwell used to recommend to his penitents, who were often deprived of the spiritual ministrations of a priest" (Janelle 69-70). In some cases, Southwell

encourages this practice by providing a partial text; one such case is his poem "The Nativitie of Christ," where the stanzas follow the Ordinary of the Mass; the poem includes an Offertory and Communion, and the imagery is drawn from the prayers of the Christmas liturgy.

White is one scholar who notes Southwell's ability to use "the unending riches of the Christian year" ("The Contemplative Element in Robert Southwell" 2), as is evident in his poems on the major feasts of the Church calendar. Southwell clearly uses the Second Week of the Spiritual Exercises in many of his poems in the Sequence on the Virgin Mary and Christ, but this interpretation does not fully account for them. As White points out, Ignatius draws from the Church calendar for many of his meditations, and Southwell builds on this format ("Contemplative Element" 2). The Annunciation, the Circumcision, the Nativity, and Epiphany are all found in the Exercises [262-272], but they also have their own particular feasts. "The Virgins salutation" [iv], for example, is the feast of the Annunciation, celebrated March 25. "His circumcision" [vii] is celebrated on January 1, "The Epiphany" [viii] on January 6, "The Presentation" [ix] on February 2. All of these events have their own feasts, their own readings from the breviary, and their own Gospels and prayers for the Proper of the Mass. At all such feasts, Christ's sacrifice

of his body and blood is "made present" in the Mass.⁶ The sacrifice of Christ is therefore a part of eternity, experienced in every Eucharistic Sacrifice: "The Church[,] as the Mystical Body of Christ, [is] the extension in time of the Incarnation" (Ross, Poetry and Dogma 46).⁷

Redemption is therefore independent of the Christian calendar, and yet it is a part of every moment of the calendar.

Southwell uses this concept in his poetry, and the reader will find, in many of his pieces about the life of Christ, a sense that even in Christ's infancy, God's plan is fulfilled; the Christ child's suffering at birth is part of the suffering he undergoes to save sinners. In the liturgy, even when celebrating events such as the Circumcision, Christ offers his body and blood to God. A study of these poems--and others--will find Southwell expressing this timelessness of the Passion of Christ. Although some of his Eucharistic imagery may seem overdone to us, one should judge Southwell's poetry by the standards of his own time (Daly 30; Scallon 118). Published posthumously in 1595, Southwell remained "one of the most widely read lyric poets of the age" by Anglican and Roman Catholic alike; his popularity ended only with the Puritan Commonwealth (Sells 314).

The liturgy, then, cannot be discounted in considering Southwell's poetry. A Roman Catholic priest, he would have attended Mass daily at the seminary at Douai, and he was apparently able to celebrate regularly at the house of the Countess of Arundel, whose chaplain he was (Devlin, Life of Robert Southwell 135), and at various prisons, which he visited almost nightly (106; 122). Southwell was a Roman Catholic before he was a Jesuit; he was familiar with the Mass and the Church year long before he learned the Exercises. Southwell could have turned to Ignatius' Exercises for many of his poems; nevertheless, he could have also turned to the liturgical calendar to portray the redemption as a moment outside of time. At Christmas, at Epiphany, at the birth of the Virgin, on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, the Passion and Resurrection are experienced in the Eucharist.

Moreover, it is curious to note that the meditations on the Passion take up a week--one full quarter--of the Exercises, and yet, Southwell writes few Passion poems, none of which resemble those poems which show Ignatian influence. His Passion poems echo the medieval laments, as with "The virgin Mary to Christ on the Crosse," or are Eucharistic, as with his so-called "Gethsemane group." Although one cannot know what was lost, this seems a curious omission. But Southwell, for apostolic reasons,

may have wished to emphasize how Christ's sacrifice is revealed to Christians in all of Christ's life, in his readers' lives, and in the Eucharist.

As scholars have thoroughly examined the influence of Anglican liturgy and doctrine on the poetry of George Herbert,⁸ whose poetry shares some of the same traits as that of Southwell (Martz 43), the lack of a similar study on Southwell is surprising. But in examining Southwell's poetry for sacramental imagery, most critics look only at those poems which are obviously Eucharistic, such as "A holy Hymme" or "Of The Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter." From these poems they conclude, rightly, that Southwell's views on the sacrament were orthodox, but because such poems are few, and because they are weak, scholars also conclude that the Eucharist plays an insignificant role in Southwell's spiritual life: "The Church and its sacramental system hold a smaller place in the verse of the Catholic poet, ready to give his life for . . . [his] faith, than might be anticipated" (Woodhouse 37).

Yet the importance of the Eucharist in Southwell's life cannot be so easily dismissed. One must remember, when studying Southwell's poetry, that he was writing at a time when his religion was outlawed in England, and anyone expressing explicitly Catholic doctrine could be imprisoned or even executed (Glazebrook, "Penal Laws [In England]" 62-

63). One must consider, therefore, that Southwell had to be cryptic in his use of Catholic doctrine and liturgy. A close examination of a number of his poems will bear out the argument that Catholic doctrine and imagery does indeed shape his poetry; the rites of the Mass, and Roman Catholic doctrines of sacrifice, influence Southwell's poetry just as the Prayer Book influences the poetry of Herbert.

Review of Scholarship

Southwell has not been much studied in part because his works, although enormously popular in the years following his execution,⁹ fell into disfavor during the Commonwealth, and were not rediscovered until the last century. Much scholarship, until recently, has been textual, and has focused on determining the exact canon of his works.¹⁰

Perhaps one reason Southwell's use of the Mass is neglected is that few scholars note Southwell's status as a member of a minority in Elizabethan England. Janelle, in Robert Southwell the Writer, makes the important point that scholars study Southwell

as though he occupied a normal and ordinary position among other Elizabethan authors, and [should be] judged by the same standards; whereas he was placed in other surroundings and circumstances, and represented an altogether different and indeed hostile ideal, which was attempting to gain a footing in England. His compositions . . . are thus studied apart from

their setting . . . [hindering] a true appreciation, not merely of their beauty, but also of their influence. (1)

Janelle's work dates back to 1935, and his analysis focuses on euphuistic, continental, and Jesuit influences on Southwell's writings; his study is a complete survey of Southwell's prose and poetry and does not focus on any one influence. It is, therefore, a valuable study. Janelle examines Southwell's writings in what he believes to be the approximate chronological order, so as to study the development from conceitism to a direct, plain style in Southwell's writings (142-172). He also argues for the influence of feasts, and liturgical hymns such as the "Ave Maris Stella," on the Maeoniae, a series of devotional poems on events in the life of Christ and his mother (273; 127). Nonetheless, a more thorough study of Southwell's use of the most important issue of the Reformation, the sacrifice of the Mass, has never been attempted.

Some recent scholars have tried to understand Southwell as a minority poet in sixteenth-century England: Corthell, for example, in "'The Secrecy of Man': Recusant Discourse and the Elizabethan Subject," gives a new historical analysis of An Humble Supplication to her Maiestie, in which Southwell shows that

the government's representation of the priest as subject . . . depends on an imaginary treason

generated by a misrecognition of religious practice for political practice. (287)

In "The Absolute Reasonableness of Robert Southwell," Hill also examines Southwell's prose works, such as An Humble Supplication, in the context of recusancy (19-37).

Margaret Waugh, in her "Introduction" to An Epistle of Comfort, describes how "[Southwell's] principal work was among prisoners; they were his peculiar flock" (viii). It is in this context, she argues, that one must see the Epistle, wherein "Southwell developed the theme of suffering and transfiguration" (xi).

Similarly, Chandos considers Southwell in "Recusant Poets of the English Renaissance." However, he redefines recusancy as the rejection of the "new, ungoverned worship of rationalism" which was part of early Renaissance humanism (5). Chandos cites Southwell as an example of the religious recusant who "personified all that was best in the medieval character" (15). However, despite more recent studies of Southwell as a recusant, no thorough study of Southwell's use of the Mass in his poetry has been attempted.

Modern scholars have also attempted to provide biographical information in the context of Southwell's apostolate, and in the context of textual sources and influences.¹¹ However, other historical scholarship on

Southwell is scarce, and much of it is poor. Until recently, most accepted Grossart's interpretation of the poems, which assumed that Southwell's emphasis on sacrifice grew out of his own experiences, and that "probably his entire poems were produced in prison" after he was tortured (Grossart, "Memorial-Introduction" lxxxvii-lxxxviii). This interpretation was rejected in the early part of this century by Janelle, who cites a letter from Henry Garnet stating that Southwell had no writing materials in prison (69).¹² However, some more recent scholars still follow this interpretation, and nearly all older scholars do so. MacLeod, for example, who provides information on Southwell's life in "Robert Southwell, Scholar, Poet, and Martyr," works under the Romantic assumption that Southwell wrote most of his poetry in prison as an expression of his desire for death to release him from his sufferings.¹³

More recently, scholars have recognized that Southwell works with the theme of vanitas vanitatum, and have argued that his poetry expresses the need to reject worldliness rather than a wish for death.¹⁴ Janelle accurately views such poems as "Upon the image of death" as "Southwell's contribution to a class of poetry [on mortality] which had enjoyed great favour throughout" the Middle Ages (274). On the other hand, Yoshida argues that Southwell shows

[an] impartial eye open to life with its contradictions: Life is not regarded simply as a vale of tears, nor rejected for the sake of the flowers of heaven. 'Times goe by turnes' is a song of hope for renewal in the midst of suffering and despair. (46)

Batley, in "Martyrdom in Sixteenth-Century Verse," discusses "Decease, Release: Dum Morior Orior," generally viewed as Southwell's tribute to Mary Stuart, as an example of poetry on martyrs written during the period. Unlike most critics, who examine Southwell's writings in the context of his own martyrdom, she recognizes that "the tenet that suffering is of spiritual value is basic to the Christian life," and is therefore not exclusive to Southwell (2).

Interest in Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises and their influence on Southwell's poetry began with Louis Martz's The Poetry of Meditation. Martz turns to Ignatius' use of "composition" or "seeing the spot," wherein the practitioner imagines the scene on which he or she wishes to meditate, such as the physical dimensions of hell (Spiritual Exercises [65]), or the place where the Nativity takes place ([112]). The Exercises emphasize the importance of imagining oneself present at the place on which one meditates "with elaborate, exact detail" (Martz 27). This visualization should lead the practitioner to

come to a better understanding of himself as a sinner, or of an appreciation of God's mercy, or a deeper understanding of God's love for sinners as expressed in the Incarnation. Martz examines how this practice of "seeing the spot" influences Southwell's poetry, and argues that the structure of the Exercises influences the structure of Southwell's poetry, and that Southwell, and the use of meditation in poetry, influenced the seventeenth-century religious poets (Poetry of Meditation 10-13).

Martz himself is aware that Ignatius' meditations "do not stand alone . . . but represent a summary and synthesis of efforts since the twelfth-century to reach a precise and widely accepted method of meditation" (25); however, few other scholars who study Ignatian influence on Southwell consider sources of Ignatian spirituality.

Numerous scholars have followed Martz's lead in showing Southwell's debt to the Exercises. Maurer, in "Spee, Southwell and the Poetry of Meditation," compares Southwell's poetry with the works of the German Jesuit poet Friederich von Spee and argues for a debt to Ignatian meditation (15-22). Similarly, John R. Roberts argues that Southwell's portrayal of Christ, Mary and the saints as intimate friends was established by the use of meditative prayer ("Influence of the Spiritual Exercises" 452). Jean Robertson also considers "New heaven, new warre" as a

meditative poem; however, she argues that one should not be too "anxious to accommodate" the poem to Jesuit meditation (82-83).

White also discusses how Southwell's poetry has its origins in the Spiritual Exercises, which are reflective of Ignatius' "disposition . . . to find God in all things" ("The Contemplative Element in Southwell's Poetry" 1-2). While White is more appreciative of Ignatius' use of the liturgical calendar in the Exercises, she overlooks the implicit use of sacramental imagery in Southwell's poetry, which expresses the joining of heaven and earth in the Incarnation, "divine love's supreme manifestation" ("Contemplative Element" 9). The sacrificial and liturgical roots of this understanding of the Incarnation, while emphasized by Ignatius in the Exercises and expressed in Southwell's poetry, are found in early Christian doctrines of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the re-enactment, therein, of the "joining of heaven and earth" in the supreme act of love there expressed (St. Gregory the Great, qtd. Lepin 40).¹⁵

Raspa, in The Emotive Image: Jesuit Poetics in the English Renaissance, also studies Ignatian meditation, and how an "Ignatian poetic" influenced various English poets, including Southwell, Crashaw, Donne, and Jasper Heywood. He finds Ignatian influences in a number of Southwell's

poems which are not meditative poems on Christ's life, and which are generally not examined in such a context (13; 67-68; 99-100). However, in comparing Southwell's lesser known poetry with texts by more obscure poets, he touches on each poem only briefly, and he fails to provide even a few lines of poems which are unknown to modern day readers. It is, therefore, impossible to evaluate much of his overall study.

Other scholars note religious influences such as the emblem. Winters compares Southwell's imagery in "The burning Babe" with that of other religious writers and artists, who equate God's love with fire.¹⁶ Harnack, Daly and Suthuraman examine "The burning Babe" and its debt to the emblematic and meditative traditions.¹⁷ Schweers provides a fresh view of Southwell by arguing that he was influenced by medieval thinkers such as St. Bernard of Clairvaux. He notes similarities in their literary theories and styles, as well as in their heavy reliance on the Bible (161-3). Schweers also argues that Southwell used St. Bernard as a means of appealing to Anglicans, who regarded Bernard as a "'safe' medieval thinker" (160).

Still others consider Southwell's apostolic mission and his use of poetry in that mission. Scallon focuses on Southwell's place as a writer who influenced later religious poets:

His example proved effective in achieving one of the purposes he had in writing verse, which was to induce other poets to turn their talents to . . . sacred themes, because his poems were popular successes. (iv)

In the sixteenth-century, the value of the creative arts was debated. Southwell used poetry to express the Counter-Reformation view that poetry is not immoral and can be turned to God's purposes (Scallan 62ff). Scallan then examines Southwell's verse to show how he used poetry to instruct people he could not reach otherwise. Much of his work focuses on penitence and the vanity of worldly things (151; 149). As noted earlier, Southwell had no writing materials in the Tower (Garnet, qtd. Janelle 69); thus, his poetry was written during his six years as a London priest (Scallan 62). Therefore, Scallan maintains, Southwell's emphasis on unworldliness in his poetry is apostolic, not autobiographical. Southwell saw worldly demands as secondary to spiritual demands, and sought to emphasize the need for his readers to repent (128), and to endure those hardships God sent them (114).

Cousins, in his recent work, The Catholic Religious Poets, also explores Southwell as an apostolic writer. For Cousins, Southwell

sets before the reader . . . two choices: between an egocentric and a theocentric life; that between a self able to be expressed in merely human terms and a self which can find no expression without the Word. (38)

He discusses Southwell's emphasis on "God's selfless love" and "states of communion with God" (38), and on the need for Christians to give themselves to God (42). Such poems, he argues, deal implicitly with the sinner's act need to sacrifice oneself willingly for Christ, as Christ sacrificed himself for the sinner, and he emphasizes more strongly than others Southwell's "study of the divine love's manifestation of the infant Christ" (50). Cousins' discussion, however, is independent of liturgical sacrifice and the Eucharist, through which the Roman Catholic experiences Christ's sacrifice and comes to know "God's selfless love" (38).¹⁸

Lorraine Roberts, in "Transformations in the Poetry of the Counter-Reformation," is one of the few to examine Southwell's poetry in the context of other Counter-Reformation writers; she compares Southwell's "austere" didacticism" with Crashaw's "confident, celebratory devotionalism" (1), and argues that the differences in their themes and styles reflect a metamorphosis in Counter-Reformation poetry. White, in "Southwell: Metaphysical and Baroque," examines how Continental and English literary tastes are joined in Southwell's writings (159).

Other scholars have argued for Southwell's influence on other Renaissance poets, notably Shakespeare. They argue that "The Author to His Loving Cosen" (Poems 1-2),

wherein Southwell urges poets to put their talents to finer ends, is dedicated to Shakespeare (Devlin, Life 261-262; MacDonald, 351), and that Southwell influenced several of Shakespeare's pieces, in particular The Rape of Lucrece (Devlin, Life 273).¹⁹ In addition, scholars argue for Southwell's influence on minor sixteenth-century poets such as Greene, Lodge, and Nashe,²⁰ and on seventeenth-century poets such as Herbert and Donne.²¹ Others consider Southwell's influence on more recent poets; Cowan cites a number of images from "Saint Peters Complaint" to argue for Southwell's influence on T. S. Eliot (101).²²

While a number of scholars such as Martz have argued for Southwell's influence on the seventeenth-century religious poets (Poetry of Meditation 11-13), in particular Donne and Herbert, Southwell's influence on the seventeenth-century religious poets has recently been questioned. Strier, for example, sees Herbert influenced not by Catholic but by Protestant aesthetics ("Changing the Object: Herbert and Excess" passim). Although Strier draws on Southwell, his comparison of Herbert and Southwell is implicit; for the most part he uses Crashaw as Herbert's Catholic counterpart.²³

A number of scholars have examined "Saint Peters Complaint," seeing it as an apostolic poem with special meaning for Southwell's contemporaries.²⁴ Brown examines

"Saint Peter's Complaint" in the context of the Council of Trent's doctrine on the sacrament of penance, and argues that the poem shows Peter going through "those elements contained within the sacrament of the Church . . . contrition, confession, the desire to make satisfaction, and the reception of absolution" ("The Structure of 'St. Peter's Complaint'" 5).

Sundarem argues that the poem reflects Southwell's concern with other Englishmen who conformed to the Established Church "chiefly through fear of . . . material loss" ("Robert Southwell's 'St. Peter's Complaint'--An Interpretation" 7), and that Southwell saw Peter's denial as a far greater "act of treachery towards one's own conscience" than Judas' betrayal (8-9). In "'Saint Peters Complaint' as Poetry for Martyrdom," Tatsumi examines the poem as a "versification" of the ideas expressed in An Epistle of Comfort, "in the sense that it provides the readers with necessary fortitude to cope with Topcliffian cruelties" (56).

In addition to Janelle, there are a few exceptions to the neglect of Southwell's use of the liturgy. Morton acknowledges that Southwell drew on the liturgy for some of his themes (72-73), but her idea is undeveloped, and much of her scholarship, like Grossart's, has become outdated.

Of the few scholars who do examine liturgy, the most important is Schten, in her article "Southwell's 'Christ's Bloody Sweat': A Meditation on the Mass." Schten argues that the poem is not, as is assumed, a meditation on Gethsemane, but on Christ's sacrifice on Calvary as it is experienced in the Eucharist (75-80). Batley, in "Southwell's 'Christ's Bloody Sweat': A Jesuit Meditation on Gethsemane," refutes Schten, arguing that Southwell teaches Christ's Passion in the poem (1-2). However, Batley's refutation of Schten's arguments is weakened by her failure to understand Roman Catholic doctrines of sacrifice.

Brown notes the liturgical parallels between the kiss of peace found in the Mass, and Christ, in "Sinnes heavie loade," who reconciles the earth to God with "a bleeding kisse" ("Sinnes heavie loade" 28; Brown, "Notes" 125). Aside from Schten and Brown, no scholar examines Southwell's use of sacrificial imagery or Eucharistic doctrine; for the most part, the liturgy, and in particular the Mass, is ignored.

Stanwood, in "Liturgy, Worship, and the Sons of Light," defines liturgy generally to include public and written prayer, especially the Eucharistic rite. He focuses on poetry which praises God in some manner: "Such religious poetry is always broadly liturgical . . . [as] liturgy defines religious poetry, whether the poet's

designs are obvious or implicit" (105). He examines poems such as Donne's "Goodfriday, 1613. Riding Westward," which he describes as an "implicitly liturgical poem that makes individual prayer possible within a carefully wrought form suitable for all times and individuals" (116). In discussing Southwell, however, he notes only Southwell's devotional poetry to Mary and his use of the Spiritual Exercises (111); the possibilities for poetry which are found in the Mass or in the Church calendar are once again overlooked.

Ross, in his work Poetry and Dogma: The Transfiguration of Eucharistic Symbols in Seventeenth Century English Poetry, considers Southwell in the larger context of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious poetry. His focus is on Protestant poetry as it was influenced by Protestant Eucharistic theology, which denied the sacrifice of the Mass and altered the Eucharistic Sacrifice from a corporate to an individual act of worship. He notes the recusants briefly, and argues that, while in theory they retained the Roman Catholic emphasis on corporate Eucharistic Sacrifice, they were denied the corporate practice of this belief: "[The recusant] heard the urgent dogmatic dictates of the Mass privately, below floors, behind drawn blinds" (237). Ross sees Southwell as one of a peripheral group (236), and he argues that

Southwell's influence on seventeenth-century poetry is relatively minor.²⁵ Although I have reservations about some of his arguments, I am indebted to Ross for first arousing my interest in the use of sacrificial imagery in poetry.

Chambers' recent work, Transfigured Rites in Seventeenth-Century Poetry, studies liturgical influences on seventeenth-century religious poetry, with some attention to sixteenth-century poets as well. Chambers, however, attempts to cover too many poets at the cost of clarity. In addition, the study centers chiefly on the influence of The Book of Common Prayer without noting that some of the poets studied, such as Crashaw and Milton, rejected the Anglican liturgy.²⁶

Chambers' study gives little attention to Southwell, as he is a sixteenth-century poet, and refers only briefly to the poems on Mary Magdalene (113), a popular figure with both Catholic and Protestant writers. Southwell's poetry is also noted in the discussion of Christ's manifestation of himself in the Incarnation, Nativity, and Epiphany, where Christ is seen

as completely human at one point, as totally divine at another, as both at a third; he first came long ago, continues to do so . . . in the Eucharist and when reborn with the heart, and shall come again in glory.
(143)

In this context, Chambers notes Christ's humble kingship in Southwell's "The Epiphany" and "New Prince, new pompe" (155), through which the Magi--and the Christian--come to recognize "truth."

As can be seen from an examination of what scholarship exists, then, Southwell does use sources other than the Exercises. Southwell put his life in jeopardy in order to say Mass and to distribute communion, and it is not unreasonable to assume that he saw more spiritual value in the Eucharist than Woodhouse assumes (37); for a priest, the central act of worship was always the Mass. In addition, as will be seen, the Roman Catholic understanding of sacrifice was not the same as the Protestant understanding. Christ's act of submission, for many Catholic theologians, was not simply the Passion, but his total surrender to God's will, beginning with the Incarnation and culminating in the Passion and Resurrection. Southwell could therefore have used Christ's Incarnation, Nativity and Childhood to emphasize that the Christian can, like Christ, give himself totally to God, from birth until death, and, in doing so, emulate the sacrifice of Christ.

An understanding of the Roman Catholic doctrine of sacrifice, and its history, is important for understanding Southwell's poetry. Therefore, before examining any of

Southwell's works, one must first review, briefly, the doctrines of Eucharistic and liturgical sacrifice held by the medieval church and by Counter-Reformation theologians. This study will focus on Southwell's use of St. Augustine's definition of sacrifice, as explained in The City of God, as well as his use of Tridentine theologians who defended the Sacrifice of the Mass against the Reformers. Moreover, the sacrificial doctrines which are found in Southwell's poetry could, themselves, have influenced Ignatius' thinking in the development of the Exercises.

A final influence is St. Charles Bellarmine, whose teachings formed the basis for the so-called "destructive" theories of the seventeenth-century. Although Southwell was executed in 1595, he was taught by Bellarmine, chair of controversial theology at the English College in Rome, and he would have heard Bellarmine's ideas, although they were not published until after Southwell's death.

Furthermore, a correct understanding of the doctrine of sacrifice as submission will also help in understanding the view of martyrdom which Southwell expresses. This study will argue that behind Southwell's emphasis on the need for unworldliness and sacrifice lies his apostolic purpose to convince Roman Catholics to hold fast in their faith, and in doing so, to participate in Christ's sacrifice. While Southwell saw martyrdom as the finest

means of giving witness to one's love of God, one must also understand it in its larger context--as the finest form of sacrifice, inasmuch as it emulates Christ's act of obedience to God.

This study will argue that Southwell uses some of the most important ideas of sacrifice expressed by these theologians, in particular those definitions which were most useful in stressing the common ground shared between Anglican and Roman Catholic, and also those which were most suited to his need to encourage people who wished to remain Roman Catholic but were afraid to do so for fear incurring the penalties. It is necessary, therefore, to also touch on the arguments of the Reformers, particularly those of Calvin, since the Calvinist doctrine of sacrifice was adopted by Anglican theologians. While Calvin's idea of individual sacrifice is different from the Roman Catholic idea of corporate sacrifice, nevertheless, the two churches stress, albeit in different ways, the concept of liturgical sacrifice which was rejected by most Protestant churches, and it could be argued that Southwell's emphasis on personal sacrifice accounts, in part, for much of the popularity his poetry enjoyed among Anglicans in the years following his execution.

Definitions and Limitations

One should first remember, when examining Southwell's poetry, that the texts may not be final drafts with which he was thoroughly satisfied, and that the texts of the poems as we know them were published posthumously. Certainly some pieces, such as "The burning Babe," are in their final form, and one can guess that some others, such as "A Vale of tears," are also finished pieces. But clearly he was not ready to publish the poems as they stood. Southwell had access to a printing press, from which he printed An Epistle of Comfort (Devlin, Life 143-144); but the only other piece published in his lifetime was Marie Magdalen's Funerall Teares. Recent scholars argue that "Saint Peters Complaint" is his final poem (Scallion 181), and its weaknesses reveal it to be an unfinished piece (Brown, "Structure" 11). Other poems, such as "At home in Heaven," show similar defects; one should bear in mind that these pieces are not necessarily as Southwell would have published them.

Although a number of Southwell's prose works can be tentatively dated by their references to contemporary events, it is difficult, if not impossible, to date his poetry. Janelle attempts to date his writings by arguing that his poetry showed the same progress as his prose. Like Southwell's early prose-poem, Marie Magdalen's

Funerall Teares, "Saint Peters Complaint" is highly stylized, and euphuistic; therefore, he considers it to be an early poem (208). Janelle argues that Southwell's poetry moves gradually away from wordplay and punning to a more direct style (156-172).

However, some of Janelle's dates have since been challenged. Recent scholars argue that "Saint Peters Complaint" is "Southwell's last work, left unpolished at the time of his arrest [and] inaugurated by a practiced craftsman" (Brown, "Structure" 11). Scallon, too, argues that it is Southwell's final poem (181). Scallon attempts to date some of his poetry by theme, arguing that his earlier poems are those which celebrate the more joyful aspects of Christianity (Scallon 121); however, nothing conclusive can be established. This study will therefore examine Southwell's poetry by theme. First, those poems which explore the nature of Christ's sacrifice in becoming human will be considered; another chapter will demonstrate how some of Southwell's poems use the Mass as a framework. Third, this study will examine those poems which consider the Eucharist, and finally, the acceptance and rejection of Christ in the Eucharist by the Christian will be considered.

The study will analyze those poems which are definitely attributed to Southwell; it will not consider

poems such as A Foure-fould Meditation, now attributed to Philip Howard (Robbie 202; Janelle 157), nor will it examine those poems which Brown considers to be of uncertain authorship. The study will also focus on original pieces, rather than translations, and on the poetry; imagery from the prose pieces will be touched on if necessary.

This study does not claim to be an exhaustive means of understanding Southwell's works. Just as not all of Southwell's poetry incorporates the Exercises exactly as Ignatius directs, neither can all of Southwell's poems be considered liturgical. Some, such as "The Assumption of our Lady," are devotional or preach doctrine on a controversial issue; a number of his gnomic verses, such as "Upon the Image of death," work with the medieval theme of vanitas vanitatum. Consequently, this study will focus only on those poems which work with sacrificial theology, such as the Maeoniae, and other poems on the birth of Christ, such as "The burning Babe" and "New heaven, new warre"; it will examine Southwell's use of Eucharistic and sacrificial imagery in "Saint Peters Complaint," as well as in poems which were once considered expressive of his desire for martyrdom. Southwell's two poems on the Eucharist, "A holy Hymme" and "Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter," are more concerned with defending

transubstantiation than with sacrifice; however, these pieces shall also be examined.

It is important to note, before reviewing the debate over Eucharistic Sacrifice, that "sacrificio," "immolatio" and "offerro" have three different meanings in Latin, while in the German all translated into "opfer." "Sacrificio" is "to sacrifice," although its root meaning is to "make sacred." "Oblatus" is the past tense of "offerro," meaning "to place before," and "immolatio" originally meant "to sprinkle with sacred meal." The German word "opfer" had to serve for all of these, and in the fifteenth-century, so did the English word "offer" (Clark 263, n60). The root meaning of the English seems to have been "to offer in sacrifice" (OED 10: 726) from earliest use, in the sense of a blood-offering (OED 14: 340; 341). Hence it might be interesting to examine in more depth the etymological roots of the hostility of the original Reformers towards the Mass, as nearly all of the Germanic-speaking countries became Protestant. Calvin, the only major Reformer who did not reject liturgical sacrifice, was also the only Reformer who was not German. I have, therefore, in reviewing the theological discussions of sacrifice, provided, wherever possible, the original texts of the Church Fathers and Reformers, as it is important to know exactly what word the original speaker was using.

An additional complication lies in defining various doctrines of the "Real Presence" of Christ in the Eucharist. In today's ecumenical atmosphere, belief in the Real Presence is understood by Lutherans, Anglicans, and Roman Catholics to mean a common, or similar, belief that Christ is received by the communicant, and that the Eucharist is not simply a symbol or memorial of Christ's death. However, the Reformation period was much more complex, and Anglicans preferred not to use the term "Real Presence." Although many believed that they received Christ in the sacrament, they thought the word too "Roman"; moreover, use of the term would have offended Anglicans who believed that the Communion Service was only a memorial. Cranmer preferred the term "True Presence," or "Spiritual Presence" of Christ (Brooks 43); either term satisfied those who believed in a Real Presence without lending itself to the idea of transubstantiation.²⁷ Cranmer defined the term "True Presence" to mean that while the believer receives Christ's presence in receiving the sacrament, there is no sense of a "localized presence" of Christ in the sacrament (Brooks 44). After Henry VIII's death, however, Cranmer was free to express his own views, which were those of a memorialist: "The eating of the bodie of Christ [in communion] is to dwell in Christ, and this may be thoo a man never taste the Sacrament" (qtd. Brooks

48). Elizabeth, however, believed in a spiritual presence of Christ in the sacrament, closer to the belief of most Anglicans today, and under Elizabeth the Prayer Book was modified to allow for such a belief.²⁸ For the purposes of this study, "Real Presence" shall be used to mean transubstantiation, and "True Presence" shall be used to mean a spiritual presence of Christ, unless otherwise stated.

A further difficulty is knowing whether or not the full Missal was available to Southwell when he wrote any of his poems. The Missale Parvum pro sacerdotibus in Anglia, Scotia, Ibernia itinerantibus, published in 1626, is an abridged Missal containing the texts for all Sundays and major feasts of the year, including Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, and Ascension. However, a number of lesser feasts, including the Holy Innocents, have been eliminated in order to provide a more portable and more easily hidden volume, as the English priest's Missal had to contain other rites, such as consecrating a new altar (Missale Parvum 259-271), which were not used on the continent. The result is a number of curious omissions, including feasts as important as those of Holy Thursday and Good Friday. It seems that the priest would have chosen to say, perhaps, a Votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament in place of the liturgy for Holy Thursday.

The volume, however, was not published until some thirty years after Southwell's death, when experience had taught recusants the impracticality of observing a complex liturgy such as that of the Easter Triduum while maintaining a constant vigil for pursuivants. John Gerard's Missal was not so abridged; in 1595, only a few weeks after Southwell's execution, he narrates how he was interrupted during the Good Friday liturgy as he was "creeping to the cross" -- in the Clink prison (Autobiography 100). As in any underground movement, there was great ingenuity and resourcefulness in such matters. The Missale Parvum does not seem to be missing any feast of the Maeoniae cycle aside from the Holy Innocents, and, as it is a later volume, this study will tentatively argue for a use of the Mass of Pope Pius V as it was used throughout the Church at the time.

The question of which Biblical translation to use also creates some difficulty, particularly with regards to the Old Testament. The Rheims New Testament was available by Southwell's time; the Jesuit lay brother Ralph Emerson, who had come into England with Campion and Persons in 1580, was arrested in 1584 with copies of the translation he was helping William Weston smuggle into England (Caraman, "Notes to Weston" 7, n8). Moreover, it was a point of dogma for a priest not to use, or even to swear on, a

Protestant Bible; to do so was to admit that the entire text was canonically sound (Gerard 96; Weston 120; Caraman, "Notes to Weston" 126, n14). Yet the fact remains that there was no acceptable English translation of the Old Testament available to Catholics. Southwell was well-versed in the Vulgate and could have translated freely from the Latin; given his transient way of life, he probably had no other choice. I have, therefore, provided the Vulgate text of all Biblical quotations in the endnotes, while using the Rheims-Douai translation of the Bible in my text; in some cases, when discussing the Reformers, I have cited the Oxford Annotated Bible, and provided the corresponding texts from the Geneva and the Douai in endnotes, especially where a difference in translation led to--or was based on--a difference in dogma.

NOTES

1. See Devlin's Life of Robert Southwell, S.J., Janelle's Robert Southwell the Writer and Scallon's The Poetry of Robert Southwell, S.J. for further biographical information. John Gerard's An Autobiography of An Elizabethan provides an invaluable view of the English Mission as experienced by one of Southwell's close friends.

2. In England, following the papal bull which excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570, penalties for attending Mass grew more severe, and it became an act of treason to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. In 1581, the fines for not attending Anglican services were increased to twenty pounds a month for each adult member of the family, or, if the fines could not be paid, imprisonment until the recusant went to services and paid the fine. In 1585, to counter the influx of seminary priests and Jesuits, the Treason Act was passed, making it an act of high treason to be a priest trained on the continent, to harbor a priest, or to attend Mass; anyone found at Mass could face the same execution as a priest (Glazebrook, 62-65). For further discussion of the Penal Laws, see Glazebrook's article, "Penal Laws (In England)." Evelyn Waugh, in his biography Edmund Campion:

Jesuit and Martyr, also provides a good synopsis of the Penal Laws for the lay reader (116-123).

3. Scallon, in The Poetry of Robert Southwell, S.J., provides the best study of the theme of repentance in Southwell's poetry (151-219). Brown, in "The Structure of 'Saint Peters Complaint,'" examines how Southwell makes use of the elements necessary for a good confession in his poem about St. Peter's denial.

4. . . . Hujus sacramenti profertur ex persona ipsius Christi loquentis: ut detur intelligi quod minister in perfectione hujus sacramenti nihil agit nisi quod profert verba Christi. (3a.78.1; 58: 164)

In this sacrament . . . [the words of consecration are] pronounced as in the person of Christ himself speaking; by this we are to understand that the part played by the minister in the effecting of this sacrament is the mere utterance of the words of Christ. (Summa Theologiae 3a.78.1; Blackfriars 58: 165)

All translations of the Summa Theologiae [henceforth, ST] are taken from the Blackfriars Edition, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

5. See Scallon (81-89); Brown, "Notes" (135n); Martz, The Poetry of Meditation (184-193); and Mangnam, "Southwell and the Council of Trent" (483).

6. Christ's words at the Last Supper, "Do this in memory of me," can be translated literally from the Latin, Greek,

or Hebrew as "Do this in the 'making present' of me" (Chrysostom, qtd. Dix, "The Shape of the Liturgy" 243). See Chapter Two, pages 49-51, for a fuller discussion of this issue.

7. See Chapter Two, pages 53-54, for a fuller discussion of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ.

8. See, for example, Rosemond Tuve's A Reading of George Herbert; R. M. Van Wegnen-Shute's George Herbert and the Liturgy of the Church of England; Gene Edward Veith's Reformation Spirituality: The Religion of George Herbert; Richard Strier's Love Known: Theology and Experience in George Herbert's Poetry; and Gayle Gaskill's "The Temple and the Liturgy: George Herbert and the Book of Common Prayer."

9. For summaries of the general response to Southwell's writings in the 1590s, see Thurston, "Catholic Writers and Elizabethan Readers III: Father Southwell the Popular Poet" and "Catholic Writers and Elizabethan Readers II: Father Southwell the Euphuist."

10. Brown's edition of the The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J., published in 1967, has become the authoritative source on the authorship of Southwell's poems. After a summary of the history and quality of the manuscripts and printed editions ("Textual Introduction" xxxv-lxxvii), she discusses

the difficulties in establishing the canon of his poetry (lxxvii-xcii) and argues for the order of the poems as she believes that Southwell intended them to be read (xcii-civ).

Other textual studies concern authorship; for example, A Foure-fould Meditation of the Foure Last Things, once attributed to Southwell, is now credited to St. Philip Howard (Thurston, "An Unknown Poem of Father Southwell the Martyr"; Robbie, "The Authorship of A Fourefold Meditation"; Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer 157). Similarly, Newdigate has established that Southwell's work, A Hundred Meditations on the Love of God, is in fact a translation of a piece composed by a Spanish Franciscan, Diego de Estella ("From Jesuit to Franciscan: In Restitution").

For other textual studies, see Devlin's "Southwell and the Mar-Prelates," wherein he attempts to date The Epistle of Comfort. See also Loomis, who concludes that the 1620 edition of Short Rules of a Good Life is a "thoroughgoing Protestant revision" ("The Barrett Version of Southwell's Short Rule of a Good Life" 244), and that the undated versions are therefore more authentic. A final valuable study is that of Pollen, who gives the historical background to the first publication, in 1600, of An Humble Supplication to Her Maiestie ("A Rare Catholic Tract" 93-96).

11. Devlin's work, The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr, and Scallon's The Poetry of Robert Southwell, S.J.,

provide good overviews of Southwell's poetry as an extension of his apostolic work. Philip Caraman, in Henry Garnet, 1555-1606, and the Gunpowder Plot, discusses Southwell's life in England as Garnet's spiritual advisor and confessor; he touches briefly on Southwell's writings. For textual sources and influences, Janelle, in Robert Southwell the Writer, has provided the most thorough study.

12. See also the article by Praz, "Robert Southwell's 'Saint Peter's Complaint' and Its Italian Source," for another rebuttal of this argument.

13. Hood also follows this interpretation in her background to Southwell's work (The Book of Robert Southwell: Priest, Poet, Martyr 53-54). More recently, McAuley, in "The Aesthetic and Spiritual Functions of Robert Southwell's Writing," argues that Southwell wrote some of his poetry in prison, and he bases his argument on the fact that the only evidence against it is Garnet's letter stating he had no writing materials in prison (65). McAuley contends that other scholars such as Thurston support his own thesis, and does not consider that Garnet was Southwell's contemporary--and his Superior--and was more likely to have known. Finally, he argues that poems such as "Life is but Losse" show that while in prison, Southwell's only wish was to die. In this he ignores the fact that many Christian writers such

as Southwell worked with the medieval theme of vanitas vanitatum, and emphasized the need to consider the next world as one's goal.

14. See, for example, Scallion's analysis of "What joy to live?":

The motive offered for desiring death is not the wish to avoid physical pain [but] rather that while one is in this temporal life he is unduly attracted to its pleasures and in danger of not being able to give them up. There is no evidence that Southwell himself was ever much tempted by creature comforts, so it would seem that he is warning his readers against worldliness. (140)

See also Scallion (115); White, "Contemplative Element" (4); Sells (37).

15. White, who is one of the few to examine Southwell's prose, also looks at Ignatian influence on Southwell's Short Rules of a Good Life (Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs 258-259), as well as Marie Magdalen's Funerall Teares (262-267). More important, however, she studies his works in context with other hagiographies of the period, not only those of Catholic writers such as Cardinal William Allen, founder of the seminary at Douai (243), but also Protestant martyrologists such as Foxe (169-195) as well as early Christians such as Tertullian (243-244).

16. Winters' dissertation goes beyond Christian imagery to archetypal ideas of the sun as the source of life. Her study, however, is weakened by the explication of the poem, where the distinction between Southwell and the speaker is blurred; repeatedly, Winter implies that Southwell's narrative is real: for example, discussing the opening lines, where Southwell's persona stands "shivering in the snow," Winter suggests that "perhaps Southwell's own feeling of cold has been caused by a feeling of separation from Christ during a period of religious turmoil" (6). Such autobiographical interpretation weakens the study by treating Southwell as a Romantic or modern writer, who writes to express his feelings.

17. For another discussion of Southwell's use of typology, see Harnack's "Robert Southwell's 'The Burning Babe' and the Typology of Christmastide." Harnack argues for the roots of Southwell's image of the fiery Christ child in "Biblical, patristic, medieval, and Renaissance tradition," where all Old Testament events were "types" or shadows of Christ and the Church (26). He maintains that God's revelation of himself in the burning bush was seen (Exodus 3), from earliest tradition, as a type of Christ's revelation of himself in the Incarnation (28). Daly argues that "The burning Babe" combines Jesuit meditative practice with the emblem, an allegorical "art form . . . [which] combines both

word and picture" ("Southwell's 'Burning Babe' and the Emblematic Practice" 30-31). See also Sethuraman, "A Reading of Robert Southwell's The Burning Babe" 10-14.

18. Two others who study Southwell as an apostolic writer are Mangnam, in "Robert Southwell and the Council of Trent," and Leitch, in his "Introduction" to Marie Magdalens Funeral Tears (1591). Mangnam notes "the peculiarly evangelical turn in [Southwell's] lyrics" (482) and considers Southwell's use of meditation in the context of the Society's literary tenets; Leitch describes Southwell's prose-poem as "an extended meditation" which emphasizes the need for repentance ("Introduction").

19. MacDonald, in his "Blessed Robert Southwell, S.J., and William Shakespeare," makes the most interesting arguments for Southwell's connections with Shakespeare. Devlin also argues for Southwell's influence on Shakespeare (Life 261-262; 273), and he notes a number of connections between Shakespeare and the recusants (263-264). See also Brownlow, "Southwell and Shakespeare" 27.

20. Dickinson, for example, examines "the more general resemblances of [William Alabaster's] penitential sonnets to the 'tear literature' of Southwell" ("Southwell's 'Burning Babe' and William Alabaster" 426). See also Devlin's Life (266); McAuley ("The Aesthetic and Spiritual Functions of

Robert Southwell's Writings" 16-28); Thurston ("Catholic Writers and Elizabethan Writers III: Father Southwell, the Popular Poet" 391; 397), and Janelle (Robert Southwell: The Writer 57) for discussions of Southwell's influence on sixteenth-century poetry.

21. Thurston, in "Catholic Writers and Elizabethan Readers III: Father Southwell, the Popular Poet," makes one of the earliest arguments for Southwell's influence on seventeenth-century poetry. Thurston argues that "a new taste for devotional poetry" followed the publication of Southwell's works in the last years of the sixteenth-century ("Father Southwell, the Popular Poet" 389-395), and suggests that Southwell indirectly influenced the seventeenth-century religious poets (397). T. S. Eliot, in "The Author of 'The Burning Babe,'" likewise maintains that

Southwell occupies a place in an important movement of sensibility, and the whole of his verse should be studied by those who are interested in the poetry of the generation that followed his [i.e., Donne, Herbert, and Vaughan]. (508)

Similarly, Ira Clark, in Christ Revealed, argues that Southwell's use of typology in his poetry influenced the lyrics of poets such as Donne, Herbert and Vaughan (30-51).

Sells argues that Southwell has not been given due credit for his influence on later writers: his works were widely read and admired by many in the Anglican Church who

preferred "a kind of faith and worship which did not divorce beauty from piety" (332). For other discussions of Southwell's influence on later poets, see Martz, Poetry of Meditation passim and Clark, Christ Revealed passim; see also Scallion (iv).

22. See Cowan, "Echoes of Donne, Herrick, and Southwell in Eliot's The Waste Land." See also Mother Mary Eleanor, who suggests that Southwell's translation of Diego de Estella's A Hundred Meditations on the Love of God, may have influenced Gerard Manley Hopkins ("Hopkins' 'Windhover' and Southwell's Hawk," 21-22; 27).

23. Veith, likewise, argues for a Calvinist understanding of Herbert's poetry, and disagrees with scholars who see Herbert "in terms of medieval and 'Anglo-Catholic' models" (Reformation Spirituality 23). See also Lewalski, who maintains that "the spectacular flowering" of seventeenth-century religious poetry was a response not to Counter-Reformation influences, but "to a new and powerful stimulus to the imagination--the pervasive Protestant emphasis upon the Bible as . . . God's Word encapsulated in human words," thus indirectly arguing against Southwell's influence (Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric ix).

24. "Saint Peters Complaint" has been the focus of a number of textual studies. For discussions of the influence of the Italian poet Tansillo on "Saint Peters Complaint," see Thurston, who argues that Tansillo influenced Southwell in his choice of the theme, but "[Southwell's] treatment of the subject was entirely original" ("Father Southwell and his Peter's Plaint" 321). See also Sells (The Italian Influence in English Poetry From Chaucer to Southwell 316-320); Praz ("Robert Southwell's 'Saint Peter's Complaint' and Its Italian Source" 273-290), and Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer 215ff. For a study of "Saint Peters Complaint" as an example of the complaint genre, see Takano's "'Saint Peters Complaint' in the Genre of Complaint."

25. While Protestants used Catholic devotions such as the Spiritual Exercises, Ross argues, their poetry emphasizes "an individualist reception of the merits of the Cross by faith alone (with no participation in Eucharistic sacrifice)" (103).

26. Chambers' emphasis on the Prayer Book causes problems with the explication of Protestant as well as Catholic poets. While Anglicans did attempt to cover a "middle way," embracing both Catholic and Protestant spirituality, not every Anglican accepted all aspects of Anglicanism, particularly not in the seventeenth-century, when one sees

an increasing division between Anglican and Puritan in the years before the English Civil War.

27. See Chapter One, page 3, for a definition of transubstantiation.

28. Cranmer's exact position on Christ's presence in the sacrament continues to be a matter of debate, but a number of Anglicans now maintain that his Prayer Book reflected a belief in the symbolic reception of Christ in Holy Communion (Dix 604-656; Brooks 48ff). In his liturgy, the communicant had heard:

Take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ dyed for thee, and feede on him in thy heart by faythe, with thanksgiving. (The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI 389)

Under Elizabeth, the Prayer Book of 1559 was modified, with the Words of Administration changed to say:

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: and take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving. (Book of Common Prayer 264)

Combining the Words of Administration from Cranmer's text of 1548 with those of his text of 1552 creates enough ambiguity to suit the Anglican who believes in a symbolic communion; however, the text reflects a reaction against a merely

symbolic interpretation of Holy Communion, and emphasizes a belief in a Real Presence.

See Peter Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist, and Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (625-656) for a discussion of Cranmer's views on the Eucharist.

CHAPTER II

EUCCHARISTIC PRESENCE AND LITURGICAL SACRIFICE:
THE ROOTS OF SOUTHWELL'S CONCEPT OF SACRIFICE

The Early Church Through the High Middle Ages

To appreciate what Southwell is doing in his poetry, the reader must go beyond the Exercises to the theology which produced them. Studies of meditative poetry tend to see St. Ignatius' work as an isolated spiritual masterpiece, independent of any historical context. But scholarship on St. Ignatius suggests that he possessed, in Haas' words, "a Eucharistic mysticism." While there are few references to "the mystery of the Eucharist" in the Spiritual Diary, in another sense:

The celebration of the Eucharistic mysteries is the almost exclusive milieu in which his mystical life develops. . . . [Ignatius'] visions [of the Trinity] occur within the framework of the preparation, the celebration [of the Eucharist] itself, and the act of thanksgiving that filled the rest of his day.¹ ("The Mysticism of St. Ignatius According to His Spiritual Diary" 195)

One must therefore review, briefly, some of the concepts of Eucharistic Sacrifice found in Church teaching through the late sixteenth-century.

Many of these concepts build on one another; none of them stands alone. A number of them, such as those of St. Augustine (354-430), and the Belgian theologian Ruard Tapper (1487-1559), define sacrifice as an act of surrender, and not simply a blood offering. Such a definition includes not only Christ's Passion, but also Christ's Incarnation and Nativity, as sacrificial in nature. Eucharistic and sacrificial theology often encompasses, therefore, Christ's Incarnation as well as his Passion; such a view of sacrifice is used by Southwell in his poetry.

From the early church until the Reformation, there seems to have been no question that the Eucharist was a sacrifice (Lepin, L'idée du sacrifice de la Messe passim).² While the Reformers seem to have defined "sacrifice" in its German sense, "opfer," or to give a blood offering, (Clark 263, n60; OED 14: 340; 341), early Church Fathers understood "sacrifice" in its Latin sense, and defined it as an act of consecration to God (Augustine, City of God 10.6).

Others emphasized the Mass as an act of worship which took place in eternity as well as in history, and stressed Christ's Passion as a moment which was "made present" in the offering of the Mass. The thinking of St. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine is particularly influential;

Chrysostom develops the unity and singularity of Christ's sacrifice in his commentary on Paul's Letter to the Hebrews:

What then? Do we not offer daily? Certainly we offer thus, making an anamnesis of His death. How is it one and not many? Because it was offered once For we ever offer the same Person, not to-day one sheep and next time a different one, but ever the same offering. Therefore the sacrifice is one. By this argument then, since the offering is made in many places, does it follow that there are many Christs? Not at all, for Christ is everywhere one, complete here and complete there, a single Body. Thus, as when offered in many places He is one Body and not many bodies, so also there is one sacrifice. One High-priest is He Who offered the sacrifice which cleanses us. We offer even now that which was then offered, which cannot be exhausted. This is done for an anamnesis of that which was then done, for 'Do this' said He 'for the anamnesis of Me.' We do not offer a different sacrifice like the high-priest of old, but we ever offer the same. Or rather we offer the anamnesis of the sacrifice.³ (qtd. Dix 243)

To understand the argument of Chrysostom, on which so many theologians built, one must first understand the meaning of the Greek anamnesis and its Latin equivalent memorare. Both terms translate as "remember," but in the Middle Ages an older sense of memorare and anamnesis, "to make present," was applied to Eucharistic doctrine. "In mei memoriam facietis" -- "Do this in memory of me," was interpreted in the older sense of memorare. The early liturgies understood Christ and the sacrifice of Christ to be "made present" in a mystical sense at the consecration of the Eucharist (Dix passim; Clark passim); this

connection between "remembering" and "making present" is also found in the Hebrew equivalent of memorare (Wilkinson 12). Most theologians used this concept to define exactly how the Eucharist was a sacrifice.

Interestingly, the early Church Fathers saw parallels between the Eucharist and the Incarnation as well as the Eucharist and the Nativity (Gassner 310). Such parallels are found as far back as St. Justin (d. 167), and are explored by other patristic writers such as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, as well as by later medieval thinkers.⁴ St. Hildegarde (1098-1179) describes how, just as it overshadowed the Virgin, so the power of the Holy Spirit

transforms upon the altar at the words of the priest the oblation of bread and wine into the sacrament of flesh and blood. Therefore appear also the nativity, the passion, the resurrection, and the ascension of the Son of the heavenly Father in the same sacrament. (qtd. Gassner 317)

This theology is reflected in a number of liturgies, such as that of St. John Chrysostom, in the Unde et memores, the prayer spoken over the consecrated elements (Gassner 300); the Roman Canon added a reference to the Nativity to its Eucharistic prayer sometime in the fifth-century. Although the addition was later removed, the Western Church, until the Reformation, saw in the Eucharistic Sacrifice the "making present" not only of Christ's Passion, death and

Resurrection, but his Incarnation and Nativity as well (Gassner 305-309). Similarly, in the Sarum Christmas liturgy one finds parallels between the Nativity and Christ's redemptive act in the Christmas Sequence, where the powers of hell are said to be destroyed with the birth of the Christ-child;⁵ at Mass for Christmas-Day, the Church not only celebrates the birth of Christ, but "makes present" Christ's sacrifice of himself in the Passion as well.

It is important to remember this older definition when examining Southwell's writings, for he uses it in his poetry on various Church feasts. In "The Nativitie of Christ," Christ's birth is sacrificial in nature and begins the redemptive moment. Similarly, in "New heaven, new warre," Christ is a warrior whose birth in poverty will destroy the powers of hell. Southwell is working within a very old tradition; Christ's Passion, death and Resurrection are part of each Mass, even those of the Christmas season, and in Southwell's Christmas poetry one finds the suffering and the sacrifice of the infant Christ. In his poetry on the events of Christ's life, one finds the sense of being physically present at and part of the act of redemption which the Latin Canon retains.

For other church fathers, the Eucharistic Sacrifice "makes present" the sacrifice of Christ inasmuch as it is a representation of the Church's sacrifice of itself to God in conjunction with Christ's offering of himself. This interpretation is found in the earliest patristic tradition (Cyprian, qtd. Lepin 71), and is developed more thoroughly by Augustine, who uses it to define the Eucharistic Sacrifice in The City of God. As there are many grains in one bread and many grapes in one wine, so there are many believers in one Church. Christ, then, is the head of the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ on earth, and the Church is simultaneously offered to God with Christ's sacramental offering in the Eucharist:

All of us together, and each one in particular, constitute His temple because He deigns to take for a dwelling both the community of all and the person of each individual As the best gifts we consecrate and surrender to Him our very selves which He has given us.⁶ (The City of God 10.3; 7: 120-121)

Christ offered himself to God; "'in the form of a servant' . . . [Christ] "is Mediator, Priest, and Sacrifice" (City of God 10.6; 7: 127).⁷ In the same way, the congregation, as members of Christ's Body, should emulate Christ, and offer themselves in "spiritual service" to God (The City of God 10.6; 7: 127). Augustine, then, can also be seen to implicitly use Chrysostom, arguing that the sacrifice of Christ's Body is "made present" in the offering of the

members of that Body, the Church, through the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Moreover, surrender to God's will also follows Augustine's definition of sacrifice, and is the means by which the Christian imitates the life of Christ. A sacrifice is that which

unites us in a holy communion with God . . . [and] is aimed at that final Good in which alone we can be truly blessed A sacrifice . . . is something divine -- which is what the ancient Latins meant by the word sacrificium. For this reason, a man himself who is consecrated in the name of God and vowed to God is a sacrifice.⁸ (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126)

Furthermore, the priest who re-enacts the sacrifice of Christ in the Mass is also a sacrifice, "consecrated in the name of God and vowed to God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126).⁹ Likewise, the Roman Catholics of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, as members of Christ's Body, are offered to God in the sacrifice of the Mass.

These ideas are important in understanding Southwell's poetry and his desire for martyrdom. Southwell draws heavily on Augustine's ideas; in particular, he stresses the need for the congregation to emulate Christ as members of his Body. If a man consecrated to God, who surrenders himself to God and rejects the world, is a sacrifice, then recusants who accept the penalties for refusing to attend Mass, and reject the world, are also sacrifices.¹⁰

Consequently, the themes of martyrdom found in Southwell's poetry are more complex than scholars often realize, since they are an extension of Augustine's definition of sacrifice. Southwell uses Augustine to emphasize the need to surrender to God rather than yield to the demands of the world; through unworldliness the Christian is "made sacred" -- the original meaning of the Latin for "sacrifice" -- in the eyes of God.

Augustine's teaching on sacrifice, like Chrysostom's, can also be extended to the Incarnation and the Nativity. If a man consecrated to God is himself a sacrifice, then Christ, consecrated to God, is a sacrifice from the moment of his Incarnation. The Incarnation and the Nativity are themselves sacrificial; Christ, in taking on the limitations of a human being, is born "consecrated in the name of God" that sinners may be brought to God.¹¹ The understanding among the early Church Fathers was that the Incarnation was not redemptive in itself, but it was part of Christ's obedient sacrifice to the Father which culminated in his Passion, death and Resurrection.

Thus Christ's true sacrifice is not his shedding of blood, but his surrender to the Father's will in accepting death. And if Christ's surrender of himself to God was his act of sacrifice, theologians argued, then so too was the entire life of Christ: the Incarnation, his birth, his

childhood, his public ministry. Truly divine, the second member of the Trinity, God became a human being subject to the difficulties to which all humanity is subject: cold, hunger, fatigue, pain.

This understanding of Christ, in the moment of the Incarnation, "imprisoning himself in human flesh" (Laut, 1972), is important in understanding Southwell's use of sacrifice. The idea goes back to St. Paul, who describes how Christ "exinanited [humbled] him self, taking the forme of a seruant" (Rheims; Phil. 2: 7a).¹² The fourth-century Greek monk Eutyches (375?-454) likewise uses the idea to define the hypostatic union, or the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Jesus Christ. Eutyches' definition was accepted by the Council of Chalcedon (451):

Hence, the proper character of each nature [human and divine] was kept inviolate, and together they were united in one person. Thus was lowliness assumed by majesty, weakness by power, mortality by eternity; and a nature that could not be defiled was united to one that could suffer in order to repay the debt attaching to our state.¹³ ("Letter to Flavius," qtd. in The Church Teaches 412; [143])

Southwell uses this definition of the hypostatic union in his Nativity poetry, where he portrays the Christ-child's poverty and helplessness, as well as in the so-called "Gethsemane poems," where he stresses Christ's voluntary assumption of suffering and death.

Southwell develops Eucharistic imagery cryptically, as Roman Catholic literature was dangerous to possess. Nevertheless, he can explore many of these arguments in such a manner as to make them appealing to Protestants as well as Catholics, and, as will be seen, Augustine's concept of sacrifice as that which unites the believer with God is not alien to Anglican theology. Consequently, Southwell explores Augustine's ideas frequently, notably in his poetry on the life of Christ, and in a number of his apostolic poems which deal with topics such as repentance. He also works heavily with Augustine's definition of sacrifice: a sacrifice is any act which unites sinners with God; hence a man who is vowed to God is a sacrifice. Moreover, the body can be a sacrifice when not used in a sinful manner. The soul, then, "when it offers itself to God so that, aflame in the fire of divine Love . . . [it] is remolded into the unchangeable form of God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126),¹⁴ is therefore "made sacred"--again, the original meaning of "sacrifice."

Aquinas focuses on transubstantiation, or the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist under the form of bread and wine, and not on the question of sacrifice; however, one must sum up his teaching briefly, for if Christ is not truly present in the Eucharist then there can be no

sacrifice. Moreover, Southwell uses "Sinnes heavie loade" and "Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter" to teach the theology of the Real Presence, and he does so in the context of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

For Aquinas, the priest, acting in the person of Christ and through the authority given to the priesthood at the Last Supper, consecrates the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ (ST 3a.82.1). Although the priest says the words, the words themselves are the words of Christ; in the Eucharistic prayer the priest "in obeying Christ's command . . . excuses himself from presumption, saying wherefore calling to mind" (ST 3a.83.4; 59: 159).¹⁵ The priest is only an instrumental cause of the consecration; the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ "purely by God's power" (3a.75.4; 58: 71).¹⁶ Through the instrument of the priest, "God joined his godhead, that is the power of his godhead, to the bread and wine . . . to make from them his body and blood" (ST 3a.75.2; 58: 63).¹⁷

In Aquinas, then, we find what many theologians omit, namely, that the Eucharistic transformation is dependent on Christ, and not the priest. The priest, who represents Christ, offers the bread and wine, the signs of Christ's offering; the people, as the corporate Body of Christ on earth, are joined with the offering of Christ. The Mass

makes use of symbol and sign to represent, as well as to recreate, the redemptive act which it sacramentally re-enacts. Hence, the Eucharist not only represents, but is, the presence of Christ; the Mass not only represents, but is, the moment of the sinner's redemption by Christ.

In the early Church, the Christian had always been able to join liturgically with Christ in his sacrifice. By the High Middle Ages, however, Latin had become incomprehensible to the majority of the population. Moreover, while in the first three centuries nearly all Christians communicated regularly, the fourth and fifth centuries saw a decline in lay communions (Dix 594-595). Consequently, the sense of the Mass as a corporate act of sacrifice had become seriously altered. Abuses developed: the Mass became "an industry," the Eucharist "a commodity" (Fitzpatrick 145). One should not be surprised, then, to find the Reformers rejecting the traditional doctrines of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

The Reformers and the Eucharist

The rejection of the Mass by the Reformers, however, was more than a rejection of abuses found in the late medieval Church. Their rejection of traditional Eucharistic doctrine was tied irrevocably to their soteriology, or theology of redemption. If all that was

necessary for salvation was sola fide, or faith in Christ alone, then the Christian was justified not through works, or through the sacraments; salvation came directly from Christ and existed, independently of the Church, between the sinner and God.

The Reformers used the text from Hebrews, "Thou art a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek" (Oxford; Hebr. 5: 6),¹⁸ to argue that Christ was the eternal high-priest who had made his sacrifice for sinners once and for all time, and that to offer him in the Mass was to crucify him anew. Therefore, they argued, there could be no need for further sacrifice, and no need for any priest to stand in for Christ, who alone was mediator between God and man.¹⁹ These were among the most important objections to the Mass to which Trent would have to respond.

Of all the Reformers, Luther was the most conservative in his Eucharistic doctrine; Luther believed that the sacrament contained not only bread and wine, but Christ's body and blood as well (The Sacrament-- Against the Fanatics 346).²⁰ He vehemently argued, however, that the Eucharist was not a sacrifice; if it were, the priest would be sacrificing not only bread and wine, but Christ himself, to God. Christ offered himself to God for our sins once for all time, "yet [in the Mass] they go ahead and every day offer him up more than a hundred thousand times

And so a miserable man becomes a mediator between God and Christ" (Abomination 320).²¹

Another Reformer, Zwingli, argued against any presence of Christ in the sacrament; he held that Christ's words at the Last Supper were figurative, and that we feed on Christ through faith. Moreover, Zwingli contended that the doctrine of Christ's presence in the sacrament contradicts the words of the creed, which states that Christ is in heaven. Like Luther, he rejects sacrifice; he argues that both sacrificio and mactatio mean blood-offering, and refer to Christ's suffering and death (Defense 96-97).²²

For Calvin, who strongly influenced the Anglican liturgy, spiritual grace comes only through Christ's sacrifice. However, because human beings have limited understanding, Christ left the Eucharist as "token [by which] he makes [his redemptive act] as certain as if we had seen it with our own eyes" (Inst. 4.17.1).²³ Calvin argues that the Eucharist is a sign, but more than a sign: Christ's sacrifice was made once, and cannot be repeated (4.18.3), but by partaking of the Eucharist, Christians experience the grace of his sacrifice (4.17.1).

Calvin's Eucharist therefore retains much of the spiritual value found in Roman Catholic theology; indeed, one might argue that Calvin rejects the traditional meaning of memorare but retains an implicit understanding that

Christ's sacrifice is "made present," albeit in a different way, in the sacrament. "The Spirit truly unites"²⁴ us with Christ in the Eucharist, through which "Christ truly grows into one with us, and refreshes us"²⁵ with "that sacred partaking of his flesh and blood" (4.17.10).²⁶ Southwell can therefore appeal to a Calvinist reader by emphasizing Augustine's definition of sacrifice as that which "unites us in a holy communion with God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125).

Calvin objects that the Mass slays Christ "in a thousand places at every moment" (Inst. 4.18.5),²⁷ and that during the Mass, Christians are not reminded of Christ's sacrifice--here one is aware of how memorare has altered in meaning--but instead must focus on the present, and sit separated from the priest, who alone receives the Eucharist (4.18.9).

Calvin, however, did not reject liturgical sacrifice. He notes two kinds of sacrifices--that of praise or thanksgiving, and that of expiation. Since Christ's sacrifice has wiped out all need for the latter, the Mass as expiation is a sacrilege; the Eucharist, however, can and should be a sacrifice of praise. Our souls and bodies having been consecrated to Christ, we offer thanksgiving from such altars as a "living sacrifice" (Rom. 12: 1; qtd.

4.18.16),²⁸ and we offer ourselves in thanksgiving for our redemption (4.18.17).

Calvin's teaching on sacrifice influenced the Anglican Prayer Book; the priest, after receiving Holy Communion, and saying the Lord's Prayer, prays to God that

we thy humble servants, entirely desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee, humbly beseeching thee, that all which be partakers of this Holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace, and heavenly benediction. (Book of Common Prayer 264)

Here, the Anglican Holy Communion service incorporates not only Calvin's teaching, but the sacrificial teaching of St. Augustine, who urges that Christians "present [their] bodies as a sacrifice, living, holy, pleasing to God -- our spiritual service -- and . . . be transformed in the newness of our minds" (City of God 10.6; 7: 127).²⁹ The emphasis is on self-offering rather than the corporate offering of the church; nevertheless, Anglicans offer themselves not only as Christ's Mystical Body, the Church, but as those who are filled with the Real Presence of Christ.

Although he rejects traditional Roman Catholic doctrine, Calvin's acknowledgement of the human need for symbol in liturgy leaves its mark on Anglican liturgy. As

a result, Southwell has a common ground between Catholics and Protestants with which he can work, since Anglicans do not deny the value of liturgical sacrifice.

Early Catholic Apologists

One early apologist, St. John Fisher, argued that the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Real Presence did not detract from Christ's sacrifice on Calvary, as the Reformers contended; rather, they strengthened it (Rex 139-140). Most interesting is Fisher's appreciation of the link between the Eucharist and the Incarnation. Zwingli based his argument against the Real Presence on the text, "It is the spirit that gives life, the flesh is of no avail" (Oxford; John 6: 63).³⁰ Consequently, he argued, the Christian who believes in Christ's sacrifice on the cross receives Christ's body and blood by an act of faith (Defense 114). Fisher countered that if the flesh gives nothing, then the Incarnation is worthless, and Christ became flesh in vain (qtd. Rex 253, n72).³¹ Likewise, St. Thomas More stressed parallels between the Incarnation and the Eucharist; he cited St. Justin Martyr's argument that as Christ,

being incarnate [by the word of God], had fleshe and blood for our saluacion, so this food wherewith our fleshe and blood by alteration be norished after it be consecrate by the same word . . . the fleshe and

bloode of the same Iesus incarnat.³² (Treatise on the Passion 161)

Gregory Martin, translator of the Rheims New Testament, uses this argument in his notes on this text of St. John's Gospel:

If this speach were spoken in the sense of the Sacramentaries, it would take away Christs Incarnation, manhod [sic], and death, no lesse then his corporal presence in the sacrament. For if his flesh were not profitable, al these things were vaine. (Martin, "Annotations" 238, n63)

By Southwell's time, Fisher's argument seems to have become a standard refutation of the denial of the Real Presence in the seminaries on the continent. Southwell would have been familiar with the argument; he uses it implicitly, combining Eucharistic and sacrificial imagery in his poetry on the Incarnation.

Other apologists emphasized scriptural texts to counter arguments that the Eucharistic Sacrifice had no foundation in Scripture. While the Reformers used Hebrews to argue that Christ had suffered once, for all time, and was now at the right hand of God, and could not be sacrificed again, apologists used the same text to argue that Christ as high priest offers sacrifice daily in the Mass through his intercession for us.

Important to this argument was a clarification of the meaning of sacrifice. DeVillegaignon (1510?-1572) argued

that the Reformers misunderstood the word "sacrifice," and that Calvin was wrong in defining "oblatio" and "mactatio" to be one and the same.³³ "We do not offer Christ in order that he suffers and dies anew: nevertheless we offer him in true sacrifice to the Father" (qtd. Lepin 263, n1).³⁴ Similarly, DeVillegaignon argues, if a sacrifice requires blood, then prayers cannot be sacrifices either (Lepin 315, n3).³⁵

Tapper's definition of sacrifice is particularly important in understanding the use of sacrificial imagery by Southwell, who emphasizes Christ's act of obedience to the Father as a model for his fellow Catholics. Tapper argued that the Eucharist is the sacrifice of Christ as he intercedes for us in heaven; as we offer the sacrifice of bread and wine, which Christ transforms into his body and blood, the Father accepts Christ's act of obedience once and for all time (Lepin 289, n2).³⁶ Here, Tapper argues, as does DeVillegaignon, that to understand the sacrifice of the Mass one must understand "sacrifice" differently than did the Reformers: a sacrifice is a giving of self, an act of total obedience, "that which unites us in a holy communion with God" (The City of God 10.6; 7: 125),³⁷ and not a ritual killing. One finds Tapper's argument in a number of those poems which are traditionally held to be influenced only by the Exercises: Christ's suffering, in

"The Nativitie of Christ" and in "His circumcision," are sacrificial in nature, as Christ's obedience to God is part of the offering which is "made present" in the Mass.

The apologists do not agree entirely; they are inconsistent at times, particularly in their use of "offer" and "immolate" (Lepin 266). However, they retain the definitions of sacrifice as developed by the Church fathers, particularly Augustine, and influence the Council of Trent.

The Eucharist and the Council of Trent

The Sacrifice of the Mass had never been challenged until Luther, and, until the sixteenth-century, there had never been a need to define it. Although the Council of Trent concurred that a sacrifice was offered at the Last Supper, theologians were unable to agree on the exact nature of that sacrifice; as a result, Southwell was free to use any of their ideas in his poetry.

Trent chose Aquinas as its final authority on the Real Presence, perhaps because he anticipated so many of the Reformers' objections. Against Zwingli's charge that Christians tear at Christ's flesh and bones with their teeth ("On the Lord's Supper" 190-191), Aquinas argues that, even at the Last Supper, Christ gave his disciples "his body impassible and immortal"; it cannot undergo

change (3a.81.3; 59: 95).³⁸ Like Calvin and Zwingli, Aquinas agrees that Christ is not locally in the sacrament, but in heaven (3a.75.1; 58: 59; 3a.76.5; 58: 109); however, Aquinas holds that it is possible for the substance of Christ's body and blood to be present in the Eucharist, under the forms of bread and wine, even as his risen body remains locally in heaven (3a.75.2; 58: 61-63).³⁹ Finally, Aquinas agrees that Christ remains present as a truth in our minds; nevertheless, his bodily presence remains "in an invisible way under sacramental appearances" (3a.75.2; 58: 59)⁴⁰ so as to remain with us, while we make our pilgrimage to him.⁴¹

The question of whether or not the Mass was a sacrifice, however, was not so easily answered. Of the Protestant objections to the Mass, two pertained to the question of sacrifice: first, that the Eucharist was only a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice, and not a true sacrifice; and second, that as a sacrifice, the Mass had no benefits for those who were not present (CT VI-I: 322-3; qtd. McHugh 161). The remaining objections pertained to lesser matters such as the scriptural origin of the Mass.

Although theologians argued mostly from tradition, they also used Scripture. However, they drew on the same texts which the Reformers had used, and each interpretation of the Mass could be supported by a different

interpretation of Hebrews. Where the Reformers used Hebrews to argue that Christ was high priest, and that the Mass was therefore a blasphemy against Christ's sacrifice, the Council Fathers responded that it was Christ who offered the sacrifice through the person of the priest, and not the priest himself (Power 56); in this way, Christ fulfilled the Scripture: "Thou art a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek" (Oxford; Hebr. 5: 6).⁴² For Christ had offered himself once on the cross; yet his offering was given to God eternally; without the sacrifice of the Mass, they argued, Christ would have only offered himself once, in a historical moment of time, and not "forever," as stated in Scripture.⁴³

After the Council rejected the Reformers' arguments that the Mass was not a sacrifice, they attempted to define the nature and propitiatory character of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. On these points the Council was less easily agreed. One group argued that the Mass was parallel to the Last Supper, where Christ made an offering of himself before dying on the cross. This offering "was sacramentally represented in the Mass, but because of the real presence it could be said . . . that the victim of the sacrifice of the cross . . . was offered" (Power 45). A second group argued that Christ's actual offering of himself on the cross was present, through the action of the

priest, in a mystical way, as the Church, joined together with Christ, stood outside the boundaries of space and time. Finally, a third group argued that Christ's continuous heavenly offering of himself as eternal high priest, received by the Father as his act of sacrifice, was mystically present in the Eucharist (Power 45).

Some theologians supported the argument that the Last Supper was an oblation with Scriptural texts: "datur, funditur, frangitur"--"given over, poured out, broken"--Christ's words over the bread and wine constitute the language of sacrifice (Somnius, qtd. Lepin 297, n3). In addition, they argued, because Christ talked about his offering of his body and blood in the present tense, he offered a genuine sacrifice--"Hoc est corpus meus"--"This is my body which is given up for you," and "my blood which is poured out" (Lepin 298).

These interpretations of the Last Supper met with considerable opposition (Lepin 298; 303f). Finally, unable to define the exact nature of the sacrifice which took place at the Last Supper, the delegates at Trent stated that Christ offered a sacrifice in such general terms as would allow theologians to interpret the Eucharistic Sacrifice according to their own views:

That His priesthood might not come to an end with his death, at the last supper, on the night He was betrayed, that He might leave to His beloved spouse

the Church a visible sacrifice . . . whereby that bloody sacrifice once to be accomplished on the cross might be represented, the memory thereof remain even to the end of the world. . . . [Christ], declaring Himself constituted a priest forever according to the order of Melchisedech, offered up to God the Father His own body and blood under the form of bread and wine.⁴⁴ (Twenty-Second Session, Chapter One)

Cardinal Madruzzo proposed that an additional phrase, "a true sacrifice for us," be inserted. It is significant that his addition was rejected, for the document as it stood allowed for any of the interpretations of the nature of Christ's sacrifice at the Last Supper which had been argued for. Whereas Madruzzo's amendment would have required the specific view that the Last Supper was expiatory (McHugh 175), the document as it stands requires only the belief that at the Last Supper, Christ instituted a "visible sacrifice which was to be forever continued in the Mass in order that through this rite" Christ's redemptive sacrifice might be made present (McHugh 176). The sacrifice of the Mass, then, can only provide forgiveness of sins through the sacrifice of the cross, not independently of it.

Moreover, what was established with regards to the Last Supper was also established with regards to the Mass. Originally, the first canon was phrased to read:

If anyone should say that the mass is not a sacrifice, but only a commemoration of the sacrifice which took

place on the cross let him be anathema.⁴⁵ (CT VIII: 754. 25-27; qtd. McHugh 174)

A month later, it had been revised to read:

If anyone should say that in the mass there is not offered to God a true and proper sacrifice . . . let him be anathema.⁴⁶ (CT VIII: 911. 30-32; qtd. McHugh 174)

As with the Last Supper, if the Mass is a sacrifice, then the understanding is that the Mass is a sacrifice in addition to that of the cross; but if a sacrifice is offered in the Mass, then what is offered in the Mass is the sacrifice of the cross.⁴⁷

Thus, the Council of Trent left its definitions of sacrifice open to interpretation, and did not provide any real resolution to the controversies at hand. At the same time, Trent did establish a definition of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which was general enough to allow continued debate, while specific in rejecting the ideas of the Reformers. Southwell is therefore free to use any one of the definitions given by Council theologians, and he works with several of them, often blending them together. He uses Tapper's argument that Christ's act of sacrifice is his surrender to God's will; he combines this idea with Augustine, arguing that in his Incarnation and Nativity Christ made his act of surrender, and that therefore Christians are joined with God through Christ's birth as

well as through his death. He portrays Christ's surrender, particularly in Gethsemane, as an act of self-consecration, with Christ offering his body and blood for sinners even while in Gethsemane ("Sinnes heavie load" 31-36). He portrays Christ being "given over, poured out, [and] broken" in the Gethsemane poems. Moreover, he uses these definitions of sacrifice to persuade Roman Catholics to imitate Christ through their own acts of surrender, as well as to appeal to Anglicans who, after receiving Christ's spiritual presence in communion, offer themselves to God in a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

Counter-Reformation Sacrifice

It is in the above context that one needs to understand the Spiritual Exercises and Southwell's use of them. Ignatian spirituality stands in a long tradition, emphasizing the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Trinity as an act of surrender, and stressing the need for the Christian to do likewise. Ignatius' prayer, "Take and receive," develops the concept of sacrifice as defined by Augustine and by theologians at Trent. Like Christ, the practitioner is expected to surrender totally, making an offering and consecration of self to God by submitting to his will:

Take, Lord, and receive all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and my entire will, all that I have and possess. Thou hast given all to me. To Thee, O Lord, I return it. All is Thine, dispose of it wholly according to Thy will. Give me Thy love and Thy grace, for this is sufficient for me.⁴⁸ ([234], emphasis mine)

In addition to its Eucharistic and sacrificial roots, Ignatian spirituality has its roots in medieval meditative practices⁴⁹ as Bennett notes,

Such earlier dévotés as Margery Kempe, whether or not they read some version of [St. Bonaventure's] Meditationes, followed exactly this practice, considering themselves to be present at Calvary, and, imagining Christ on the Cross, 'made a colloquy with Him,' just as Loyola was to suggest. (Poetry of the Passion 146)

Moreover, traditional Catholic devotions, such as The Way of the Cross and the Rosary, use meditation; the Way of the Cross also uses colloquy, wherein the practitioner addresses Christ crucified and resolves to reform.

What Ignatius introduced was an increased emphasis on the paradox of the Incarnation, on Christ as both God and Man. Other Christians have dealt with the concept of "the Creator [having] become a man . . . but none were more awestruck than the founder of the Jesuits" (Roberts, "Influence of the Spiritual Exercises" 454). Others focus on Christ's majesty or on his suffering. It is in Ignatian spirituality that one finds the balance between the two most tightly maintained; the sense that arises is the

powerlessness of the all-powerful, the dependence of God on those whom he created to sustain him in life, the surrender of the Son to the Father's will in the Incarnation and the Nativity. Such an act of surrender follows Augustine's definition of sacrifice: "a man himself who is consecrated in the name of God and vowed to God is a sacrifice" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126).⁵⁰

The understanding of Christ's sacrifice as a continual submission to the Father's will, uniting Christians "in a holy communion with God," explains what some scholars call Southwell's "peculiarly Jesuitical desire for martyrdom" as something deeper (Schten 78). Southwell's spirituality reflects his understanding of the appropriate response of a Christian to God's love. For the English Catholic, particularly the priest, the price for remaining faithful was almost certainly martyrdom. And since martyrdom was the finest act of submission a sinner could make, then to submit to martyrdom was to submit to God's will just as Christ had. Therefore, Southwell should respond to Christ's gift of himself by giving himself totally to God. This idea of mutual sacrifice is expressed by Southwell in his poetry, and in the breviary he had while in prison, which contained the words "God hath given himself to thee, give thyself to him" scratched in the book with a pin, "as

he was wont to write often on all his belongings" (Garnet, qtd. Janelle 69).

In some ways, Southwell's concept of sacrifice does not differ much from that of Herbert, who offers his heart to God and asks for submission to God's will, but his personal view of the worth of his own sacrifice is different. While Herbert sees his sacrifice as an inadequate and inappropriate response to Christ's love, Southwell sees his sacrifice as an appropriate response, however inadequate it may be.⁵¹ Furthermore, Herbert's act is more individual, while Southwell retains a stronger emphasis on communal sacrifice. As a Roman Catholic priest, he surrendered himself spiritually, in the Mass, as well as physically, in giving his life. As Scallion notes, much of Southwell's apostolic purpose in writing was to convince other Christians that they, too, could be "like to [the] crucified Saviour" (Spiritual Exercises and Devotions 34) through their submission--not only to their government, but to their Church, however harsh the persecution became (Scallion 114; Devlin 138-148). For Southwell, therefore, all Christians may join, as members of the Body of Christ, and participate in his act of surrender.

Moreover, the priest who joins with Christ in the sacrifice of Calvary in the Eucharist offers himself with Christ in total surrender to God; as Christ gave of himself

for sinners, so the sinner should give himself for others. If Christ overcame evil by surrender to the Father's will, then Southwell, too, as a Jesuit, can emulate Christ and his redemptive act by giving himself for the salvation of his neighbor. In his Spiritual Exercises and Devotions, he notes,

My aim in entering religion was that, by constant mortification of self and by submitting myself to all men for Christ's sake, I might become as like to my crucified Saviour as I could.⁵² (33-34, emphasis mine)

A final Counter-Reformation theologian who must be noted is St. Robert Bellarmine, who held the chair of controversial theology at the English College in Rome from 1576 to 1588. Bellarmine develops Augustine's ideas on sacrifice in an attempt to refute Protestant arguments. His theories have passed into disuse, but his ideas influenced the seventeenth-century Eucharistic theology, and while his work, De controversiis christianae fidei, was not published until 1593, Southwell would have heard the lectures on which Bellarmine's text was based:

A true definition of sacrifice in general, in the strict sense, can be given as follows: sacrifice is an external oblation made to God alone, by which, in recognition of human infirmity and in worship of the divine majesty, some visible and permanent reality is consecrated and changed by a mystic rite, performed by a duly constituted minister.⁵³ (qtd. Clark 452)

Later, Bellarmine argued that "a true and real death, or destruction, of the thing offered" must be part of the sacrifice (qtd. Clark 453). No destruction can come to the body of Christ, but Christ's sacramental presence ceases to exist upon the altar when the Host is consumed. The definition of a sacrifice as a form of destruction was to influence later theologians. Southwell uses Bellarmine's definition so as to emphasize consecration and change; his poetry on the Nativity contrasts Christ's divine majesty with his human state. In poems such as "St. Peter's Complaint," St. Peter acknowledges his own weakness and God's power, and is transformed. Southwell, however, focuses on internal change, rather than visible reality being transformed.

Bellarmino shows the influence of Augustine in his thinking: we are "not to be conformed to this world but be transformed in the newness of our minds It is we ourselves who constitute the whole sacrifice" (City of God 10.6; 7: 127).⁵⁴ Moreover, as a Jesuit, he is inevitably influenced by Ignatius as well: the "recognition of human infirmity and . . . divine majesty" echoes strongly the Exercises, wherein the practitioner considers

how the Three Divine Persons look down on the . . . earth, filled with human beings. Since They see all are going down to hell, They decree in Their eternity that the Second Person should become a man.⁵⁵
 ([102])

Furthermore, the act of "consecrat[ion] and change" which follows echoes the "Take and receive." As Eucharistic theology influenced Ignatian spirituality, so, too, Ignatian spirituality now influences Eucharistic theology. As a result, one sees that, by Southwell's time, the numerous threads of sacrificial doctrine cannot easily be sorted out, as each theologian draws on those who came before. Similarly, Southwell draws not only on Ignatius, but also on Bellarmine, as well as on Augustine, Chrysostom, and the sacrificial nature of the Incarnation as defined by the Council of Chalcedon, "lowliness assumed by majesty [and] weakness by power,"⁵⁶ using those images which are suitable to his purposes in any particular poem.

NOTES

1. For a more thorough description of Ignatius' mysticism, see the Autobiography [28], and the Spiritual Diary, especially [63], [83], [85], and [88].

2. See M. Lepin, L'idée du sacrifice de la Messe d'après théologiens (1-241), and Clark, Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation passim, for a complete survey of early and medieval Church teachings.

3. Quid vero? annon nos quotidie offerimus? Offerimus quidem, sed ejus mortem revocamus in memoriam: et ipsa una est, non multae. Quomodo una est, non multae? Quoniam semel fuit oblata, sicut illa fuit in sancta sanctorum. Hoc est figura illius, et ipsa istius: eundem enim semper offerimus, non nunc aliam, cras aliam ovem, sed semper eandem. Quamobrem unum est sacrificium propter hanc rationem: alioquin hac ratione, quoniam multis in locis offertur, multine sunt Christi? Nequaquam, sed unus ubique Christus, qui et hic est plenus, et illic plenus, unum corpus. Ut ergo multis in locis oblatus unum est corpus, et non multa corpora: ita etiam unum est sacrificium. Pontifex noster ille est qui obtulit hostiam, quae nos mundat. Illam nunc quoque offerimus, quae tunc fuit oblata, quae non potest consumi. Hoc fit in recordationem ejus quod tunc factum est: Hoc enim facite, inquit, in meam commemorationem (Luc, 22. 19). Non aliam hostiam, sicut pontifex, sed eandem semper facimus, vel potius sacrificii facimus commemorationem. (In Epistolam ad Hebrews, Homily XVII; Patrologiae Graecae [PG]; 63: 131)

4. For a complete discussion of the Anamnesis and its parallels with the Nativity, see Gassner, The Canon of the Mass, 305-323.

5. See the Sequence for the Mass at Cock-Crow:

Humana concrepent cuncta
Deum natum in terra.
Confracta sunt imperia
hostis crudelissima;
Pax in terra reddita.
Nunc laetentur omnia. (Missale Sarum 53)

Let the wide universe rejoice,
That God is born this day.
Burst are the iron chains
Which held the world in thrall;
The cruel foe no longer reigns,
Peace is restored to all. (The Sarum Missal in English 1: 99)

6. Hujus enim templum simul omnes, et singuli templa sumus [1 Cor. 3: 16, 17]; quia et omnium concordiam, et singulos inhabitare dignatur ei dona ejus in nobis, nosque ipsos vovemus, et reddimus. (De Civitate Dei 10.3; Patrologiae Latinae [henceforth PL] 41: 280)

All translations of Augustine are taken from the Fathers of the Church series.

7. Secundum forma servi, hanc mediator est, in hac sacerdos, in hac sacrificium est (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284).

8. Opus, quod agitur, ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse possimus Tamen sacrificium res divina est: ita ut hoc quoque vocabulo id Latini

veteres appellaverint. Unde ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus, et Deo votus . . . sacrificium est. (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283)

9. Dei nomine consecratus, et Deo votus (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

10. See Chapter One, endnote 2, pages 35-36, for a brief summary of the Penal Laws.

11. This definition of sacrifice, and the understanding of the Incarnation as a sacrifice, is generally not stressed in Reformed theology. For Calvin, Christ "took our flesh . . . [so] that he would be a sacrifice in our behalf" (Inst. II. 12.4). The Incarnation, for Calvin, came first; Christ's act of sacrifice followed. This interpretation stems from the Germanic definition of sacrifice, or opfer, wherein sacrifice refers to ritual slaughter (in Latin, mactatio). While Calvin uses sacrificio in the original text of the Institutes, he is clearly influenced by the Germanic understanding of sacrifice as slaughter:

Surely, since in every age, even when the law had not been published, the Mediator never was promised without blood, we infer that he was appointed by God's eternal plan to purge the uncleanness of men; for shedding of blood is a sign of expiation. (Inst. 2.12.4)

Moreover, Calvin's theology stresses the distinction between the two natures of Christ more than Roman Catholic theology does; while he acknowledges the oneness of the God-man,

Calvin places less emphasis on the conjunction of Christ's human and divine natures in one man than does Roman Catholic theology. Consequently, Reformed theology tends to view the Incarnation as a means to Christ's sacrifice on the cross, while Roman Catholic theology tends to view the Incarnation as the first moment of an act of sacrifice which finds its finest expression in the Passion (Inst. 2.14.2; Jeffreys 374-375).

12. Semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens
(Vulgate; Phil. 2: 7a).

13. Salva igitur proprietate utriusque naturae et in unam coeunte personam, suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas, et ad resolvendum condicionis nostrae debitum natura inviolabilis naturae est unita passibili. (Enchiridion Symbolorum 293 [143])

This view of the Incarnation as sacrificial is found in other theologians; the scholastic theologian Gabriel Biel (1410?-1495), in particular, develops this theme in his discussion of the Incarnation, focusing on the mystery of God's "condescension . . . [in sacrificing] his glories to assume the miseries of the human condition . . . without diminution or loss as regards any of his attributes" (Oberman 265); he views Christ's Passion as a "continual suffering that began at the moment of his birth, the flight into Egypt, and the poverty of his youth" (266-267).

14. anima ipsa cum se refert ad Deum, ut igne amoris ejus accensa . . . eique tanquam incommutabili formae subdita reformetur, hinc ei placens, quod ex ejus pulchritudine acceperit, fit sacrificium? (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283-284)

15. Excusat praesumptionem per obedientiam ad mandatum Christi, cum dicit, Unde et memores (ST 3a.83.4; 59: 158).

16. Sola Dei virtute effecta (ST 3a.75.4; 58: 70).

17. Deus conjugavit divinitatem suam, id est divinam virtutem, pani et vino . . . ut faciat inde corpus et sanguinem suum. (ST 3a.75.2; 58: 62)

18. Thou art a priest for euer after the order of Melchisedec (Geneva; Heb. 5: 6).

Thou art a priest for euer, according to the order of Melchisedec (Rheims; Heb. 5: 6).

Tu es sacerdos aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech (Vulgate; Heb. 5: 6).

19. See Luther, Misuse of the Mass 146-7; Abomination of the Secret Mass 317; 319; see also Zwingli, Defense of the Reformed Faith 104.

20. Although this is generally understood as "consubstantiation," most Lutherans consider the term inadequate inasmuch as it suggests a hypothetical "union of

the body and blood of Christ with the bread and wine other than the union existing in actual sacramental use" (O'Brien, "Consubstantiation" 899b).

21. Noch faren sie zu, und opfern yhn alle tage mehr denn hundert tausent mal ynn der welt Und wird der elende mensch ein mitler zwischen Gott und Christo. (Vom Greuel der Stillmesse 29-30)
22. The Greeks call what we mean by "offering up" "thyein," which also means "to kill, beat to death or butcher". The Latin terms "sacrificare", "mactare" mean the same. (Defense; "Article 18," 96-97)

Die Griechen nennend das, so wir opfren heyssen, thyein . . . heisst ouch: töden, ze tod schlagen oder metzgen. Die Latiner sacrificare, mactare, heisset derglychen. (Auslegen und Grunde der Schlussreden. "Auslegen des 18 Artikels"; Band 2: 118: 8-10)

23. Figuram eius et imaginem in signis visibilibus exhibet ad modulum nostrum aptissimis: imo velut datis arrhis ac tesseris tam certum nobis facit, quam si oculis cerneretur. (Inst. 4.17.1)

All references to Calvin are from the translation by Ford Lewis Battles; all Latin references are from the edition by A. Tholuck.

24. Spiritum vere unire (Inst. 4.17.10).
25. nobiscum Christus vere in unum coalescat nosque reficiat (Inst. 4.17.10).
26. sacram illam carnis et sanguinis sui communicationem (Inst. 4.17.10).

27. Quid quod eo directe spectat Missa, ut rursus, si fieri possit, trucidetur Christus? "Nam ubi testamentum est (inquit Apostolus Hebr. 9, 16) mortem testatoris intercedere illic necesse est." Missae novum Christi testamentum prae se fert: eius ergo mortem postulat. Praeterea hostiam, quae offertur, occidi et immolari necesse est. Si Christus singulis Missis sacrificatur, eum singulis momentis mille in locis crudeliter interfici oportet. (Inst. 4.18.5)

What of the fact that the Mass leads directly to the end that, if such can be, Christ be slain again? For where there is a testament (says the apostle), there the death of the testator must take place [Heb. 9: 16]. The Mass displays a new testament of Christ; therefore, it requires his death. Moreover, it is necessary that the victim offered be slain and sacrificed. If Christ is sacrificed in each and every Mass, he must be cruelly slain in a thousand places at every moment. (Inst. 4.18.5)

28. Sic Paulus iubet nos offerre corpora nostra, hostiam viventem, sanctam, acceptam Deo, rationalem cultum (Rom. 12: 1) (Inst. 4.18.16).

29. Cum itaque nos hortatus esset Apostolus, ut exhibeamus corpora nostra hostiam vivam, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium nostrum, et reformemur in novitate mentis nostrae. (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284)

30. It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing (Rheims; John 6: 64).

Spiritus est, qui vivificat; caro non prodest quidquam (Vulgate; John 6: 64).

31. Iam et Christus frustra suscepisset carnem (qtd. Rex 253, n72).

In this Fisher is drawing on a church tradition which goes back as far as Augustine and is developed by Aquinas:

Cum enim Augustinus dicit, Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, non intendit excludere veritatem corporis Christi, sed quod non erat manducandum in hac specie in qua ab eis videbatur. . . . non intendit quod corpus Christi sit in hoc sacramento solum secundum mysticam significationem, sed spiritualiter Unde, super Joan., exponens id quod dicitur, 'Caro non prodest quidquam,' dicit Sed quo modo illi intellexerunt. Carnem quippe sic intellexerunt manducandam, quo modo in cadavere dilaniatur aut in macello venditur: non quo modo spiritu vegetatur. Accedat spiritus ad carnem, et prodest plurimum: nam, si caro nihil prodesset, Verbum caro non fieret, ut habitaret in nobis. (ST 3a.75.1; 58: 56-58)

When Augustine says, you will not be eating this body which you see, he does not intend to exclude the reality of Christ's body; what he does rule out is that they would eat it under the same form in which they were looking at it. . . . He does not mean that the body of Christ is in this sacrament only as in a mystical symbol; it is said to be there spiritually For this reason, commenting on the text of John, 'the flesh is of no avail', he writes, it is of no avail, in the way they understood. They thought of eating flesh as if it had been torn from the carcass or sold in the butcher's stall; they did not understand flesh as enlivened by the spirit. When the spirit is united to the flesh, then indeed it is of great avail, for if flesh could never be of avail, the Word would not have been made flesh to dwell among us. (ST 3a.75.1; 58: 57-59)

32. Neque vero hec pro pane potuve communi sumimus. Imo quem admodum verbo dei Iesus Christus, seruator noster incarnatus, habuit pro salute nostra carnem et sanguinem; ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimentum (quo sanguis et carnes nostri per

immutationem enutriuntur) eiusdem incarnati Iesu carnem et sanguinem esse. (More, "Treatise on the Passion" 161)

33. An oblatio hostiae in sacrificum, et hujus hostiae mactatio, una et eadem res fuisse potuerit? . . . Tu me ex hac difficultate expedies, ibi docueris quo exemplo oblatio et hostiae mactatio una eademque res et actio fuerint. (Ad articulos Calvinianae de sacramento Eucharistiae traditionis, qtd. Lepin 263, n1)

Can the oblation of the host for a sacrifice, and the killing of this victim have been one and the same event? You will get me out of this difficulty when you have taught me how, by example, an illustration of an offering and the killing of a victim are one and the same thing and action.

34. Nos autem, nomine Christi, sanguinem ejus corpusque offerimus, non quod recens denuoque offeramus ut patiat; sed oblatum ab eo semel . . . offerimus. Panis enim, ad mysterium propositus, non sacrificatur aut mutatur in corpus quod rursus offeratur moriturum, sed panis mutatur in corpus sacrificatum et oblatum priusquam pateretur. (De venerandissimo Ecclesiae sacrificio, qtd. Lepin 263, n1)

35. Et cum dicunt non esse sacrificium absque sanguinis effusione, resp. orationes esse verum sacrificium, et ad Rom. Paulus docet offerendas esse hostias Deo placentes. Et Paulum ad Hebraeos loquutum de obligatione (pour oblatione) crucis, sine qua non potest haberi remissio peccatorum, neque per poenitentiam, neque alio modo. (qtd. Lepin 315, n3)

And when they say it is not a sacrifice without the effusion of blood, it is to be responded that prayers are a true sacrifice, and in Romans Paul teaches that sacrifices pleasing to God are to be offered. And [it is to be responded] that Paul spoke of the sacrifice of the cross in Hebrews, without which remission of sins cannot be had, neither by penitence nor in any other way.

See also McHugh 164.

36. Christus autem siepsum, hoc est corpus et sanguinem suum (consecrando), Patri exhibebat ut sanctificaret Patrique conjungeret sanctos Apostolos esu et potu sacrae Eucharistiae, ad Patris gloriam ac reverentiam . . . Facere igitur se esse in sacramento, juxta B. Augustini et aliorum definitionem, est vere sacrificare. Eadem quoque ratione, quandocumque in missa fit consecratio sacrae Eucharistiae, fit sacrificium. Agitur enim opus, ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo, cum Eucharistia sit sacramentum unionis, institutum ut cum Deo unus simus spiritus. (Explicatio articulorum, qtd. Lepin 289, n2)
37. Quod agitur, ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).
38. suis corpus suum impassibile et immortale (ST 3a.81.3.3; 59: 94).
39. Corpus Christi non est eo modo in sacramento sicut corpus in loco Corpus Christi est in diversis altaribus, non sicut in diversis locis, sed sicut in sacramento. Per quod intelligimus quod Christus sit ibi solum sicut in signo, licet sacramentum sit in genere signi . . . intelligimus corpus Christi hic esse, sicut dictum est, secundum proprium modum huic sacramento. (ST 3a.75.2; 58: 58)
40. invisibiliter . . . sub speciebus hujus sacramenti (ST 3a.75.2; 58: 58).
41. Interim . . . nec sua praesentia corporalis in hac peregrinatione destituit, sed per veritatem corporis et sanguinis sui nos sibi conjungit in hoc sacramento. (ST 3a.75.1; 58: 56)

42. Thou art a priest for euer after the order of Melchisedec (Geneva; Heb. 5: 6).

Thou art a priest for euer, according to the order of Melchisedec (Rheims-Douai; Heb. 5: 6).

Tu es sacerdos aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech (Vulgate; Heb. 5: 6).

43. For the Council Fathers, there was no question that the Mass was a sacrifice; indeed, they seemed to have had limited understanding of how a different view of the Eucharist would automatically lead to a different interpretation of Hebrews. For if one saw the Eucharist as a sacrifice, then the scriptural and patristic quotes used to support the doctrine made perfect sense; if one saw the Mass as sacrilege, then no amount of scriptural quotations and patristic teachings would persuade otherwise.

44. Per mortem sacerdotium ejus extinguendum non erat, in coena novissima, qua nocte tradebatur, ut dilectae sponsae suae ecclesiae visibile, sicut hominum natura exigit, relinqueret sacrificium, quo cruentum illud semel in cruce peragendum representaretur, ejusque memoria in finem usque saeculi permaneret . . . sacerdotem secundum ordinem Melchisedech se in aeternum constitutum declarans, corpus et sanguinem suum sub speciebus panis et vini Deo patri obtulit. (CT XXII. I)

45. Si quis dixerit, missam non esse sacrificium, sed commemorationem tantum sacrificii in cruce peracti, aut vocari translato nomine sacrificium, vere tamen et proprie non esse: anathema sit. (CT VIII: 754. 25-27; qtd. McHugh 174)

46. Si quis dixerit, in missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium, aut quod offerre [sic] non sit aliud quam nobis Christum ad manducandum dari, vel tantum prodesse sumenti: anathema sit. (CT VIII: 911. 30-32; qtd. McHugh 174)
47. See CT VI-I: 333, 338, 334, 346, 361, 367.
48. Suscipe, Domine, universam meam libertatem. Accipe memoriam, intellectum atque voluntatem omnem. Quicquid habeo vel possideo, mihi largitus es: id tibi totum restituo, ac tuae prorsus voluntati trado gubernandum. Amorem tui solum cum gratia tua mihi dones, et dives sum satis, aliud quicquam ultra posco. (Exercitia Spiritualia: Versio Vulgata [234])

All translations of The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola are taken from the edition by Louis J. Puhl, S.J.

49. While an attempt to pin down an exact source for Saint Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises would be futile, one should be aware that the best spirituality in Christianity, or in any major religion, has always built itself on past models; "those Christian mystics who were successful built on the past, rather than breaking away from its heritage" (Rahner, The Spirituality of Loyola 16). In tracing Ignatius' spiritual development, Rahner notes that Ignatius records in his journal that the three books which influenced the Exercises included The Imitation of Christ, a work which was

particularly popular for its meditation on the Eucharist and the Passion (24).

50. Unde ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus, et Deo votus . . .
. sacrificium est (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

51. See Chapter 4, pages 171, and 236-237, endnote 10, for further discussion of "Christes bloody sweat" and "The Agonie."

52. Cum religionem ingressus sim ut per continuam mei ipsius mortificationem, omnibusque pro Christo subiunctionem, Salvatori meo pro me crucifixo quantum fieri potest similis efficerer. (Spiritual Exercises and Devotions 119)

53. His ergo rejectis, vera definitio sacrificii proprie dicti in genere haec esse potest sacrificium est oblatio externa facta soli Deo, qua, ad agnitionem humanae infirmitatis et professionem divine majestatis, a legitimo ministro res aliqua sensibilis et permanens ritu mystico consecratur et transmutatur. (De controversiis christianae fidei; De sacrificio missae, lib. I, cap. 2; qtd. Lepin 343, n2)

54. Non conformemur huic saeculo, sed reformemur in novitate mentis nostrae quod totum sacrificium ipsi nos sumus (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284).

55. quomodo Personae tres divinae, universam terrae superficiem speculantes hominibus refertam, qui ad infernum omnes descendebant, in deitatis suae aeternitate decernunt, ut secunda Persona pro salute humani generis naturam hominis assumat. (Exercitia Spiritualia: Versio Vulgata [102])

56. suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas
(Enchiridion Symbolorum 293 [143]).

CHAPTER III

SACRIFICE IN SOUTHWELL'S INCARNATION AND NATIVITY POETRY

Introduction

As noted, the Spiritual Exercises, and Ignatius' prayer "Take and receive," define sacrifice as an act of total surrender, and not simply a blood-offering, as some Reformers maintained. Southwell uses this definition of sacrifice, not only in his poetry on martyrdom, such as "I dye without desert," or in "Sinnes heavie loade," but in his other religious poetry, particularly in his poetry on Christ's Incarnation and Nativity, wherein the birth of the all-powerful God into poverty is an act of submission, performed out of obedience to the Father and out of love for sinners.

Southwell also uses, in his poetry on the Incarnation, Augustine's definition of sacrifice. The Incarnation and birth of Christ are acts of sacrifice because they "[unite] us in a holy communion with God . . . [and are] aimed at that final Good in which alone we can be truly blessed." Christ was born "consecrated in the name of God" so that sinners might be made sacred (City of God 10.6; 7: 125; 125-6).¹

Scallion may be correct in suggesting that the Nativity poems, less somber than "Christ's bloody sweat" or "Sinnes heavie loade," were written before "Southwell had more experience of the realities of the English mission" (121); still, one could just as easily attribute the somber tones of the "Gethsemane poems" to their subjects. Moreover, the Nativity poems do more than "celebrat[e] the joyous paradoxes of Christianity in order to evoke admiring gaiety in the heart of free children of God" (121); they evoke the heart of the Christian mystery by calling on the reader to try to imagine what no human being can imagine--an all-powerful, omnipotent God allowing himself to be born a helpless infant. The Incarnation as a paradox is more than "joyous"; it inspires awe and humiliation in the believer. Moreover, some of the poems in the series, such as "The flight into Egypt," deal with somber subjects, and even the Nativity is often portrayed as a moment of suffering rather than celebration, as in "The burning Babe."

Finally, the subtle sacrificial imagery in the Nativity poems suggests that Southwell may have been active in the English mission at the time; unlike Herbert, Southwell would have been unable to use religious imagery openly; he would have had to turn to more subtle means of teaching Catholic doctrines such as the Eucharistic sacrifice. Furthermore, he could have used such doctrine

in order to encourage Roman Catholics in England to remain faithful and to help them see their steadfastness as a means of emulating Christ, and of participating in his sacrifice. As Scallon notes, Southwell "evidently believed that English Catholics needed to be reminded of the poverty and humility of Jesus to strengthen their wills to accept the sacrifices laid upon them for fidelity to their religion" (117). No one has explored Eucharistic sacrifice in these poems, or Southwell's use of sacrificial imagery as a means of illustrating Christ's birth into poverty.

This chapter shall therefore examine Southwell's application of sacrificial themes in some of his poetry on the Incarnation. "New Prince, new pompe," and "New heaven, new warre" portray Christ's birth into poverty and suffering as an act of sacrifice, performed out of love for God. "The burning Babe," "A childe my Choyce," and "At home in Heaven" likewise depict the sacrificial nature of Christ's birth; however, in these poems, Christ's all-consuming love for sinners is the reason for his act of sacrifice. A number of other poems from the Maeoniae, such as "The Nativitie of Christ," "His circumcission," and "The Epiphanie," likewise work heavily with this theme; however, as these poems also contain important parallels with the Mass, they shall be discussed in a later chapter of this study.

1. "New heaven, new warre"

Martz's analysis of Southwell's debt to the Ignatian meditative structure--"composition of place," "analysis" or understanding, and "colloquy" (Poetry of Meditation 27-32), is invaluable, but at times it is inadequate because it fails to do justice to those poems which do not exactly follow Ignatius' pattern of meditation.

"New heaven, new warre" is the best example of how Southwell's poetry has been forced to fit the Exercises in a way which has led to misinterpretation. Robertson, in his article, correctly argues that the poem is actually "a single poem with two contrasting parts" ("Robert Southwell's 'New heaven, new warre'" 83), but Southwell's editor, Nancy Pollard Brown, claims that they are actually "two separate poems linked only by metrical form and subject" ("Commentary" 124n). Similarly, Helen Gardner suggests that the poem is "two parallel poems on the Nativity, or possibly on the Nativity and the Circumcision" (The Metaphysical Poets 7n, l.1); so too does Lorraine Roberts (Transformations of the Poetry of the English Counter-Reformation 240). Scallon also argues that the poem is two pieces: the first four stanzas are a poem depicting a new heaven, and the latter four are a different poem, "New Warre" (112). Martz suggests that this is "the

most plausible interpretation" (The Meditative Poem 525), although he also considers that the poem may be a single unit. However, he still attempts to divide the poem to make it perfectly fit meditative practices, suggesting that the first half of the poem is "an elaborate 'preludium' (composition)"; then, there are three stanzas of "'application' and analysis, and in the last stanza [is] the appropriate concluding 'colloquy'" (525). But in attempting to label certain parts of the poem according to the Exercises, scholars overlook completely the contrasts which Southwell has created in order to emphasize the weakness of the God-man and how his weakness is the source of his strength. As Robertson correctly points out, "the final stanza refers to both parts of the poem," as does the title (82). I would suggest that, while "New heaven, new warre" shows the influence of the Exercises, if one attempts to force the poem into a meditative pattern, one may overlook other meanings found in the piece.

It is far easier to understand Southwell's purposes by considering the poem in the context of the sacrificial nature of the Incarnation, as defined by the Council of Chalcedon: "lowliness [was] assumed by majesty, [and] weakness by power" (Eutyches, Letter to Flavius, qtd. The Church Teaches 412; [143]; henceforth Eutyches, LF 412; [143]).² In "New heaven, new warre," Christ redeems

sinners through suffering, yet his suffering is not punishment for sin, but the weapon by which the warrior Christ defeats Satan and opens the gates of hell. The poem is striking in its total transformation of the older view of the harrowing of hell; in the poem, Southwell combines the early medieval view of Christ as warrior knight who triumphs over Satan in the harrowing of hell with the suffering redeemer of fourteenth-century tradition.

The poem begins with the joining of heaven and earth in the Incarnation:

Come to your heaven you heavenly quires,
 Earth hath the heaven of your desires;
 Remove your dwelling to your God,
 A stall is now his best abode;
 Sith men their homage doe denie,
 Come Angels all their fault supplie.

His chilling cold doth heate require,
 Come Seraphins in lieu of fire;
 This little Arke no cover hath,
 Let Cherubs wings his body swath:
 Come Raphaell, this Babe must eate,
 Provide our little Tobie meate.

Let Gabriell be now his groome,
 That first took up his earthly roome;
 Let Michaell stand in his defence,
 Whom love hath linck'd to feeble sence,
 Let Graces rock when he doth crie,
 And Angels sing his lullabie.

The same you saw in heavenly seate,
 Is he that now sucks Maries teate;
 Agnize your King a mortall wight,
 His borrowed weede lets not your sight:
 Come kisse the maunger where he lies,
 That is your blisse above the skies.

This little Babe so few dayes olde,
 Is come to ryfle sathans folde;
 All hell doth at his presence quake,
 Though he himselfe for cold doe shake:
 For in this weake unarmed wise,
 The gates of hell he will surprise.

With teares he fights and winnes the field,
 His naked breast stands for a shield;
 His battring shot are babish cryes,
 His Arrowes lookes of weeping eyes,
 His Martiall ensignes cold and neede,
 And feeble flesh his warriors steede.

His Campe is pitched in a stall,
 His bulwarke but a broken wall:
 The Crib his trench, hay stalks his stakes,
 Of Sheeheardes he his Muster makes;
 And thus as sure his foe to wound,
 The Angells trumps alarum sound.

My soule with Christ joyne thou in fight,
 Sticke to the tents that he hath pight;
 Within his Crib is surest ward,
 This little Babe will be thy guard:
 If thou wilt foyle thy foes with joy,
 Then flit not from this heavenly boy. (1-48)

White sees this joining as indicative of Southwell's contemplative method in his poetry. "Even as Divinity has come down to earth in his contemplation, so earth transcends the familiar gulf between the human and the divine and takes heaven by quiet storm" ("Contemplative Element" 9). But such a joining of the finite and the eternal is not unique to Southwell, nor is it purely contemplative; it is liturgically experienced in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, wherein "the earth is joined to the heavens and the visible and invisible are made one" (St. Gregory the Great, qtd. Lepin 40).³ Similarly, in the

fourth stanza, Southwell asks his reader to recognize Christ's divinity, joined to his humanity: "Come kisse the maunger where he lies, / That is your blisse above the skies" (23-24). Southwell works here with wordplay which will be seen frequently in his poetry: the use of "blisse" or "supreme delight; blessedness" (OED II: 291.1c), and "bless," or "to make sacred, [or] consecrate"--that is, to sacrifice (OED II: 281 I.1). Christ in his divine nature has joined with the human nature of the infant Christ; as a result, Christ is, at once, our "supreme delight," even as he is our "blisse"--our Eucharistic sacrifice--as he offers his act of obedience to the Father in heaven ("New heaven" 24; Tapper, qtd. Lepin 289, n2). The joining of heaven to earth in the person of Christ is consequently the moment, not only of the Mass, but of the Incarnation, the Epiphany, the flight into Egypt, the Passion, and the Resurrection. All these moments are part of Christ's submitting himself to God's will in sacrifice, an act of submission which culminates in his Passion; all are experienced in the Eucharistic moment; at all such times, the Christian may be joined with Christ in the corporate offering of the Church, the Body of Christ on earth.

Scholars argue that Southwell is following Ignatius in these stanzas (John Roberts, "Influence of the Spiritual Exercises" 454). Ignatius calls on the practitioner to be

as "a poor little unworthy slave" and to "serve them in their needs with all possible homage and reverence" ([114]).⁴ Yet Southwell does not follow Ignatius exactly; rather, he draws on the idea and uses it for his own purposes. In the lines: "Let Cherubs wings his body swath / Come Raphaell this Babe must eate" (10-11), Southwell is not expressing his own desire to serve Christ so much as he is drawing attention to the fact that Christ, who now suffers cold and hunger, is accustomed to being waited on by the angels; yet "in this weake unarmed wise, / The gates of hell he will surprise" (29-30). Ignatian meditation would have made Southwell aware of this incongruity, but the line is not an exact replica of the Exercises.

Moreover, Ignatius, in emphasizing Christ's poverty and need, is drawing from the older tradition of sacrifice, from as far back as Paul, who describes how Christ,

who when he was in the form of God, thought it no robbetrie, him self to be equal with God, but he exinanited him self, taking the forme of a seruant, made into the similitude of men, and in shape found as man. He humbled him self, made obedie't vnto death: euen the death of the crosse.⁵ (Rheims; Phil. 2: 6-8)

The proper response for Christians, therefore, is to sacrifice themselves as Christ did, and to come to Christ as his servants. In the poem, Southwell explores how

Christ redeemed sinners by his humility, and determines to take up the weapons with which Christ conquered sin.

To appreciate what Southwell is doing in "New heaven, new warre," however, one should first review the theology behind the tradition of the harrowing of hell, which had been the accepted doctrine of redemption for some five hundred years (Southern 235). In this doctrine, man had voluntarily abandoned God, his rightful overlord, and had joined the service of the devil, much as a knight might rebel against his rightful ruler. God and Satan were therefore involved in a medieval combat, diffidatio, wherein God must wage war with the devil. But God must fight according to the rules: the sinner must either voluntarily return to God--or the devil must somehow break the rules. Since Original Sin made it impossible for man to return to God, God had somehow to trick Satan into breaking the rules; God therefore became a man so as to trick Satan, for in subjecting God to death, Satan claimed that which was not rightfully his, and God regained his empire. Early Christianity, up to about the twelfth-century, saw salvation as an epic struggle between two warriors. In early Christian literature and art, the crucified Christ is a warrior, and the moment is a struggle between good and evil:

Man is assigned a very static role [in this doctrine of redemption]. Man was a helpless spectator in a cosmic struggle which determined his chances of salvation. (Southern 235)

By the late Middle Ages, the view of Christ's redemptive act as one of suffering through love for sinners had begun to replace this older view. In later medieval literature, Christ's suffering is emphasized; instead of entering into combat with Satan, Christ redeems by taking on the suffering which sinners deserve. Yet the older image could still be found, particularly in the liturgy: the Christmas liturgy of the Sarum rite, up to the Reformation, celebrates at Christ's birth the bursting of the chains of hell (The Sarum Missal in English 1: 96-99).⁶ The older tradition is found in literature as well; as late as the fourteenth-century, Langland works with it in Piers Plowman, while Julian of Norwich, a contemporary, draws on the newer meditative tradition to which Ignatius is indebted, and which Southwell uses in much of his poetry.⁷ Yet in "New heaven, new warre," Southwell also draws on the older image, combining the image of Christ as the warrior who battles Satan with the image of Christ as the suffering redeemer.

"New heaven, new warre" expresses not only the paradox of the Incarnation, in which the all-powerful God became a helpless infant, or that of the Nativity, in which Christ

is born into poverty and suffering, but also demonstrates the paradox that suffering is the force which conquers Satan's power. Christ does not weaken the fires of hell as the warrior knight of earlier Christian poetry, who dupes Satan into bringing about Christ's death, but as a warrior knight who, through his powerlessness, forces Satan to resign his rule over humanity.

This little Babe so few dayes olde,
 Is come to ryfle sathans folde;
 All hell doth at his presence quake,
 Though he himselfe for cold doe shake:
 For in this weake unarmed wise,
 The gates of hell he will surprise. (25-30)

Christ comes, like the Christ of the earlier tradition, in his humana natura (Piers Plowman XVIII: 23), but his human nature is not a means of duping Satan; instead, it is an offering of self, an act of suffering, by which he "come[s] to ryfle Sathans folde" ("New heaven" 26). He weakens the fires of hell in the earliest moments of his birth, even as he lies shaking "for cold" (28). In the next line, the older tradition is echoed and reshaped: the warrior knight who will dupe Satan is "weake [and] unarmed" (29). Southwell's main focus is on the suffering Christ of later medieval tradition--and yet, his suffering Christ, unlike the Christ of medieval tradition, remains a warrior. Here one sees an unexpected influence of the Exercises in the poem, for unlike many earlier devotees, Ignatius portrays

Christ as a military leader [138; 143]. In the next stanza, Southwell develops the image of the warrior-Christ:

With teares he fights and winnes the field,
His naked breast stands for a shield;
His battring shot are babish cryes,
His Arrowes lookes of weeping eyes,
His Martiall ensignes cold and neede,
And feeble flesh his warriers steede. (31-36)

The weapons of this knight are not guile, or even, particularly, courage; his weapons are the most unmilitary imaginable. He rides the "steede" of "feeble flesh" (36)--the humanity which is now subjected to cold and want and which will later suffer in the Passion. His weapons are "teares," "babish cryes," and "weeping eyes" (31; 33; 34). The "martiall ensignes"--that is, his military standards that mark who he is and what ruler he serves (OED 5: 280), are "cold and neede" (35). Such banners mark Christ as one of his creatures; however, they also mark him as one who is subject to labor and hunger, and under Satan's domain, just as any ordinary sinner would be (Gen. 3: 17-19). Yet here one finds Southwell's Christ closer to that of Langland: are his "ensignes" those of disguise, or those of sacrifice? Even in the earlier section of the poem, Southwell's use of wordplay establishes these two possibilities: "Agnize your king a mortal wight / His borrowed weede lets not your sight" (21-22; emphasis mine). "To let" can mean "to hinder" (OED VIII: 8.849.1), but the

word can also mean "to allow" (OED VIII: 845.II.12a). Christ's swaddling clothes do not "let," or "hinder," his being recognized by the angels; at the same time, however, his divinity is not seen by other sinners. Christ's swaddling clothes, like his poverty, are the weapons of disguise, and the weapons of sacrifice.

Here, too, most anticipatory of his Passion and death, the shield, on which a knight depends for protection against death, is that "naked breast" (32) which shall be pierced on Good Friday (John 9: 34). Ironically, then, that on which Christ should most depend for protection is that which is the most vulnerable, and which no knight in warfare should sensibly leave "naked." Yet it is this very "shield" of Christ's "naked breast" which will in fact triumph over sin and death, for out of it will come, when pierced, the blood and water which have, in traditional iconography, represented the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist--the first, the sacrament which washes away the stain of Original Sin and forces Satan to relinquish his hold on the Christian; the second, that which Christ promised would bring eternal life to whomever received of it (John 6: 47-51). That which is the most vulnerable in Christ's surrender to the will of God is his most powerful weapon against sin and death.

The next stanza develops further the incongruity of this warrior knight; he camps in a "stall" (37), makes a "trench" of his manger (39), and enlists the shepherds as his "Muster" (40). The shepherds, of course, lead to two possible interpretations. The shepherds of the Nativity Gospel are enlisted to fight Satan; in the Gospel, Luke tells how the shepherds proclaim what they have seen (Luke 2: 20); the shepherds, then, are both his troops and his roll call to enlist others to join in the fight against Satan. Again, Jesus seems to plan to take Satan by "surprise" (30), yet the shepherds announce his birth to others, making any such surprise impossible. At the same time, the shepherd image calls up the pastor, the priests of the Church, the true shepherds. Like the shepherds in the gospel, the priests are his troops against Satan, and they are those who are to sound the muster and enlist all those who with Christ shall "joyne . . . in fight" (43).

Throughout the stanza, then, the suffering of the Christ-child is redemptive, and anticipates the suffering of the cross which will finally destroy Satan's power--and yet, in the Eucharistic moment, the Nativity is already a part of Christ's sacrifice; the Christmas Sequence, as noted earlier, celebrates the breaking of the bonds of hell (Missale Sarum 53).⁸ Moreover, although Jesus comes to take "the gates of hell" by surprise (30), the angels

announce his birth; their "trumps alarum sound" (42), and Christ loses his one advantage--the devil cannot be duped into believing that Jesus is not God, and Christ cannot hope to take his foe by surprise if he sounds the alarm. There could be no less promising warrior.

In "New heaven, new warre," then, we see a complete merging of the warrior Christ who conquers Satan by guile with the suffering Christ who conquers by taking on the punishment which is due to sinners. The poem portrays the Nativity as a struggle between power and sacrifice; it is through sacrifice that the God-Man conquers Satan.

It is for this reason that the poem is misconstrued as two separate texts. Southwell, in the first four stanzas, emphasizes God's birth into poverty and hunger: "The same you saw in heavenly seate, / Is he that now sucks Maries teate" (19-20); Southwell stresses the nature of Christ in the hypostatic union, both as God and man, in order to further emphasize the true worth of his suffering: "Let Michaell stand in his defence, / Whom love hath linck'd to feeble sence" (15-16). God has become "linck'd"--not only joined to, but also made a prisoner of, his human nature, or "feeble sence" (16). Yet the "love" (16) that is his divine nature is intact. In the second half of the poem, one sees how this combination of "power" and "weakness" (Eutyches, LF; 412; [413]) will conquer sin and death:

"This little Babe so few dayes olde, / Is come to ryfle sathans folde" (25-26). Contrary to what scholars suggest, then,⁹ there is no change in theme: those differences in tone or meaning found in the two sections of the poem are intentional.

"New heaven, new warre" is a distinctly Renaissance poem in its use of paradox; the Christ-child conquers Satan not through guile but through helplessness; his suffering, not his power, is the reason "helli doth at his present quake" (27). One finds strong parallels between Southwell's and Herbert's development of the all-powerful God who surrenders himself to suffer, in his human nature, the helplessness of all humanity, and who bears the curse of Adam.¹⁰ But unlike later Protestant poetry, such as Herbert's, the poem centers on the Nativity, not the Passion; Christ redeems in giving himself over to God's will and becoming man, not in the shedding of blood. Again, Southwell follows the arguments of Tridentine theologians who argue that Christ's sacrifice is in his act of total obedience;¹¹ although shedding of blood is anticipated, Christ's sacrifice here involves no bloodshed.

As Scallon notes, suffering and sacrifice were not abstract ideas for the Elizabethan Roman Catholic (114). Those who chose not to conform often faced political, economic, and even physical persecution as the price they

had to pay to remain Roman Catholic, and many chose to conform. Southwell "hoped to convince . . . staunch confessors of the faith that the sacrifices they were making were . . . capable of rendering them more like the Savior" (Scallion 114). While Herbert rejects the idea that his suffering could make him like Christ,¹² and Milton argues that there can be no sacrifice to God, since "glory and benediction" is "the slightest . . . recompense / From them who could return [God] nothing else" (PR 3: 127; 128-129), Southwell argues that in giving their lives for Christ, Elizabethan Catholics are participating in the moment of redemption as they give themselves to God in their own act of self-sacrifice, as the speaker of the poem begs to do.

Scallion argues that the second part of the poem is Ignatian, seeing "in the Incarnation a reversal of the values of secularism" (Scallion 113). But the second part of the poem also draws on the sacrificial nature of Christ's birth, the "lowliness assumed by majesty" which is defined by Chalcedon (Eutyches, LF 412; [143]). As Scallion himself argues, Southwell in his Nativity poetry does more than offer himself to God in the colloquy, or contemplate the wonders of the Incarnation; in such poems Southwell "[calls] the Christian reader to accept the values implicit in the mystery of the birth of Christ"--values of

suffering, humility and submission--as opposed to the values of power, wealth and prestige which the secular world held in honor (117). As with Southwell's other Nativity poetry, the redemption begins with helplessness; the Incarnate God-Man is at his most helpless: "so few dayes olde," he can do nothing for himself; he is dependent on others for food, clothing, and shelter; yet he has "come to ryfle sathans folde": "ryfle," a military term, means to rob (OED 13: 915.1.a). Already, sin and hell are weakened by Christ's powerlessness; even now, at his birth, "all hell doth at his presence quake" (27).

Christ's weapons of "teares," "cold and neede," and a "naked breast" are found, similarly, in An Epistle of Comfort, where Southwell reminds Roman Catholics that they are fighting for a "King and Captain" (117) who suffered similarly:

For if Christ, becoming man, stripped himself of his majesty, and thought it not so honourable to be in his glory as to hang upon the cross for us, how much more ought we to deem it a singular preferment to suffer for his sake? (EC 124)

Here, too, Southwell reminds Roman Catholics that suffering is the "livery and cognizance of Christ, but the very principal royal garment, which he chose to wear" (29), and he urges them to clothe themselves with Christ's armor (30). Throughout Southwell's writing, one sees the fullest

realization of sacrifice in martyrdom: if submission to God is an act of sacrifice, then martyrdom, an act of complete submission and of emulating Christ's own suffering and death, is the finest act of sacrifice a Christian can make. Yet the sufferings which come with poverty and helplessness, too, are lesser acts of sacrifice.

Similarly, in the final stanza, the speaker exhorts himself to fight with Christ against the powers of sin and death:

My soule with Christ joyne thou in fight,
 Sticke to the tents that he hath pight;
 Within his Crib is surest ward,
 This little Babe will be thy guard:
 If thou wilt foyle thy foes with joy,
 Then flit not from this heavenly boy.
 ("New heaven" 43-48)

As Christ fought against Satan, "weake [and] unarmed" (29), "cold and [in] neede" (35), and with "teares" (31), so too the speaker must take on the suffering which is the "royal garment" of Christ (EC 29), and surrender to God's will in sacrifice. The speaker therefore determines that the "Crib," which serves as Christ's "Trench" ("New heaven" 39), will be his own "ward" (45), that is, his "protection, [or] shelter" (OED XIX: 896.III.8c). Again, there is the military image: "ward" conveys the sense of "the ground between two encircling walls [of a castle]" (OED XIX:

896.V.14c), and is suggestive of the place wherein one who is under siege takes refuge from an enemy.

The helpless Christ-child, then, will be his "guard" against the "gates of hell" (46; 30). Having been made aware of the "power" behind Christ's "weakness," and the victory which came with his surrender, the speaker chooses to do likewise, embracing such poverty and weakness in his own life, and making those sacrifices which Christ made so as to likewise "foyle" sin and death. In so doing, the speaker resolves to be a sacrifice; in joining with Christ he is "consecrated," or joined with the sacred. Accordingly, by Augustine's definition, the speaker is himself a sacrifice, "consecrated in the name of God and vowed to God . . . inasmuch as he dies to the world that he may live for God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126). We see, then, in "New heaven, new warre," an example of offering and consecration to God in union with Christ which Southwell will incorporate, in other poems, with the texts of the liturgy and in the context of the Mass.¹³

2. "The burning Babe"

Another poem which is influenced by Ignatian meditation, but which does not fit the pattern exactly, is "The burning Babe," one of Southwell's finest. As Martz notes, the poem makes use of Ignatius' "application of the

senses," (82), but the entire poem is a "composition"; although Christ addresses the speaker and expresses doctrine which creates an "analysis" or "understanding" of what the image is meant to represent, there is no colloquy; no intention to make amends is expressed. Rather, Southwell narrates a vision of the babe which he has seen, and has the Christ-child express his suffering at the thought of those who will reject the agony which he undergoes for them. The poem ends, leaving readers to draw their own conclusions and make their own colloquies to God.

As I in hoarie Winters night
 Stood shivering in the snow,
 Surpris'd I was with sodaine heate,
 Which made my hart to glow;

And lifting up a fearefull eye,
 To view what fire was neare,
 A pretty Babe all burning bright
 Did in the ayre appeare;

Who scorched with excessive heate,
 Such floods of teares did shed,
 As though his floods should quench his flames,
 Which with his teares were fed:

Alas (quoth he) but newly borne
 In fierie heates I frie,
 Yet none approach to warme their harts
 Or feele my fire, but I;

My faultless breast the furnace is,
 The fuell wounding thornes:
 Love is the fire, and sighs the smoake,
 The ashes, shame and scornes;

The fewell Justice layeth on,
 And Mercie blowes the coales,
 The metall in this furnace wrought,
 Are mens defiled soules:

For which, as now on fire I am
 To worke them to their good,
 So will I melt into a bath,
 To wash them in my blood.

With this he vanisht out of sight,
 And swiftly shrunk away,
 And straight I called unto minde,
 That it was Christmasse day. (1-32)

As with "New heaven, new warre," the poem is better understood if examined in the context of sacrifice. In becoming man, Christ is "consecrated in the name of God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125); he has "exinanited him self, taking the forme of a seruant" (Rheims; Phil. 2: 7a),¹⁴ and in becoming man, his divine nature, which "could not be defiled," has been "united to one which could suffer" for the sins of those he created (Eutyches, LF 412; [143]). Christ, in "The burning Babe," has surrendered to the will of God, an act of surrender which will culminate in the cross; even at birth he suffers for sin.

Of all the images of Christ portrayed in Southwell's poetry, the Christ portrayed in "The burning Babe" is the most helpless; not only an infant, "but newly borne" (13), his suffering is even more intensified by the pain of the fire. For the meaning of the poem is twofold; Christ, burning with love for sinners, experiences the agony of hellfire in order to redeem them. In doing so, he harrows hell and redeems those who are fallen. But the fires in

which Christ burns are not the fires of hell, but the fires of his own love for sinners, although the agony which he feels as a result is the same. It is because of his own burning love that Christ willingly takes on the suffering which sinners deserve, and yet none acknowledge him. Moreover, as Christ will be alone in his suffering on Calvary, so he is alone in his suffering as an infant. The love which has consumed God so much that he has become an infant and suffers the ordinary troubles experienced by humanity on earth consumes him further, so that he experiences the suffering of sinners in hell.

In the opening, we find the sinner, unredeemed, not yet having experienced the love of God which sets the Christ-child on fire, "shivering in the snow" (2). The speaker needs the warmth which Christ's suffering will bring him--the "sodaine heate" which comes when Christ is born is the first sign of redemption, but because the speaker does not yet know or understand the meaning of what he sees, he is "fearful" (5) of that which he should welcome. Thus, the speaker has been "shivering" with the cold which is a consequence of his separation from God's love (2), while the intensity of Christ's love makes "[his] hart to glow" (4). Nevertheless, the fire which comes is unexpected, and, the sinner inevitably fears the

consequences of joining with Christ and experiencing the fruits of Christ's sacrifice in his own life.

The paradox in "The burning Babe" is built on the contrast between the speaker, whose nature is fallen, and the redeemer, whose nature is human but divine. The first two lines describe a bleak world of "hoarie" winter; the Babe is "pretty" (1; 7). It is, as noted, cold; the speaker shivers; the Babe is burning, bringing warmth to a world made cold with sin. One should note here that the fire represents both the fires of hell, and the warmth of grace which comes from the fire of Christ's love (Daly 37).

The speaker stands in the dark of "night" (1), while the fire which consumes the Christ-child is "bright" (7). But for the speaker, who views the scene, redemption is visible, and his heart glows at the warmth which comes from the grace which he will soon receive. The paradoxes found in the beginning of the poem are not contrasts between power and powerlessness, as with Southwell's other Nativity poetry, but between two different kinds of suffering, that of the power of God's love, and that of the cold of sin: the sufferings of Christ, "who [is] scorched with excessive heate" (9), contrast sharply with the "shivering" of the sinner (1), who does not yet know the intensity of Christ's redeeming love.

Christ's helplessness is intensified in the third stanza, where the fire causes him, in his suffering, to shed "floods of teares" (10), both out of the pain which he suffers, and out of grief for those who he knows will not turn to him. The tears should, logically, ease the fires which cause him to suffer (11); instead, the fires are fed by the tears. Burning with love, then, he cries for sinners, the tears causing him to burn the more, which makes him know all the more deeply the agonies of the fires which consume the unrepentant. For Christ to express his pain over fallen humanity, then, is but to intensify his suffering.

In the next stanzas Christ addresses the speaker and expresses the agony which he feels:

Alas (quoth he) but newly borne
 In fierie heates I frie,
 Yet none approach to warme their harts
 Or feele my fire, but I;

My faultless breast the furnace is,
 The fuell wounding thornes:
 Love is the fire, and sighs the smoake,
 The ashes, shame and scornes;

The fewell Justice layeth on,
 And Mercie blowes the coales,
 The metall in this furnace wrought,
 Are mens defiled soules: (13-24)

Paradoxically, the fire in which Christ burns is caused by God's love for sinners; yet the "fierie heates" recreate the pains suffered by sinners in hell (14), for as Christ

suffers, his tears feed the fires of love which consume him, causing him to suffer the more (11-12). In this way, he knows all the more vividly what sinners who will not turn to him will experience. As a result, the sorrow he experiences in his Passion is the more intense, as he realizes that there are those who will not accept God despite his sacrifice in becoming human for their sake. Because the suffering Christ endures is rightfully the punishment due to sinners, the "Justice" of God provides the "fewell" (21); at the same time, because of his own love, (26), God chooses to endure the pain himself; and the pain is intensified by his "Mercie [which] blowes the coales" (22). The fire is hence the "fire" both of God's "Love" (19), and of his "Justice" (21). Although newly born, Christ is already consumed with love for sinners, and even now begins to feel the agony of the Passion.

The lines also imply, however, the loneliness and desolation of Christ in his Passion, abandoned by his disciples (Mt. 26: 56; Mark 14: 50); in the fifth stanza, the parallels with the Passion can be seen. Christ's breast, full of love for sinners, burns as a furnace, but there is also the implication here of Christ's side being pierced, and the blood and water which come forth. More obvious parallels are the "wounding thornes" (18) and "shame and scornes" (20), which create a "meditation on the

Nativity [that is] simultaneously a meditation on the Crucifixion" (Daly 37). The Nativity, then, for Southwell, is a part of Christ's act of sacrifice which saw its final consummation in the Passion; the reasons for the Incarnation, Nativity, and Crucifixion are always the same: out of sorrow for the sinner, God, while retaining his divine nature, became fully human, first a helpless infant, "imprisoning himself in human flesh" (Laut, "Christmas Sermon" 1972), then, a man who experienced the ordinary cares of any human being, and finally, the shame and agony of the cross. Christ's act of consecrating himself to God, becoming helpless in obedience to God's will--whether at Christmas or at Easter--is one and the same, and Southwell's meditations on Christmas, which are frequently seen by scholars to be to be meditations on the Nativity,¹⁵ are at the same time meditations on Calvary--and hence the Mass.

"The burning Babe" does not draw as heavily on the Mass as some of Southwell's other Nativity poems do, but its emphasis on the sacrificial nature of the Nativity show its roots in Augustine:

Since . . . true sacrifices are works of mercy done to ourselves or our neighbor and directed to God, and since works of mercy are performed that we may be freed from misery and, thereby, be happy, and since happiness is only to be found in [God] . . . it follows that the whole of the redeemed city, that is, the congregation or communion of saints, is offered as

a universal sacrifice to God through the High Priest.¹⁶ (City of God 10.6; 7: 126-127)

Because the Christ-child is born consecrated to God, and because his birth is an act of mercy which will deliver sinners "from misery" and "worke them to their good" (City of God 10.6; "The burning Babe" 26), his birth is a true sacrifice. In addition, from Christ's suffering comes the Eucharist, and the Eucharist is alluded to in the images of the final stanzas:

For which, as now on fire I am
 To worke them to their good,
 So will I melt into a bath,
 To wash them in my blood.

With this he vanisht out of sight,
 And swiftly shrunk away,
 And straight I called unto minde,
 That it was Christmasse day. (25-32)

In the poem, one sees Southwell using subtle Eucharistic imagery. In the fifth stanza, the Christ-child's description of his suffering makes repeated references to his Passion: from his "faultlesse breast," will come forth blood and water (17; John 19: 34), symbolized in the mingling of water with the wine in the Offertory. In this "faultlesse breast," "mens defiled souls" (17; 24) are made pure.

One should also note, throughout, the poem's use of a Tridentine interpretation of the Eucharistic sacrifice: in

"The burning Babe," as in the Mass, Christ is "datur, funditur, frangitur" -- "given over, poured out, broken" (Somnius, qtd. Lepin 297, n3). Christ is "given over" to the suffering of the fire; the "floods of teares" caused by the pain of the fire only intensify his pain, and increase his tears, which are then "poured out" further ("The burning Babe" 11). Later in the poem, the Christ-child "will . . . melt into a bath, / To wash them in my blood" (27-28); again, there is the image of the consecration: Christ's "blood . . . for you and for many shall be shed unto the remission of sins" (New Roman Missal 783).¹⁷ The Christ-child's outpouring of blood and tears on behalf of the sinner makes his birth sacrificial in nature, and signifies the Passion; both events are "made present" in the Eucharistic sacrifice.

Moreover, one finds in the poem an implicit message to Southwell's parishioners: the "defiled soules" who participate in the sacrifice of the Mass, and who accept the penalties for doing so, will experience the purification of their souls, for

as no offence committed before baptism can do the baptized any harm, so also martyrdom so [can] cleanse the soul from all spot of former corruption that it giveth thereunto a most undefiled beauty. (EC 163; emphasis mine)

Consequently, those who participate in the sacrifice of the Mass are joined in Christ's sacrifice of obedience to God; their faith, through suffering, is as gold "which is proved by the fire" (Rheims; 1 Pet. 1: 7b).¹⁸ Those who partake of the body of Christ in the Eucharist are members of the Body of Christ (1 Cor. 10: 17);¹⁹ similarly, those who join in Christ's suffering are themselves offered to God in the Eucharist "as a universal sacrifice" (City of God 10.6; 7: 127).²⁰ For Christians are one in Christ, and are all part of that same body of Christ which is offered to God in sacrifice: "For as the body is one, and hath many members; and all the members of the body whereas they be many, yet are one body: so also Christ" (Rheims; 1 Cor. 12: 12).²¹ But until Christians surrender themselves to God's will, whatever the price, they will not be as metal tried by fire; their faith will not be strengthened; rather, they will be left cold, "shivering," unredeemed. For until they surrender to God's will, they cannot benefit from the fruits of his Passion, from the blood which flowed from his "faultlesse breast" (29, 17; John 19: 34). As Christians do not experience Christ's suffering until they too submit to God, so they will not experience the benefits of his suffering and Passion unless they acknowledge that, as part of the corporate Body of Christ, they must emulate Christ in offering themselves to God in sacrifice. Those who

partake in Christ's sacrifice must suffer persecution, but they should regard suffering as a sacramental as well as sacrificial: "Communicating with the passions of Christ, [they should] be glad, that in the reuelation also of his glorie [they] may be glad reioycing" (Rheims; 1 Pet. 4: 13; emphasis mine).²²

Thus, "The burning Babe" incorporates Roman Catholic sacrificial doctrine with Southwell's apostolic mission: as Christ surrendered himself completely to the will of God, so Christians need to give themselves totally to God, suffering as Christ had suffered, "obedie't vnto death" (Rheims; Phil. 2: 8).²³ Southwell saw England guilty not only of heresy, but of "the crime of faintheartedness on the part of those who . . . conformed to the new religion out of fear of losing their possessions" (Scallon 152-153). His Nativity poetry is therefore apostolic as well as devotional, implicitly calling on English Catholics to "approach [Christ and] to warme their harts" in the "fire" of his Passion (15; 16), embracing "shame and scornes" for the sake of Christ (20). In so doing, they will emulate Christ in making an offering of themselves to God, giving, if need be, even their lives for Christ as Christ had given his life for them.

3. "A childe my Choyce"

Similarly, in "A childe my Choyce," one finds a brief development of the sacrificial nature of the Incarnation, of the hypostatic union, "the union in one Person . . . of the divine and human natures" (Weis, "Hypostatic Union" 306), and the paradoxes which are inherent in this union of "lowliness" and "majesty" (Eutyches, LF 412; [143]). Christ is described as "though young, yet wise: though smal, yet strong . . . though man, yet God" (9); the next lines celebrate his divine strength and knowledge: "as strong he can"; "his strength, defends" (10).

Yet strong as he is, his true strength lies in his weakness:

Alas, he weepes, he sighes, he pants, yeat doo his
 Angels sing:
 Out of his teares, his sighes and throbs, doth bud a
 joyfull spring.
 Almightye babe, whose tender armes can force all foes
 to flie:
 Correct my faultes, protect my life, direct me when I
 die. (13-16)

As sinners find salvation in the "weake unarmed" infant of "New heaven, new warre" (29), so too, in "A childe my Choyce," sinners are saved from sin by the "tender armes" of the "Almightye babe" (15); his "teares [and] sighes" are the source of a "joyful spring" (14). Brown notes, in her edition, that the "spring," "the renewing of natural life," also suggests the celebration of the resurrection, and

eternal life, celebrated at Easter ("Commentary" 123n). Yet it is not merely Easter which is called to mind: the suffering of the infant Christ is the beginning of his Passion. At Christmas, both Christ's birth and his Resurrection are made present when Mass is offered; the celebration of the Mass joins both priest and laity "in a holy communion with God" (The City of God 10.6; 7: 125),²⁴ who is outside of the human limitations of time. Finally, the "joyfull spring" (14) also refers to the sacrament of baptism, at which moment the Christian is cleansed from original sin and rejects Satan.

Consequently, Christ's "tendere armes" are not merely the small helpless arms of an infant, but the sufferings which he bears as "weapons" against the Christian's "foes" (15). Out of Christ's sufferings spring the sacraments; the Christian, in submitting to God in baptism, in the sacrifice of the Mass, and in his own suffering, joins in Christ's act of sacrifice and is consecrated to God in Christ's sacrificial life, Passion, and death.

4. "New Prince, new pompe"

Again, in "New Prince, new pompe," Southwell urges Christians to submit to God and join in his sacrifice by humbling themselves as God himself was once humbled. The emphasis on submission is particularly strong in this poem;

as Scallon notes, the sinners' refusal to submit to God's will is the cause of Christ's act of submission.

Behold a silly tender Babe,
 In freesing Winter night;
 In homely manger trembling lies,
 Alas a pitteous sight:

The Innes are full, no man will yeeld
 This little Pilgrime bed;
 But forc'd he is with silly beasts,
 In Crib to shrowd his head.

Despise not him for lying there,
 First what he is enquire:
 An orient pearle is often found,
 In depth of dirty mire,

Waigh not his Crib, his wooden dish,
 Nor beasts that by him feede:
 Waigh not his Mothers poore attire,
 Nor Josephs simple weede.

This stable is a Princes Court,
 The Crib his chaire of state:
 The beasts are parcell of his pompe,
 The wooden dish his plate.

The persons in that poore attire,
 His royal livories weare,
 The Prince himselfe is come from heaven,
 This pompe is prized there.

With joy approach o Christian wight,
 Doe homage to thy King;
 And highly prise this humble pompe,
 Which he from heaven dooth bring. (1-28)

Martz notes the poem's emphasis on the hypostatic union, its "effort to comprehend the Godhead and manhood of Christ simultaneously and without separation" (Poetry of Meditation 83). However, the emphasis in "New Prince, new

pompe" on the sacrificial nature of Christ's birth, with its "refutation of false . . . splendour" (Scallion 115) is overlooked by most scholars; the poem's parallels with "New heaven, new warre" are overlooked by all but Robertson who, while following an Ignatian reading, accurately notes that "New Prince, new pompe" and "New heaven, new warre" both use "double title[s]" and establish contrasts between that which is valued in heaven and that which is valued on earth (82).

The multiple meanings of "silly" are strong throughout the poem; those who are blessed in the eyes of God are those whom the world regards as foolish: "silly" comes from the German "happy through being innocent," but it had come by Southwell's time to mean "foolish" and "helpless" as well (OED 15: 478; Brewer 1020). Southwell uses the word in all these senses: Christ, in humbling himself and becoming man to save sinners, is the happy, innocent Christ-child of Christian art--and yet, from a practical standpoint, he is also quite foolish, for many will never accept his message or his sacrifice. However, as in "The burning Babe" and "New heaven, new warre," Christ is, also helpless: he is "trembling," "a pitteous sight" (3; 4). The poem makes more use of traditional Christmas imagery than do many of Southwell's other poems: Christ is born in poverty, in a stable, among "beasts" to parents with "poore

attire" (7; 2). Yet this, too, is part of the sacrifice, part of the moment of redemption. Because "no man will yeeld" Christ a place in his heart (5), he is "forc'd . . . [to lie] with silly beasts" (7). Similarly, as the beasts with whom Christ lies are "silly," so too are those who acknowledge that they are "beasts" and turn to Christ; in doing so, they may ultimately sacrifice possessions, liberty, and even their lives. Although they appear foolish to the rest of the world, they are blessed in the eyes of God.

A further meaning of "silly," however, and more important to Southwell's poem, is "weak" or "helpless" (OED 15: 478). Christ, "trembling" in the "homely manger," is frail and defenseless (3). Because "no man will yeeld," or acknowledge his sinfulness and frailty in the eyes of God, Christ is "forc'd" to lie with beasts who are as helpless as he is (7). Again, the double meaning of "beasts" comes into play here: the beasts are sinners who humble themselves and acknowledge their sinfulness. Such surrender to God is foolish from a worldly viewpoint; so, too, are the English who refuse to conform. But through their foolishness, they are consecrated to God; they are "made sacred," or "sacrificed." Accordingly, while they may seem "silly" to surrender their possessions, and helpless in surrendering their liberty and their lives,

their sacrifices will ultimately lead them to heaven; they will, in the end, be "happy through being innocent"--an additional meaning of the word "silly" (Brewer's Dictionary 1020).

These multiple meanings of "silly" parallel Paul's words:

But we preach Christ crucified, to the Iewes certes a scandal, and to the Gentiles folishnes: but to the called Iewes and Greekes, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God. For that which is the folish of God, is wiser then men: and that which is the infirme of God, is stronger then men.²⁵ (Rheims; 1 Cor. 1: 23-25)

Christ, in surrendering to the Father's will and becoming human, appears foolish and weak, but his foolishness and his weakness bring wisdom and strength to those who, like Christ, are feeble and "silly."

Again, as with "New heaven, new warre," Southwell emphasizes how Christ has embraced poverty and lowliness in becoming one of his creatures. However, "New Prince, new pompe" does not draw on such humbling as a means of warfare; instead, the poem stresses humility and poverty as a means of imitating Christ's sacrifice. Here, Southwell urges all Christians to reject worldliness for God. Yet one might argue that, in particular, he addresses schismatics, that is, those who are Roman Catholic by conviction, but who have conformed out of fear to lose

their possessions: in the poem, Southwell stresses his belief that Christ's birth into poverty "is a refutation of false notions of what constitutes real splendor" (Scallion 115). Here, as in "New heaven, new warre," Scallion argues that Southwell's goal was to persuade "staunch confessors of the faith that the sacrifices they were making were worthwhile and capable of rendering them more like the Savior" (114). As the Savior embraced the stable in which he was born, his "poore attire" and "wooden dish" ("New Prince" 15; 20), so, too, Southwell implicitly urges schismatics to not only acknowledge Christ in his poverty, but to "prise" (27) the sacrifices which they themselves might have to make if they refuse to conform, and embrace the "royal livories" of poverty which Christ himself embraced freely, as "pompe" (22; 24). Such sacrifices will make them "silly beasts" (7), foolish in the eyes of others, but blessed in the eyes of God. But they will also be "parcell of his pompe" (19), a pompe which comes "from heaven" (28). To be consecrated to God means a surrender of those things most valued on earth, but in being consecrated, such "beasts" who "yeeld" Christ a place in their hearts, and "by him feede" (14), will be redeemed. They must "doe homage" to Christ (26), but they must also submit totally to God, sacrificing their earthly possessions, and, if need be, their lives, in exchange for

the "pompe" of poverty which is so "prized" by Christ, "come from heaven" (27-28). However, the poem appeals to a more general audience as well. Protestants would have agreed with Southwell's appeal to Christians to "prise" the poverty and humility of Christ (27); in particular, the poem would have appealed to Anglicans, who also valued devotional poetry on the Nativity, and who would have seen, in Southwell's implicit urging to his audience to "yeeld" to Christ, a call to offer themselves in sacrifice.

Here, too, Southwell draws on Augustine's teaching on sacrifice: "A man who is . . . vowed to God is a sacrifice, inasmuch as he dies to the world that he may live for God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126).²⁶ While martyrdom is the finest act of sacrifice, to recognize the worthlessness of worldly possessions, compared to the riches of God's grace, is also an act of sacrifice which joins the believer "in a holy communion with God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125).²⁷ In An Epistle of Comfort, Southwell assures his readers that the heavenly rewards belonging to martyrs are not given only to those

who by apparent violence, by wounds or effusion of blood conclude their life: but all they, though never so unknown, whose days by imprisonment, banishment or any other oppression, are abridged in defence of the Catholic faith. (227)

As one who dies for his belief emulates Christ's sacrifice of his life, so one who suffers impoverishment "in defence of the Catholic faith" (EC 227) also imitates Christ in his sacrifice of humility and poverty.

In the closing lines of "New heaven, new warre,"²⁸ the speaker resolves, "my soule with Christ joyne thou in fight . . . / This little Babe will be thy guard" (43-46) against his "foes" of sin and death; in "New Prince, new pompe," the speaker exhorts others to embrace the "humble pompe" of poverty and suffering which Christ "from heaven dooth bring" (27; 28), and to remember that in "poore attire" and "simple weede" are the "royal liveries" of Christ (15; 16; 22).

5. "At home in Heaven"

In "At home in Heaven," Southwell employs some of his best ambiguity and wordplay; it is difficult to account for its neglect by critics. The poem depicts the Incarnation not as Christ's act of obedient surrender to the Father, but as his act of loving surrender to the sinner. The joining "of the divine and human natures" in Christ, defined in the hypostatic union (Weis, "Hypostatic" 306), is here an act of a lover whose beloved is worth any price: God, the all-powerful, finds himself enrapt by the irresistible beauty of the speaker's soul. The poem is an

example of Southwell's use of secular themes for religious purposes, so as to "evok[e] those passions which render a man's soul more receptive to the influence of divine grace" (Scallion 81).²⁹ Like a medieval knight who, "woon" by such beauty, undertakes an adventure for his beloved, God "stai'd his Sword" (9; 10), and "cheyn'd him[self] in the lynkes of tender love" (8). One sees the image of the warrior knight which is found in "New heaven, new warre," but Christ's motive for taking on the weapons of human suffering have changed. Here, Christ chooses to be "imprison[ed] in human flesh" (Laut 1972), not to trick the devil in mortal combat, nor to conquer through suffering, but to woo the sinful soul as a lover.

But as with "New heaven, new warre," the sacrificial nature of the Incarnation is again portrayed as an act of surrender and helplessness. Christ is again an unlikely knight; he seeks to win the sinner over by his weakness, not his strength.

Faire soule, how long shall veyles thy graces shroud?
 How long shall this exile with-hold thy right?
 When will thy sunne disperse this mortall cloud,
 And give thy gloryes scope to blaze their light?
 O that a Starre more fit for Angels eyes,
 Should pyne in earth, not shine above the skyes.

Thy ghostly beautie offred force to God,
 It cheyn'd him in the lynckes of tender love.
 It woon his will with man to make abode:
 It stai'd his Sword, and did his wrath remove.
 It made the rigor of his Justice yeeld,
 And Crowned mercye Empresse of the feelde.

This lull'd our heavenly Sampson fast asleepe,
 And laid him in our feeble natures lapp.
 This made him under mortall load to creepe:
 And in our flesh his god head to enwrap.
 This made him sojourne with us in exile:
 And not disdayne our tytles in his style.

This brought him from the ranckes of heaven'ly quires,
 Into this vale of teares, and cursed soyle:
 From flow'rs of grace, into a world of bryers:
 From life to death, from bliss to balefull toyle.
 This made him wander in our Pilgrim weede,
 And tast our tormentes, to relieve our neede.

O soule do not thy noble thoughtes abase
 To lose thy loves in any mortall wight:
 Content thy eye at home with native grace,
 Sith God him selfe is ravisht with thy sight.
 If on thy beautie God enamored bee:
 Base is thy love of any lesse then hee.

Give not assent to muddy minded skill,
 That deemes the feature of a pleasing face
 To be the sweetest baite to lure the will:
 Not valewing right the worth of Ghostly grace:
 Let Gods and Angels censure winne believe,
 That of all bewties judge our soules the chiefe.

Queene Hester was of rare and pearlesse hew,
 And Judeth once for beauty bare the vaunt,
 But he that could our soules endowments vew,
 Would soone to soules the Crowne of beautie graunt,
 O soule out of thy selfe seeke God alone:
 Grace more then thine, but Gods, the world hath none.
 (1-42)

In this poem, Southwell shows remarkable ability to use multiple meanings as he works with the imagery of sacrifice and surrender on numerous levels. The soul's beauty "woon his [God's] will with man to make abode" (9); the primary meaning is "to win"; God is won over, or persuaded, but the meaning of "to woo"--"to invite by alluring means" (OED XX: 500.II.4)--is also implied; the

image is that of a knight being courted by his beloved. But "to woo" could also be understood in a legal sense, "to sue for or solicit the possession of" (OED XX: 501.II.5). The sinner sues for God's mercy, and wins; God has not merely surrendered to the plea for mercy; he has been overcome by the beauty of the soul which has won possession of "his will" ("At home" 9). The multiple images of knightly lover and knightly combat, then, are used to portray God's power, his love, and his mercy.

Another example of wordplay in the poem is that of "force." The soul's "ghostly beautie offred force to God, / It cheyn'd him in the lynckes of tender love" (7-8). As Brown points out:

the image of force is based on a text (Matt. xi. 12) which had particular significance for Southwell: Regnum caelorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud. It appears with its translation, "The kingdome of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent beare it away" on the title page of EC. ("Commentary" 146)

The obvious implication is, of course, that the speaker resisted God; instead of offering itself in submission, the sinner's soul presented "force," or "power of resistance" (OED VI: 34.I.6), and God found himself like a lover who is unable to win his beloved.

Yet other meanings of "force" work in the lines. The soul's "ghostly beautie" offers not only "resistance," but "importance" ("Force," OED VI: 36.15). However much the

speaker refuses to submit, his soul has "force"; it "matter[s] to" God all the same (OED VI: 36.15). Though the sinner continues to resist the sacrifice God made in allowing himself to "creepe . . . / in our flesh" ("At home" 14-15), God continues to see the sinner's soul as a thing of "importance" ("Force," OED VI: 36.14b), and God will use his own "force"; he will "trouble [him] self" (OED VI: 36.14b) to grant mercy. God, then, will continue to yield to the speaker's need for salvation; however many times the speaker falls, God will yield to the "force" of the sinner. Whereas in "New Prince, new pompe," and "New heaven, new warre," Christ yields in becoming man out of obedience to God, in "At home in Heaven," Christ yields out of love for the sinner.

Yet Southwell uses other wordplay in working with "offer" and the archaic "ofred," meaning "to outdo in counsel, to outwit" (OED X: 741). The soul's "ghostly beautie offred force to God" (7; *emph. mine*); that is, the soul's resistance outmaneuvers God. God, who is all powerful, is tricked by the sinner--the idea is called up, again, in the following stanza, with the image of Samson and Delilah (13-14). God becomes man not because of love, but because the sinner's "ghostly beauty" has deluded him. God's act of surrender, then, is that of a duped lover whom

the sinner will ultimately reject. And, although God knows this, he chooses to become man nonetheless.

One final pun is that of "offred," (7) and "ofride," meaning "to ride down, to overtake" (OED X: 741). The pun draws on the military image: the implication is that God had been fleeing from the sinner in battle. But the spiritual worth of the sinner overrides God; the beauty of the sinner's soul, overtaking God, "cheyn[s] him in the lynckes of tender love" (8). God "stai'd his sword" (10) out of love for the sinner, but it is the sinner, not God, who is the victor in the battle.

In "At home in Heaven," Christ's surrender in the Incarnation is total: whether as a duped lover, or one who is outwitted or outmaneuvered in battle, Christ becomes a prisoner of the sinner's soul. The imagery of "At home in Heaven" is, in some ways, similar to that of "New heaven, new warre," where Christ's weapons against sin and death are "feeble flesh" and "cold and neede" ("New heaven" 36; 35), and the poem conveys, again, Christ's Incarnation and Nativity as a sacrifice wherein "weakness" and "power" are "united in one person" (Eutyches, LF 412; [143]).

It is in the next stanza, however, that one sees the best use of wordplay in Southwell's portrayal of Christ's act of surrender:

This lull'd our heavenly Samson fast asleepe,
 And laid him in our feeble natures lapp.
 This made him under mortall load to creepe:
 And in our flesh his godhead to enwrap.
 This made him sojourne with us in exile:
 And not disdayne our tytles in his style.
 ("At home" 13-18)

The primary image, drawing on the story of Samson and Delilah (Judges 16: 4-22), is, again, that of God as a duped lover, and of the soul as seductive. Like Delilah, we are unworthy of such love; like Delilah, our souls are seductive, anxious only for their own gain. And like Samson, Christ is rendered powerless because of his love. But unlike Samson, Christ does not need to be lured; he chooses to submit and become "feeble" (14).

Here, Christ's Incarnation is portrayed as a burden: Christ is "made . . . under mortall load to creepe" (15). The line depicts, primarily, the Incarnation; Christ, accustomed to "the ranckes of heaven'ly quires" (19), is now a human being, subject to the same limitations and sufferings as any other human being, "imprison[ed] in human flesh" (Laut 1972). The line emphasizes Christ's powerlessness. God, who is in heaven and beyond the limitations of space and time, must "creepe," or "move with the body prone and close to the ground" (OED IV: 2.B1). Yet "to creep" had another definition at the time: "to move timidly or diffidently; to cringe; to move . . . without soaring or aspiring" (OED IV: 2.B3b; emph. mine). God not

only became a man, but was born into poverty, with no hopes of betterment or social position; the God who, in the previous stanza, is depicted as a knight with complete power over the helpless soul, chooses to abase himself and know the hardships which the poorest sinner must endure.

The wordplay on "creepe," however, must be considered in the context of the entire line, and with the multiple meanings of "mortal" and "load" as well. "Load" not only means physical burden, but also a burden of sin or suffering (OED VIII: 1063.4a); further meanings of "load" are "to supply in excess" (OED VIII: 1064.4), and "to overwhelm with abuse . . . [or] to charge with something opprobrious" (VIII: 1064.6b).³⁰ Hence, Christ "creepes" under the burden of our sins (15), abused and charged with those wrongs of which we are guilty; even in the Incarnation, then, Christ, although himself free from sin, bears the burden of human sin; "he surely hath borne our infirmities, and our sorowes he hath caried"; he is considered "stricken of God, and humbled" (Douai; Is. 53: 4).³¹

But a final ambiguity in the line is found in the use of "mortal," meaning "human," but also meaning "subject to death," and "doomed to immediate death" (OED IX: 1099.2.1a; 1b). The line therefore conveys not only Christ's becoming man, but his Passion as well; Christ, sentenced to death,

moves "prone [and] close to the ground" (IV.2.B1); the image conveyed is that of Christ on the road to Calvary, "made . . . under mortall load to creepe" ("At home" 15). In the Incarnation, already, one sees Christ's act of obedience to God which will find its ultimate fulfillment in the Passion.

In the next line, Southwell moves on to use the analogy between the Eucharist and the Incarnation developed in the early medieval church. The Holy Spirit transforms the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ "upon the altar at the words of the priest" (Hildegarde, qtd. Gassner 317), just as the power of the Holy Spirit came over Mary at the Incarnation (Luke 1: 35). Similarly, out of love for sinners, Christ chooses "in our flesh his god head to enwrap" ("At home" 16). The line recalls Aquinas' definition of transubstantiation: "God joined his godhead, that is the power of his godhead, to the bread and wine, not to leave them to remain, but to make from them his body and his blood" (ST 3a.75.3; 58: 63).³² The line calls up, simultaneously, Christ's Incarnation and the sacrifice of his body and blood, both of which are "made present" on the altar at Mass (Gassner 305-307).

In the following lines, Christ is depicted as a "sojourne[r]," "in exile" from heaven (17). Again, the image is one of powerlessness; Christ is like one who,

whether out of choice or sentenced to do so, leaves his home and family for a nation of strangers. The image would have been a familiar one to Southwell's readers: on the continent, one found colonies of English Roman Catholics who had resigned positions and fled rather than take the Oath acknowledging Elizabeth to be head of the Church in England. Other exiles included those who had been expelled from England; following the Treason Act of 1585, which made it an act of Treason to be a priest who had been trained in the seminaries on the continent, all priests who were then in prison were deported (Weston 10). At the same time, England had large numbers of Protestants who had gone into exile in Geneva and Zurich during Mary's rule, and had returned not long before. Thus, the image of Christ as a "sojourne[r]" (17), a "lodger in another's house" (OED XV: 944.1c), in a country not his own, would have been familiar to Catholics and Protestants alike, as many knew friends or family in such situations. Exiles are generally helpless, dependent on the country which has given them refuge. Christ's sacrifice in the Incarnation, then, is a lonely one; and yet, while Christ himself is accustomed to the "ranckes of heaven'ly quires" (19), he has chosen to be a "sojourne[r]" (17); he has sacrificed his own rank and privilege in heaven to be exiled, with no social or financial aspirations, and live in poverty with sinners.

It is in such a context that one must consider the multiple meanings of the next line: Christ does not "disdayne our tytles in his style" (18). Christ, who is in exile, like the speaker (17; 2), does not scorn the claims or ranks of those who believe in him. The line conveys, in particular, a legal image; the word "tytles" is here being used to mean "the legal right to the possession of property" (OED XVIII: 155.6). Christ, the Second Person of the Trinity, should not embrace those "tytles" of poverty, suffering, and death which sinners bear under the curse of Adam ("At home" 18; Gen. 3: 17-19); nor should he show concern for the illegal claims of sinners to heaven. Similarly, "style" is also a legal term--a "clause, or section of a legal document" (OED XVI: 1008.12c). And Christ, in his life and death, provides for sinners' claims to heaven, illegitimate though they are; he does not scorn the situation of those sinners who, like himself, acknowledge their exile from God.

At the same time, the words also imply status: a "tytle" indicates rank (OED XVIII: 155.4); similarly, "style" can be a "legal official, or honorific title" (OED VI: 1009.II.18a). Both meanings contradict the ordinary image of an exile. It is the loneliness and helplessness of Christ's sacrifice, in embracing the curse of Adam which is the "tytle" of sinners, that brings him to the cross,

and therefore brings salvation to sinners, a thing to which they have no "tytle." Yet Christ does not disdain their "tytles" to heaven, although his own rank, or "style," is that of a "Pilgrim" (23).

The poem should be noted in the context of Brown's introductory comments to her text on Southwell:

The [secular love] poet strives to persuade his lady to change, to show more sympathy for the suppliant who desires that she become more like himself, and so grant his wishes. The religious poet is the poet of a Lover who cannot change. The suppliant must change, must grow to a greater awareness of the love offered him. ("General Introduction" xviii)

In "At home in Heaven," one sees the poet seek to change as he becomes more aware of God's love, as God "strives to persuade his [beloved] to change," and to make the sacrifices necessary for salvation. Yet the poem also seems to contradict Brown's point: in a sense, God does seem to change: he relents in his decision to impose "Justice" on the sinner (9).

"At home in Heaven" is another example of how one can try too hard to read a poem according to the Exercises. Martz points out Southwell's use of multiple meanings of "creepe" (Poetry of Meditation 189), but he forces the poem to fit an Ignatian scheme: the first stanza is an opening (188), in which the speaker determines "to be mindefull of God our Lorde . . . and to be mindefull also, of the

mysterie that is to bee meditated" (Puente, qtd. Martz, 34). The following three stanzas he calls an "understanding" (188); then the fifth stanza "presents the cry of the 'affections' and the will" (189). Correctly, Martz suggests that the last two stanzas belabor the point, but he adds that "[Southwell] has already given one too many stanzas, for the sequence of the 'understanding' goes on for too long" (189).

While the fourth stanza is not as powerful in its use of multiple meanings as are the second and third, it is not superfluous; the stanza continues the ideas of the previous lines, working, as does "New heaven, new warre," with the paradoxes of the Incarnation, as well as those parallels between the Incarnation and the Eucharistic sacrifice which are found in the poem:

This brought him from the ranckes of heaven'ly quires,
 Into this vale of teares, and cursed soyle:
 From flow'rs of grace, into a world of bryers:
 From life to death, from blisse to balefull toyle.
 This made him wander in our Pilgrim weede,
 And tast our tormentes, to relieve our neede. (17-24)

In this stanza, as in the preceding, there is a Eucharistic moment, a "joining of heaven and earth," such as is expressed by St. Gregory;³³ moreover, images of heaven are contrasted with those of earth: for example, the "flowers of grace" (19) which Christ knew in heaven are contrasted with the "bryers" (19) which are the curse of Adam's sin:

Cursed is the earth in thy woorke: with much toyling
 shalt thou eate thereof al the dayes of thy life.
 Thornes and thystles shal it bring forth to thee, &
 thou shalt eate the herbes of the earth. In the sweat
 of thy face shalt thou eate bread, til thou returne to
 earth.³⁴ (Douai; Gen. 3: 17b-19)

Christ's sacrifice, then, is not limited to his Passion and death. In exchange for the "flow'rs of grace" which he knew in heaven, Christ now knows the troubles which Adam's sin brought forth: "cursed soyle," and the "bryers" which come from the soil ("At home" 20; 21); Christ must now "toyle" and experience the "sorowe" in which sinners must eat (24; Gen. 3: 17b). In becoming man, then, Christ takes on not only the sins of the human race in dying on the cross; he also takes on all those sufferings which are endured as a result of the sin of Adam. The stanza is not superfluous; it completes the thought that was begun in the second stanza, that God chose to relent and "make abode" with humanity (9), and was developed in the third stanza, which depicts the Incarnation as submissive in nature, wherein he allows his "godhead to . . . [be] enwrap[ped]" in mortal flesh (16).

Moreover, the stanza continues to develop the theme of exile from the previous stanza; Christ is exiled "from blisse to balefull toyle" (22), and sentenced to the hardships and "tormentes" which sinners also know in their exile from heaven (24). One should also note the wordplay

between "blisse" and "bless" which is, again, implicit here: Christ comes from heaven, from "supreme delight" (OED II: 291.1c), to "balefull toyle"; but he also comes from "blessedness" to endure the sufferings which stem from the curse of Adam.

His "Pilgrim weede," too, reinforces the image of Christ as a "sojourne[r]" (17). Such contemplation of the Incarnate Christ's poverty and suffering, on the part of the speaker, leads naturally to the following lines in which the speaker exhorts himself to remain faithful to God. As Scallon notes, the following stanza implies that too much fondness for the things of the world would be a betrayal of the love of God, who himself endured the mortifications of the world (136):

O soule do not thy noble thoughts abase
 To lose thy loves in any mortall wight:
 Content thy eye at home with native grace,
 Sith God him selfe is ravisht with thy sight.
 If on thy beautie God enamored bee:
 Base is thy love of any lesse then hee. (25-30)

Again, the primary image is that of God as an enraptured lover who finds the sinner's beauty to be so ravishing that he is swept away. In addition, however, the multiple meanings of "ravish" build on the earlier wordplay with "offred" and "force" (7): to "ravish" is "draw forcibly to (or into) some condition" (OED XIII: 235.1C). The line echoes the use of the earlier pun on "ofride,"

i.e., "to ride down, [or] to overtake" (OED X: 741). Again, the sinner's soul is the victor in the battle; God was "offred" (7), or run down, by the sinner, and is now "ravisht," or dragged away, forcibly, into the conditions of suffering endured in the Incarnation. Another image is that of plunder; God has been made the sinner's booty, or loot; the sinner has seized God forcibly (OED XIII. 235.4a). Finally, the image of rape, or violation, is also implied (OED XIII 235: 2a).

By all of these definitions, God is powerless; he is the victim of the sinner's soul; his sacrifice is also, by implication, that which was defined by some Tridentine theologians in the Eucharist: "datur, funditur, frangitur" - "given over, poured out, broken" (Somnius, qtd. Lepin 297, n3). Upon considering the great sacrifice of Christ, the speaker urges himself, and his readers, to make their own sacrifices: "If on thy beautie God enamored bee: / Base is thy love of any lesse then hee" (29-30).

The final two stanzas are, as Martz notes, somewhat excessive, although it is worth noting that the poem may be unfinished. Nevertheless, the emphasis on Christ's act of sacrifice and on the love of God are weakened by the speaker's repeated urgings to prefer God's love to any "pleasing face," or to reject the "worth of Ghostly grace" (32; 34). Still, it must be said for the poem that the

final lines are, again, exhortations to surrender: "O soule out of thy selfe seeke God alone: / Grace more then thine, but Gods, the world hath none" (41-42). This, too, is a statement of self-sacrifice; one can see in it the act of "will" defined by Ignatius in the Exercises [50], but one can also see the act of sacrifice as defined by earlier theologians, in particular in Augustine, who in turn draws on St. Paul:

The Apostle had exhorted us to present our bodies as a sacrifice, living, holy, pleasing to God--our spiritual service--and not to be conformed to this world but be transformed in the newness of our minds, that we might discern what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God This is the Sacrifice . . . which the Church continues to celebrate in the sacrament of the altar, in which it is clear to the Church that she herself is offered in the very offering she makes to God.³⁵ (City of God 10.6; 7: 127)

In the same way, Southwell urges himself, and his reader, "give not assent to muddy minded skill" ("At home" 31); rather, he exhorts them to remember that they should keep, always, "Gods and Angels censure" before them (35), seeking "God alone" (41). In doing so, they will "discern what is the . . . perfect will of God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 127),³⁶ and be consecrated. Janelle argues that the poem shows an influence of "Platonism, according to which the soul had memories of a previous life, in which it had been acquainted with the perfect glory of God" (271), but such

an interpretation is not necessarily the case. The emphasis on the sacrifice in the poem shows, rather, that the sinner himself has become aware of God's "perfect glory" after considering the mystery of the Incarnation.

Before concluding, one should further consider that the poem also uses Bellarmine's definition of sacrifice:

Sacrifice is an external oblation made to God alone, by which, in recognition of human infirmity and in worship of the divine majesty, some visible and permanent reality is consecrated and changed by a mystic rite, performed by a duly constituted minister.³⁷ (qtd. Clark 452)

First, the speaker considers his own sinfulness; then, he goes on to contemplate Christ's power and divinity, and the love of God that made Christ choose "in our flesh his god head to enwrap" ("At home" 16); he contemplates Christ's surrender to the conditions of "human infirmity" which the speaker likewise endures. The speaker then acknowledges that Christ has suffered out of love for his own soul, and in the fifth stanza, is, "in recognition of human infirmity and divine majesty consecrated and changed" (Bellarmine, qtd. Clark 452); he resolves that he will not "his noble thoughts abase" ("At home" 25), and that he shall be concerned with "Gods and Angels censure" (35), rather than that of "mortall[s]" (26).

In the beginning of the poem, one finds a soul whose "graces" are weakened by "veyles" (1). Yet the speaker, in

contemplating his own sinfulness, and God's love for the sinner, resolves to dedicate himself, and to be "consecrated" to God: "O soule out of thy selfe seeke God alone: / Grace more then thine, but Gods, the world hath none" (41-42).

In spite of the poem's weaknesses, "At home in Heaven" effectively uses wordplay to emphasize multiple meanings of sacrifice: the sacrifice of Christians who should "seeke God alone" (41), the sacrifice of Christ in the Incarnation (13-24)--and implicitly, in the Passion and the Eucharist as well (15-16); finally, there are also Tridentine and Counter-Reformation definitions of sacrifice seen in the poem. The Ignatian act of "will" seen in the fifth stanza is only one of numerous ways in which sacrifice is developed in the poem, which expresses the enormous love of God for the sinner, and the sinner's need to return such love to God.

Conclusion

Southwell's poetry on the Incarnation and Nativity are here seen to emphasize Christ's birth as an act of suffering--whether because of his impoverished state, or because of the sacrificial nature of the hypostatic union, or because his sacrifice in the Passion is already "made present" in the suffering he experiences at birth.

Throughout Southwell's Nativity poetry, the chief image is of surrender, of Christ's birth as an act of consecration to God by which he is a sacrifice (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126). In most of these pieces, Eucharistic sacrifice is developed, if at all, in a cryptic manner, but the poems contain a tacit reminder that Christians participate in the sacrifice of Christ in their own suffering and submission to God, and that in such acts of sacrifice they participate in the moment of their redemption.

Other themes are also found. Christ is, in "The burning Babe," and "At home in Heaven," seen as "given over, poured out, [and] broken"; similarly, one finds some use, in "At home in Heaven," of Bellarmine, as the speaker contemplates his own sinful state as the reason for the Incarnation, and makes his own resolution to be consecrated to God. Both of these themes will be seen more frequently in a number of poems which make more explicit use of Eucharistic imagery. Sacrificial imagery in Southwell's Nativity poems is nearly always implicit; it is in the poems which make the heaviest use of the prayers and imagery of the Mass that one will find Southwell's strongest use of the imagery of Eucharistic sacrifice.

NOTES

1. Opus, quod agitur, ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse possimus (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

Dei nomine consecratus (10.6; PL 41: 283).

2. "Suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas" (Enchiridion Symbolorum 293 [143]). See Chapter Two, pages 55-57, for a complete discussion of the hypostatic union, as defined at the Council of Chalcedon.

3. Terrena coelstibus jungi, unumque ex visibilibus atque invisibilibus fieri (Dialogues; qtd. Lepin 40).

4. Inter quos me adesse fingam, tanquam pauperculum, eorum utcunq̄ue necessitatibus cum reverentia maxima famulantem (Versio Vulgata [114]).

5. qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo; sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo. Humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. (Vulgate; Phil. 2: 6-9)

6. See Chapter Two, pages 51-52 and page 81, endnote 5, for a fuller discussion of redemption in the Christmas liturgy.

7. See, for example, Passus XVIII of Piers Plowman, where Christ

wol juste [with the Fiend] in Piers armes
 In his helm and in his haubergeon -- humana natura.
 That Crist be noght biknowe here for consummatus Deus.
 (Passus XVIII: 22-24)

The emphasis in Piers Plowman, as in older medieval poetry, is on Christ's glory, not on his suffering; Christ's suffering is understated, and Langland's focus is on Christ triumphant. Jesus conquers as a warrior and a king, but he jousts "in Piers armes" (22), in his human nature. Faith tells Will that Christ must disguise himself, and not be recognized as having the divine nature which he shares with the Father.

In contrast, Julian of Norwich in her Revelations of Divine Love comes closer to Ignatian spirituality; in witnessing the Passion of Christ, she sees, vividly,

the (plentuous) bledyng of [Christ's] hede. The grett droppes of blode felle down fro vnder the garlonde lyke pelottes, semyng as it had comynn ou te of the veynes Of all the syght that I saw this was most comfort to me, thatoure good lorde, that is so reverent and dredfulle, is so homely and so curteyse.
 (7: 13-15; 31-33)

Similarly, in her Fourth Revelation of the scourging, she sees how "hys dere worthy blode . . . descendyd downe in to helle and brak her bondes, and delyuerd them all that were

there which belong to the courte of hevyn" (12: 20-24). Thus Christ conquers Satan through suffering, not through guile or through outwitting the devil, and the emphasis is on Christ's love for sinners (22: 3-5; 43-54).

8. See Chapter Two, pages 51-52, and page 81, endnote 5 for a complete discussion of the sacrificial nature of the Nativity.

9. See Gardner (7n); Brown, "Commentary" (124); Scallon (112); Lorraine Roberts (240). See also Chapter Three, pages 97-98.

10. See, for example, "The Sacrifice":

They buffet him, and box him as they list,
Who grasps the earth and heaven with his fist,
And never yet, whom he would punish, miss'd.
(129-131)

As with "New heaven, new warre," the Christ of "The Sacrifice" is, simultaneously, all-powerful and powerless; but there is not, in Herbert, the sense that Christ redeems through surrender. Although he bears the "earths great curse" (165; Gen. 3: 17) in the crown of thorns, and although Christ willingly "remove[s]" the curse "from th'earth unto [his] brows, and bear[s] the thrall" (166; 167), nevertheless, throughout the poem, the God of judgment remains strong. Christ is at once the God who takes all

sins on him, even as he remains the God who will pass sentence on his human enemies, and will punish those who offend him: "Now prophesie who strikes thee, is their dittie. / So they in me denie themselves all pitie" (143-144).

11. Omnes Christi actiones fuerint expiatoriae (Neumausensis, qtd. Lepin 307, n2).

See also Leriensis, who argues at Trent that

Nam Christus in tota ejus [sic] vita meruit, et satisfecit pro peccatis nostris: neque ea de causa delentur merita passionis in cruce et ejus satisfationes. (qtd. Lepin 307, n1)

For Christ through his whole life merited and made satisfaction for our sins: and yet without having destroyed the merits of his suffering and making satisfaction on the cross.

Finally, see Segobicensis, who goes as far as to argue that

Licet omnes Christi labores suffecissent ad redemptionem nostram, tamen Christus decreverat eam consummare in cruce: propterea omnia ad eam ordinabantur. (qtd. Lepin 307, n1)

It is allowed that all of Christ's works are sufficient for our redemption; however, Christ resolved to finish it on the cross: because all had been ordained on that account.

12. See, for instance, "The Reprisal":

I have consider'd it, and finde
There is no dealing with thy mighty passion:
For though I die for thee, I am behinde;
My sinnes deserve the condemnation. (1-4)

13. See Chapter Four for a fuller development of the parallels between Southwell's poetry and the Mass.

14. semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens (Vulgate: Phil. 2: 7a).

15. See Martz, Poetry of Meditation (82-83); John Roberts, "Influence of the Spiritual Exercises" passim; Daly (37); Maurer (16-17).

16. Cum . . . vera sacrificia opera sin misericordiae, sive in nos ipsos, sive in proximos, quae referuntur ad Deum; opera vero misericordiae non ob aliud fiunt, nisi ut a miseria liberemur, ac per hoc ut beati simus; quod non fit, nisi bono [in Deo] . . . profecto efficitur, ut tota ipsa redempta civitas, hoc est congregatio societasque sanctorum, universale sacrificium offeratur Deo per sacerdotem magnum. (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284)

17. Sanguinis . . . qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum (New Roman Missal 783).

18. Auro, quod per ignem probatur (Vulgate; 1 Peter 1: 7b).

19. Quoniam unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus, omnes qui de uno pane participamus (Vulgate; 1 Cor. 10: 17).

For being many, we are one bread, one body, all that participate of one bread (Rheims; 1 Cor. 10: 17).

20. universale sacrificium (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284).

21. Sicut enim corpus unum est, et membra habet multa, omnia autem membra corporis cum sint multa, unum tamen corpus sunt, ita et Christus (Vulgate; 1 Cor. 12: 12).

22. Communicantes Christi passionibus gaudete, ut et in revelatione gloriae ejus gaudeatis exsultantes (Vulgate; 1 Peter 4: 13).

23. Usque ad mortem (Vulgate; Phil. 2: 8).

24. ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

25. Nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum, Judaeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam, ipsis autem vocatis Judaeis, atque Graecis, Christum Dei virtutem, et Dei sapientiam; quia quod stultum est Dei sapientius est hominibus, et quod infirmum est Dei fortius est hominibus. (Vulgate, 1 Cor. 1: 23-25)

26. Unde ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus . . . in quantum mundo moritur ut Deo vivat, sacrificium est (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

27. ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

28. See discussion of "New heaven, new warre" earlier in this chapter, pages 97-114.
29. See Scallon (62-150) for a complete discussion of Southwell's use of Counter-Reformation poetics to bring Christian spirituality to his readers by adapting secular love lyrics to religious purposes.
30. This last meaning of "load" is not cited in the OED as appearing before 1662, but Southwell's use of a number of words has been overlooked by the editors of the OED; see especially his use of "liquorous" in The Epistle of Comfort, which Margaret Waugh cites as having appeared a hundred years before the first appearance in the OED (Epistle 42n).
31. Vere languores nostros ipse tulit,
et dolores nostros ipse portavit;
et nos putavimus eum quasi leprosum,
et percussum a Deo, et humiliatum.
(Vulgate; Is. 53: 4)
32. Deus conjugavit divinitatem suam, id est divinam
virtutem, pani et vino, non ut remaneant in hoc
sacramento, sed ut faciat inde corpus et sanguinem
suum. (ST 3a.75.3; 58: 62)
33. Terrena coelstibus jungi (Dialogues; qtd. Lepin 40).
34. Maledicta terra in opere tuo; in laboribus comedes ex
ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae. Spinis et tribulos
germinabit tibi, et comedes herbam terrae. In sudore
vultus tui vesceris pane, donec revertaris in terram de
qua sumptus es. (Vulgate; Gen. 3: 17b-19a)

35. Nos hortatus esset Apostolus, ut exhibeamus corpora nostra hostiam vivam, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium nostrum, et non conformemur huic saeculo, sed reformemur in novitate mentis nostrae; ad probandum quae sit voluntas Dei, quod bonum et beneplacitum et perfectum Hoc est sacrificium quod etiam Sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat Ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re quam offert, ipsa offertur. (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284)
36. Ad probandum quae sit voluntas Dei, quod
perfectum (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284).
37. His ergo rejectis, vera definitio sacrificii proprie dicti in genere haec esse potest: Sacrificium est oblatio externa facta soli Deo, qua, ad agnitionem humanae infirmitatis et professionem divinae majestatis, a legitimo ministro res aliqua sensibilis et permanens ritu mystico consecratur et transmutatur. (Disputationes, qtd. Lepin 343, n2)

CHAPTER IV

THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS IN SOUTHWELL'S POETRY

1. The Eucharist and "Mental Attendance at Mass"

As late as 1941, it was still possible to find, in some missals, the practice of spiritually "unit[ing] with Holy Mass" when unable to attend in person (My Lenten Missal 5; 480). As the Mass takes place outside of ordinary human time, and as one attends Mass not only in a given church on a given date, but in a moment in which "the earth is joined to the heavens, and the visible and invisible are made one" (St. Gregory, qtd. Lepin 40),¹ in a moment in which Christ's sacrifice is "made present," one could, by spiritual desire, be at Mass when circumstances made it impossible to do so. In this way, one was encouraged to "unite . . . with Jesus, now offering His Precious Blood in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass" (My Lenten Missal 480), and offer oneself with Christ as he offered himself in the Mass.²

This practice of "mental attendance at Mass" (Janelle 69) might have had its origins in the Penal Laws, when it was difficult, if not impossible, to be present at Mass,³ and "Roman Catholics naturally felt a need to concentrate on the private motives for the practice of religion and to

express their faith in personal forms of devotion" (Scallion 69). Southwell himself not only made use of it during his imprisonment in the Tower (Garnet, qtd. Janelle 69-70), but while he was still free in London,

he exhorted [his parishioners] to kneel devoutly every day of their lives and offer themselves to our Lord, assisting in spirit at every Mass being said at that moment in every part of the world. (Garnet, qtd. Caraman, Henry Garnet 192)

This study will show that he also encouraged the practice by writing poems which draw on the framework of the Mass and a particular doctrine, such as transubstantiation, or a feast, such as the Nativity, for their imagery. Catholics who spent an hour in prayer, observing this practice, could therefore use one of Southwell's poems as a text over which to meditate, pray, and offer themselves as they united with the Mass.

A. "Christs bloody sweat"

Fat soile, full spring, sweete olive, grape of
 blisse,
 That yeelds, that streams, that pours, that dost
 distil,
 Untild, undrawne, unstamp, untoucht of presse,
 Deare fruit, cleare brookes, faire oile, sweete
 wine at will:
 Thus Christ unforst prevents in shedding blood
 The whips, the thornes, the nailes, the speare,
 and roode.

He Pelicans, he Phenix fate doth prove,
 Whom flames consume, whom streames enforce to die,

How burneth bloud, how bleedeth burning love?
 Can one in flame and streame both bathe and frie?
 How could he joine a Phenix fiery paines
 In fainting Pelicans still bleeding vaines?

Elias once to prove gods soveraigne powre
 By praire procur'd a fier of wondrous force
 That blood and wood and water did devoure,
 Yea stones and dust, beyonde all natures course:
 Such fire is love that fedd with gory bloode
 Doth burne no lesse then in the dryest woode.

O sacred Fire come shewe thy force on me
 That sacrifice to Christe I maye retorne,
 If withered wood for fuell fittest bee,
 If stones and dust, yf fleshe and blood will burne,
 I withered am and stonye to all good,
 A sacke of dust, a masse of fleshe and bloode. (1-24)

The poem provides one example of how many scholars overlook Southwell's use of the Mass in his poetry. In "'Christ's bloody sweat': A Meditation on the Mass," Schten notes that it is inaccurate to see the poem, as most scholars do, as a meditation on Gethsemane (75);⁴ rather, the poem focuses on Calvary as it is manifested in the Eucharistic sacrifice.

The Mass «of fleshe and bloode» [that] is ostensibly part of the speaker's rhetoric of worthlessness . . . more expressly serves to unlock the covert reference to the Holy Rite. The speaker's desire for immolation leads to an immediate analogy between his sacrifice and that of Christ: the speaker identifies himself with Christ, and his body becomes, like Christ's, the elements of the Sacrament, the «fleshe and bloode» of the Mass. (78)

Batley attempts to refute Schten. The poem, she argues, is a "Jesuit meditational poem on the sweat of

Gethsemane, the prefiguring of the Cross in the sweat, and an affirmation of the Mass as sacrifice" ("Christ's bloody sweat": A Jesuit Meditation on Gethsemane" 1).⁵

However, Batley seems to misunderstand Schten's argument:

[Schten] believes Southwell to be concerned . . . only with "Calvary, the sacrifice of Christ, and the embodiment of this sacrifice in the Eucharist." Schten has clearly misread the poem Calvary is undoubtedly present in 'Christ's bloody sweat', but it is not the central focus of the poem. (1)

Schten does not argue that the poem is "about Calvary," as Batley assumes (2). Schten argues that the poem is on "Calvary, the sacrifice of Christ, and the embodiment of this sacrifice in the Eucharist" (Schten 75; emphasis mine). This is not an insignificant distinction, and a close reading of Schten's article reveals that she does not focus on Calvary as "the central focus of the poem" (Batley, "Gethsemane" 1); Schten focuses on Eucharistic symbolism and the anamnesis of Christ's sacrifice in the Mass.

Moreover, while Batley admits that images such as "grape of blisse" and "sweete wine" ("Christ's bloody sweat" 1; 4) are "fixed and unarguable Eucharistic symbols of Christ's blood," she maintains that "this does not mean the poem is about Calvary" ("Gethsemane" 2). To separate the Eucharistic symbols in any Catholic poem from the sacrifice of Calvary is to lack a fundamental understanding of

sacramental theology; the Eucharist and Calvary cannot be divorced. Batley's attempt to do so leads to other problems with her interpretation. In particular, Batley acknowledges the poem's use of the sacrifice of the Mass, but rejects all connections between the Mass and Calvary ("Gethsemane" 2). In doing so, she makes the Mass a separate sacrifice from that of Calvary--the very point which the Catholics were accused of doing, and which Southwell, defending his faith in a Protestant country, would have been the first to deny.⁶

Batley argues that the poem should, "[as] a Jesuit meditation . . . display internal unity" (2). Yet if one attempts to see the poem as a meditation on Gethsemane and as "an affirmation of the Mass" (1), while divorcing the Mass from Calvary, one cannot possibly find internal unity within the poem. This disjunction is seen in Batley's explication; her analysis changes too abruptly. The first half of the poem she interprets as a distinctly Ignatian poem. Yet in the second half of the poem, she argues, Southwell combines references to the Mass with Ignatian meditation on Gethsemane, using "memory," "understanding," and "will" (5-6), and concludes, finally, that Southwell's reference to Elias' sacrifice in the final stanza expresses his "own impulse towards martyrdom" (5). Such an analysis attempts to fit the poem to too many interpretations at

once. Southwell's use of Eucharistic imagery is as strong in the first two stanzas as it is in the second two stanzas. Batley notes several parallels with the Mass (5), but she overlooks other important Eucharistic symbols, such as the Pelican.⁷ Because of these oversights, and because she argues for and against Schten's analysis of the poem as a meditation on the Mass, the article leaves one uncertain as to whether or not Batley agrees with, or disagrees with, Schten.

Schten's interpretation is correct: the first stanza depicts, through images such as "grape of blisse" and "sweete wine at will," the Eucharist as one of the sacraments which comes through Christ's Passion ("Christ's bloody sweat" 1; 4; Schten 76). The second stanza uses the Pelican, a traditional icon for Christ's sacrifice, and the Phoenix, an icon for his death and Resurrection (Schten 76-77). Schten notes that these images are "standard Eucharistic symbols" (76); but it is also worth noting, again, the double meanings of "blisse" and "bless" which Southwell continually uses in his poetry. The "grape of blisse" is not only the sacrament through which we receive the grace of Christ and know true happiness, but also the grape of "sacrifice"; again, the older meaning of "bless" being to "make 'sacred' or holy with blood or to consecrate by some sacrificial rite" (OED II: 281.1;). Consequently,

the "fat soile" on which Christ's blood drops is indeed the Church, as Schten argues (76), and not merely Gethsemane. Moreover, from this "soile" that Christ consecrates with his blood comes not only the "twelve fruits of the spirit which come to man from Christ through the Church" (Schten 76), but the harvest of souls to which Christ refers in the Gospels (Mt. 9: 37; Mt. 13: 3-23).

Already, then, Christ's sacrifice on Calvary is present, not only in the offering of the Last Supper, wherein Christ consecrated--or "joined with the sacred"--the "grape of blisse," but again in Gethsemane, where Christ's voluntary surrender to the Father is an act of sacrifice--or an act which "makes sacred," through his bloody sweat, the sinner.

But as Schten points out, the poem does not end there. The third stanza moves on to the Old Testament figure of Elijah offering sacrifice "to prove gods soveraigne powre" ("Christs bloody sweat" 13; Schten 77-78). The reference to Elijah offering sacrifice to God in Ahab's country, in opposition to the priests of Baal, has political tones (1 Kings: 18: 19-40; Schten 78); Southwell does not need to make any references to Baal, or Ahab, or Jezebel in order to make the parallel with the political situation in sixteenth-century England. The final stanza, even "more incriminating[,] . . . makes a blatant reference in the

last line to the forbidden rite of the Holy Mass" (Schten 78) The early publishers of the poem thought the final stanzas too dangerous, and omitted them in the early editions (78-79).

Yet the Eucharistic imagery of the poem runs much deeper than Schten notes; as with much of Southwell's poetry, "Christ's bloody sweat" alludes to other definitions of the Eucharistic sacrifice used by patristic theologians and by members of the Council of Trent: first, Christ is "given over, poured out, broken"--"datur, funditur, frangitur" (Somnius; qtd. Lepin 297, n3). In Gethsemane, already, Christ fulfills his words at the Last Supper: his blood is poured out "for you and for many . . . unto the remission of sins" (New Roman Missal 783).⁸ The parallels between Calvary and Gethsemane, and between Gethsemane and the Eucharist, are seen in the second stanza, where Christ is "given over" (datur) to the "flames [which] consume" him (8), and where his blood is "poured out" (funditur) in the "streames [which] enforce [him] to die" (8).

In addition, Christ, in offering himself to the Father, redeems sinners not merely by a blood-offering, but also by yielding himself to God in the moment of surrender expressed in his prayer in Gethsemane: "Not my will, but thine be done" (Rheims, Luke 22: 42).⁹ An examination of "Christ's bloody sweat" shows the conflict between force and

yielding, a conflict wherein helplessness overcomes power, and wherein surrender overcomes force. Here, Southwell is also working with the ideas of the fourth-century Council of Chalcedon, where Christ Incarnate is defined as "weakness [assumed] by power" (Eutyches, "Letter to Flavius" [LF] 412; [142]).

As Schten notes, Southwell uses sacramental, and essentially Eucharistic, symbolism:

«Full spring» and «cleare brookes» represent the water used in both the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist The «faire oile» . . . refers to the oil used in the Sacraments. (76)

But while the poem begins as a "harmless vignette on the crucifixion and its immanence in the Eucharist" (Schten 77), there is a more subtle development of sacrifice even in the opening lines, with the images of surrender--in Gethsemane, the soil, without tilling, "yeelds" fruit; "undrawne," the spring "streams" "cleare brookes" ("Christ's bloody sweat" 1-4). The "soile," which is the Church, is "made sacred," not only by Christ's bloody sweat, but by his surrender; it is noteworthy that in this poem Southwell uses a good deal of imagery invoking that of blood-sacrifice, even as he works with other, less familiar, ideas of sacrifice such as the consecration of self to God. In being so consecrated, the soil "yeelds," or surrenders, its own "deare fruit" (2; 4), that is, the harvest of

redeemed souls who, like Southwell, choose "to act upon Christ's sacrifice by an emulation of his ways" (Schten 78).

Similarly, from the "grape of blisse" (1) comes the "sweete wine" of the sacrament (1; 4). It too, comes forth without effort, "untoucht of presse" (3). It is worth comparing, briefly, the winepress in Herbert's "The Agonie" with the imagery of Southwell,¹⁰ in order to clarify Southwell's distinctive use of sacrifice: Herbert's poem depicts

A Man so wrung with pains, that all his hair,
His skinne, his garments bloudie be.
Sinne is that presse and vice, which forceth pain
To hunt his cruell food through ev'ry vein. (3-6)

In "The Agonie," then, sin acts as the winepress which forces Christ to sweat blood; the image here is closer to that which Southwell will use in "Sinnes heavie load": "But had [my sins] not to earth thus pressed thee, / Much more they would in hell have pestred me" (5-6). Both of these poems are Eucharistic, but the emphasis in both pieces is on the enormous weight Christ must bear for our sins. In "Christs bloody sweat," however, the Eucharist comes freely, "untoucht of presse" (3), with Christ's free surrender to the will of God (Luke 22: 42).¹¹

As a result of Christ's surrender in Gethsemane, the sacraments are "yeeld[ed]." They are brought about without

effort, miraculously; yet they are also produced "at will" (4). In Gethsemane, Christ surrendered himself to God, but he did so "unforst," of his own will (5); the blood which is given (datur) is the same which will be drawn from "the thornes, the nailes, [and] the speare" (6). Calvary and Gethsemane are one, even as Calvary and the Mass are one: Christ's surrender in Gethsemane culminates in his sacrifice on Calvary. Both are made present in the Mass, which produces the harvest of sacraments--baptism, Eucharist, confirmation--which Schten identifies in the opening lines of the poem.

The emphasis on yielding continues; on the first reading of lines five and six, one would most likely read "prevents" as "anticipates" (OED 12: 444.I.1b); but Christ also "prevents," in the moment of his own wilful surrender to God, the agony of the Passion. If he had chosen to, he could have prevented his Passion completely--although then there could be no sacrifice, no surrender, and therefore, no redemption--even though Christ does, in Gethsemane, give a blood offering. But for Southwell, the act of sacrifice entails surrender of will; in two of the three Gospels which depict Christ's agony in Gethsemane, Christ surrenders not once but three times (Mt. 26: 39-44; Mark 14: 35-40).

The paradox between force and surrender is much tighter here than in poems such as those on the Nativity, and the double meanings could easily be missed. But the paradox remains; to surrender one's life to God's will is to accept whatever consequences follow; to give oneself for others is to lose control of one's fate. Yet the moment of surrender, the act of saying "thy will be done," is an act which brings about the "soveraigne powre" of God (13), whose "wondrous force" is revealed through "praire," not through might.

In surrendering to God, the Christian, like Christ, obtains grace--not only the grace which comes from the sacraments--the "sweete olive" and "grape of blisse"--but the grace which comes from doing God's will (ST 2a.2ae.4.3). Through surrender, then, one gains a power which one would otherwise not have: "He that hath lost his life for me, shal finde it" (Rheims; Mt. 10: 39).¹² As Christ, in giving his life, brings about salvation for all, so Southwell, in surrendering to God, will be rewarded with everlasting life.

Therefore, Southwell, in the last stanza, is performing his own act of submission: his desire, in the final stanza, is not simply a request for martyrdom (Batley, "Gethsemane" 5; Schten 78), but the desire to be consumed by the Holy Spirit, through whose force Southwell

was made a priest who offers sacrifice to God in the Mass. Southwell desires to perform Christ's act of sacrifice, to "make present" Christ's offering among those who cannot experience it as they would so desire. But more than that, Southwell desires to sacrifice himself for others, not only as a martyr, but also as a "witness," as the original Greek term meant (OED 9: 413), to the presence of God among his people. Southwell's pastoral duties were themselves acts of sacrifice, uniting recusant Catholics with God; he is himself a sacrifice, "consecrated in the name of God and vowed to God [one who] dies to the world so that he may live for God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).¹³

Finally, one needs to examine the poem, in particular the final stanza with its allusion to the "the masse of fleshe and bloode" (24; qtd. Schten 78), in the context of Bellarmine's definition of sacrifice as that wherein

an external oblation [is] made to God alone, by which, in recognition of human infirmity and in worship of the divine majesty, some visible and permanent reality is consecrated and changed by a mystic rite, performed by a duly constituted minister.¹⁴ (qtd. Clark 452)

Southwell evokes the Holy Spirit to consecrate him in just such a manner: he acknowledges his own sinfulness, his "human infirmity"; he refers to himself as "stones and dust," "withered wood" and "stonye to all good" ("Christs bloody sweat" 21; 22; 23). He expresses his desire to

"worship . . . [the] divine majesty" (Bellarmine, qtd. Clark 453); yet he recognizes his inability to consecrate himself, or the Eucharist, without the "sacred Fire" of the Holy Spirit ("Christ's bloody sweat" 19), and he asks God that he be "consecrated and changed" (Bellarmine, qtd. Clark 453). In addition, with its use of "fuell" and "burne" (21-22), the poem is also a rare example of Southwell's use of Bellarmine's later teaching that a sacrifice must include "a true and real death, or destruction" (qtd. Clark 453).

On multiple levels, then, the poem defends the doctrines of sacrifice used by Tridentine theologians to defend the Mass. The Ignatian elements of the text are also Eucharistic, as Southwell draws from numerous theologians who influenced Ignatius or were, as in the case of Bellarmine, influenced by Ignatian spirituality. To focus only on Southwell's act of "will" is to overlook the complex levels of sacrificial theology in the sixteenth-century. Moreover, one should be careful not to interpret Southwell's emphasis on self-sacrifice as an expression of a desire for martyrdom; one should remember that his use of sacrifice was a means of furthering his apostolic work in England (Scallion 77-78; Brown, "General Introduction" xviii). Furthermore, while the printed text of the poem in 1595 contained only the first two stanzas, some of

Southwell's works did circulate in manuscript (Devlin 249; 254), and one can see, as Southwell evokes the Holy Spirit to allow him to return sacrifice to Christ (20), an expression not only of his own vocation as a priest, but a prayer for readers of the poem to use as a text, in order to meditate and pray on the sacrifice of the Mass, and to offer themselves to God in union with the Church, when attendance at Mass was not possible. The reader could, of course, have used the poem to meditate on the events of Gethsemane, but the heavy use of Eucharistic imagery clearly implies that the poem could have been used for more than a Jesuit meditation.

B. "Sinnes heavie loade"

Although "Sinnes heavie loade" has much stronger parallels with "Gethsemane" than "Christs bloody sweat," it too alludes heavily to the symbolism of the Eucharist, and its classification as a meditation on Gethsemane by various scholars is not altogether accurate.¹⁵ Like "Christs bloody sweat," the poem depicts the Eucharistic sacrifice in the context of Christ's surrender in Gethsemane, and provides a text with which to meditate, not only on Christ's offering in Gethsemane, but also on his offering in the Mass. In addition, the poem provides instruction on the Real Presence as defined by the Council of Trent.

O Lord my sinne doth over-charge thy brest,
 The poysse thereof doth force thy knees to bow;
 Yea flat thou fallest with my faults opprest,
 And bloody sweat runs trickling from thy brow:
 But had they not to earth thus pressed thee,
 Much more they would in hell have pestred mee.

This Globe of earth doth thy one finger prop,
 The world thou doo'st within thy hand embrace;
 Yet all this waight of sweat drew not a drop,
 Ne made thee bow, much lesse fall on thy face:
 But now thou hast a loade so heavy found,
 That makes thee bow, yea flat fall to the ground.

O sinne, how huge and heavie is thy waight,
 Thou wayest more then all the world beside,
 Of which when Christ had taken in his fraight
 The poysse thereof his flesh could not abide;
 Alas, if God himselfe sinke under sinne,
 What will become of man that dies therein?

First, flat thou fel'st, when earth did thee receive,
 In closet pure of Maries virgin brest;
 And now thou fall'st of earth to take thy leave,
 Thou kissest it as cause of thy unrest:
 O loving Lord that so doost love thy foe,
 As thus to kisse the ground where he doth goe.

Thou minded in thy heaven our earth to weare,
 Doo'st prostrate now thy heaven our earth to blisse
 As God, to earth thou often wert severe,
 As man, thou seal'st a peace with bleeding kisse:
 For as of soules thou common Father art,
 So is she Mother of mans other part.

She shortly was to drink thy dearest blood,
 And yeeld thy soule a way to sathans cave;
 She shortly was thy corse in tombe to shrowd,
 And with them all thy deitie to have:
 Now then in one thou joyntly yeeldest all,
 That severally to earth should shortly fall.

O prostrate Christ, erect my crooked minde,
 Lord let thy fall my flight from earth obtaine,
 Or if I still in earth must needes be shrinde,
 Then Lord on earth come fall yet once againe:
 And eyther yeeld with me in earth to lie,
 Or else with thee to take me to the skie. (1-42)

In "Sinnes heavie loade," Christ's surrender is an act of love for the sinner. The power of sin is such that it "doth force [Christ's] knees to bow" (2), even though Christ can support the world with his finger (7). Southwell emphasizes this paradox in the early stanzas; God, all-powerful, is left powerless by the "force" of sin (2). Even the sins of one man, of the speaker's alone, are heavier than the weight of the entire world. Christ redeems by "bow[ing]" to these faults; he allows himself to be "opprest" with Southwell's faults, to be "pressed" with them (3; 5), as though in a winepress;¹⁶ in doing so, Christ saves the speaker from the punishment which he deserves.

But, as with "Christs bloody sweat," the poem starts as an apparent meditation on Gethsemane, and then becomes apostolic; in this case, Southwell uses the poem to teach the doctrines of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice.¹⁷

First, flat thou fel'st, when earth did thee receive,
 In closet pure of Maries virgin brest;
 And now thou fall'st of earth to take thy leave,
 Thou kissest it as cause of thy unrest:
 O loving Lord that so doost love thy foe,
 As thus to kisse the ground where he doth goe.

Thou minded in thy heaven our earth to weare,
 Doo'st prostrate now thy heaven our earth to blisse
 As God, to earth thou often wert severe,
 As man, thou seal'st a peace with bleeding kisse:
 For as of soules thou common Father art,
 So is she Mother of mans other part. (19-30)

"God . . . sinke[s]" (16) under sin, not merely in Gethsemane, nor in his sufferings in the Passion, but in the moment of the Incarnation. What Christ did in Gethsemane, in saying "thy will be done," he did first in the Incarnation, in accepting the human condition.

In Gethsemane, in the Incarnation, and in the Eucharistic sacrifice, "the earth is joined to the heavens" (St. Gregory, qtd. Lepin 40).¹⁸ This joining is implied in the poem: in heaven, "in the forme of God" (Phil. 2: 6b),¹⁹ Christ took on "our earth" ("Sinnes heavie loade" 25), that is, his human nature which was joined with his divine nature in the hypostatic union. In Gethsemane, he consecrates, or "blisse[s]" (26), the earth from which Adam was made (Gen. 2: 7). One sees, again, the wordplay between "blisse" and "bless," as Christ blesses, in his surrender, not only the earth, which he consecrates with his blood, but also fallen sinners, made from the earth, whom he reconciles to God by his sacrifice--a sacrifice in which sinners participate as they offer themselves to God in union with the Mass. Both stanzas, then, use language alluding to the Mass; the earth "receave[s]" Christ in the Incarnation, and in Gethsemane (19); so too, the sinner, made from the earth, is "blisse[d]" by Christ in his

sacrifice, and "receave[s]" Christ in the Eucharist (26; 19).

The stanzas are therefore not as disconnected as they first seem; Christ's Incarnation, too, is a fall from a higher state, and yet in falling, Christ "lifte[s]" up the sinner, restoring him to grace. Christ yields in Gethsemane, kissing the earth "as cause of [his] unrest" (22). In doing so, he gives to the sinner, the cause of his suffering, the benefits of his sacrifice, a sacrifice "made present" in the Mass. Moreover, one sees, again, the parallels between the Incarnation and the Sacrifice of the Mass which were developed in early patristic theology (Gassner 305-310) and which are found in Southwell's poetry.

As Brown points out in her edition of Southwell's poems, these lines depicting Christ sinking and kissing the earth refer to the Mass, where

the peace secured by the passion of Christ is affirmed . . . in the Pax Domini, spoken by the priest directly preceding the Agnus Dei and the Communion . . . [and] more precisely enacted . . . on Good Friday, when priest and congregation in turn prostrate themselves before a crucifix (the Pax), and kiss it--actions attributed in these lines at the time the bond of peace between God and nature was re-established. ("Commentary" 125; n28)

Again, the reference to the Mass is, of necessity, veiled, but as the Pax is followed by communion in the Mass, so the

"bleeding kisse" of peace from Christ (28) is followed by the reception of "the whole Christ" in communion (ST 3a.76.1; 58: 18).²⁰ For it is in the next stanza, particularly, that we find the Eucharistic sacrifice as manifested in Gethsemane:

She shortly was to drink thy dearest blood,
 And yeeld thy soule a way to sathans cave;
 She shortly was thy corse in tombe to shrowd,
 And with them all thy deitie to have:
 Now then in one thou joyntly yeeldest all,
 That severally to earth should shortly fall. (31-36)

In the stanza, Southwell expounds on the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence: the Eucharist contains "the whole Christ" (ST 3a.76.1; 58: 93): both the bread and the wine contain Christ's body, blood, soul, and divinity (3a.76.2).²¹

In the Eucharist, Christ's body is present "under the form of bread" (ST 3a.76.2; 58: 99),²² but Christ's blood is also present "by a natural concomitance" (3a.76.2; 58: 99), that is, by natural co-existence.²³ Similarly, because Christ's divinity "never laid aside the body which was taken up into hypostatic union" (3a.76.1.1; 58: 95),²⁴ his divinity is present in the Eucharist by "natural concomitance," and so too is his soul (3a.76.1).²⁵

"The whole Christ," then, his body ["corse"], "blood," "soule" and "deitie," is surrendered in Gethsemane ("Sinnes heavie load" 31-34), as Christ "joyntly yeeld[s]" himself

wholly to God's will at the beginning of the Passion (35). The earth will receive Christ's blood in the Passion; his body will be entombed therein; his soul will be "yeeld[ed]" to hell (35), where he will open the gates of hell and free sinners. Christ's divinity is present with all three, his body, blood, and soul; hence the earth will receive it by "natural concomitance" (ST 3a.76.2). In the same way, the sinner, who is made from the earth, and will return to the earth, receives Christ in the Eucharist, as the earth does, "joyntly" (35). In receiving the host, the Christian receives both the body and blood of Christ, since both are present by "natural concomitance" (ST 3a.76.2); in receiving Christ's body and blood, the Christian gives a place in his own soul, that is, in "sathans cave" ("Sinnes heavie loade" 32), for the soul of Christ, and with them all receives Christ's "deitie" (34).

This parallel between the earth, which receives Christ in the Passion, and the Christian, who receives Christ in the sacrament, is noted by Brown: "the action of physical nature (Earth) is represented as offering the soul of Christ the way to hell" ("Commentary" 125; n32, emphasis mine). Brown also points out Southwell's use of "yeeld" (32), "with the sense 'make submission for'" (125; n32); later in the poem, where the speaker begs Christ, "yeeld with me in earth to lie" (41), Brown cites the definitions

"'submit'" and "'agree'" (125; n32). In attending Mass, then, and receiving the sacrament, the Christian, who is made of earth, makes an offering to Christ, just as Christ made an offering to God; both the earth and the Christian receive the Presence of Christ and submit to him.

In the final stanza, as in "Christs bloody sweat," Southwell makes the appropriate response to Christ's total offering of himself, and requests to join in his sacrifice.

O prostrate Christ, erect my crooked minde,
 Lord let thy fall my flight from earth obtaine,
 Or if I still in earth must needes be shrinde,
 Then Lord on earth come fall yet once againe:
 And eyther yeeld with me in earth to lie,
 Or else with thee to take me to the skie. (37-42)

Adam's fall led to loss of paradise; Christ, the second Adam, falls to regain paradise. And, as Southwell is made of dust, so his "flight from earth" (38) can mean his return to heaven, both by leaving his body, and by leaving the earth. Here, Southwell prays that through Christ's sacrifice his own redemption will be secured. But simultaneously, Southwell is asking for the ability to leave earthly concerns behind and rise to those of a spiritual level; Southwell asks that he, like Christ, will be able to obtain heaven by imitating Christ and surrendering to God.²⁶

The speaker's "crooked minde" (37), bent by sin, needs to be straightened. Only Christ's act of sacrifice could

make this possible, yet Southwell, as a Catholic, must choose freely to answer God's call. He must "[die] to the world," if not literally, then figuratively, rejecting those earthly desires which his "crooked minde" might desire (37). The speaker's "flight from earth" (38), then, need not necessarily be death. Although union with Christ in heaven is the Christian's ultimate desire, Southwell can be joined with Christ now, in his own act of surrender to God's will and his rejection of earthly desires. Consequently, the closing stanza is a prayer of consecration to God, such as might be made following reception of Christ in the sacrament: Southwell asks that if he cannot join Christ in heaven, that Christ "fall" to earth again, and join with Southwell; he desires to experience "the joining of heaven and earth" in the Eucharistic sacrifice (St. Gregory, qtd. Lepin 40). Though the preference of any Christian should be union with Christ in heaven, Southwell knows that to pray for martyrdom alone is not necessarily an act of sacrifice; the Christian must be willing to live for Christ or to die for Christ, to "yeeld" to God as his will demands.

As can be seen, then, "Sinnes heavie loade" makes available to the reader the essentials of the Mass: an acknowledgment of the sinful state of the Christian, followed by a meditation--or sermon--on Christ's suffering

for our sins (1-18), Christ's offering and consecration of himself to God (19-26), the kiss of peace (27-30), Holy Communion (31-36), and a prayer of thanksgiving and rededication to Christ after communion (37-42). The poem is not only an apostolic poem which teaches the doctrines of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic sacrifice; the poem is also a text which makes the Mass available to the Elizabethan Catholic.

This poem is less successful in its final stanza than "Christ's bloody sweat," and it may be for this reason that one is inclined to see only Southwell's desire for martyrdom expressed in the final stanza. But it is important to remember that Southwell viewed his writing as apostolic (Scallion 128). Moreover, his own priesthood should not be dismissed here: in this final stanza, one reads again the desire to be consecrated "in the name of God" and to "[die] to the world so that he may live for God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126; 126).²⁷ Yet one should not read Southwell's poetry too autobiographically; Southwell's "purpose in writing was one of service, not of self-expression" (Brown, "General Introduction" xviii). "Sinnes heavie load" emphasizes the need for surrender to God, reminds readers that in submitting to God's will, their sacrifices are imitations of the sacrifice of Christ, and provides a text for the Catholic to "assist in spirit

at . . . [the] Mass" (Garnet, qtd. Caraman, Henry Garnet 192).

2. The Mass and the Liturgical Calendar

A number of Southwell's poems which work with the Mass use the prayers of a specific feast; often, the theme, or act of consecration, ties in with the particular feast. "The Nativitie of Christ," for example, focuses on Christ's gift of himself in being born, and encourages Christians to emulate Christ by offering themselves to God in sacrifice. "The Epiphanie," on the other hand, focuses on the material sacrifice of the magi, and encourages Roman Catholics--in particular those schismatics who have chosen to conform--to surrender their material comforts as the price of their faith.

A. "The Nativitie of Christ"

In "The Nativitie of Christ," as in "The burning Babe" and "New heaven, new warre," Southwell again portrays the sacrificial nature of Christ's Incarnation and Nativity, using paradoxes to express the contradiction inherent in the Incarnation of the God-Man. At the same time, while the poem begins as an apparent meditation on these paradoxes, it also uses the prayers of the Christmas Mass

in order to provide the reader with a text of the Christmas liturgy.

Beholde the father, is his daughters sonne:
 The bird that built the nest, is hatched therein:
 The olde of yeares, an houre hath not out runne:
 Eternall life, to live doth now beginne.
 The word is dumme: the mirth of heaven doth weepe:
 Might feeble is: and force doth faintly creepe.

O dying soules, behold your living spring:
 O dasled eyes, behold your sonne of grace:
 Dull eares, attend what word this word doth bring:
 Up heavie hartes: with joye your joye embrace.
 From death, from darke, from deafeness, from
 dispaire:
 This life, this light, this word, this joy repaires.

Gift better then himselfe, God doth not know:
 Gift better then his God, no man can see:
 This gift doth here the geve geven bestow:
 Gift to this gift let each receiver bee.
 God is my gift, himselfe he freely gave me:
 Gods gift am I, and none but God shall have me.

Man altered was by sinne from man to beast:
 Beastes foode is haye, haye is all mortall flesh:
 Now God is flesh, and lies in Manger prest:
 As haye, the brutest sinner to refresh.
 O happie fielde wherein this fodder grew,
 Whose tast, doth us from beasts to men renew. (1-24)

It is probably because of the weaknesses of the final stanza that "The Nativitie of Christ" has been almost completely overlooked by scholars.²⁸ One cannot doubt that the poem is too clever in its conceits for contemporary tastes, and is lacking in the lyrical qualities of "The burning Babe." However, the poem is in many ways a successful meditation, emphasizing the contrasts between God's might and the Christ-child's

helplessness, even as it uses the prayers of the Christmas liturgy.

The poem is doubtless one of Southwell's earliest attempts to bring Roman Catholic belief--and liturgy--to those who could not hear it. It is surely not his finest, but for Southwell's apostolic purposes, it is effective; Southwell succeeds in recreating, in compact form, the essentials of the Christmas Mass. The first stanza captures the paradox of the Incarnation and contemplates the wonder of God's infinite being become finite. In the second stanza, the imagery of the Gradual as well as that of the Preface celebrate Christ as "word" and "light" (New Roman Missal 138; 798; "Nativitie" 12), and the speaker expresses wonder at Christ's act of love. Then, in the third stanza, the speaker determines what his response to Christ's love should be: "Gift to this gift let each receiver bee" (16). Reading this line, we can still imagine that the poem is simply a meditation on the Nativity, but in the third line the reference becomes more ambiguous. "This gift doth here the gevev geven bestow" (15, emphasis mine). Therefore, the third stanza, as shall be seen, is an Offertory, and the fourth is a Communion. Moreover, even in the earliest lines, subtle Eucharistic imagery is incorporated as Southwell expresses how Christ

provides his grace in being "made present"--in his Nativity or in the Mass--to sinners.

The opening of the poem is Ignatian; for example, in the colloquy of the First Exercise of the First Week, the practitioner is called to

imagine Christ our Lord present before you on the cross, and begin to speak with him, asking how is it that though He is the Creator, He has stooped to become man, and to pass from eternal life to death here in time, that thus He might die for our sins.²⁹
([53])

Similarly, in the Prelude to the Incarnation, the practitioner imagines

the Three Divine Persons look down on the . . . earth, filled with human beings. Since They see all are going down to hell, They decree in Their eternity that the Second Person should become a man.³⁰ ([102])

These contrasting emphases on the infinite God, and on the God-Man who has passed "from eternal life to death here in time" ([53]),³¹ create a dilemma for the practitioner who knows, even as he tries, that he can never fully grasp the paradox of the Incarnation; Southwell's use of paradox, such as that of the opening lines: "The olde of yeares, an houre hath not out runne: / Eternall life, to live doth now beginne" (3-4), clearly draws on contrasts which Ignatius stresses in the Exercises.

But Ignatius himself draws on the earliest Christian tradition: Christ, "in the forme of God exinanited him self, taking the forme of a seruant" (Rheims; Phil. 2: 6b-7a).³² Ignatius is also drawing on the Council of Chalcedon's definition of the Incarnation: Christ is "lowliness assumed by majesty, weakness by power, mortality by eternity" (Eutyches, LF 412; [143]).³³

Moreover, one must remember that in Catholic Eucharistic theology, the eternal becomes finite in every celebration of the Mass. As noted, the early Church viewed the Incarnation and Nativity as "made present" in the Mass; Christ's "redeeming death was prepared by this act of submission" (Gassner 299-300). In the Eucharist, as in the manger, Christ is "dumme" and "feeble" to all appearances ("Nativitie" 5; 6). Yet through this "dumme" word, those "dying soules" (7) who should justly suffer death and damnation are restored to life, and see the "sonne of grace" (8). For "in this sacrament [of the Eucharist]," Aquinas says, ". . . grace is increased and the life of the spirit perfected and made whole by union with God" (ST 3a.79.1.1; 59: 7).³⁴ Hence the stanza is not merely a meditation on the Nativity, but a meditation, or sermon, on the spiritual benefits of the Eucharist as well.

For Southwell, then, redemption is not a historical moment, but a moment outside of time; redemption is "made

present" with every celebration of the Mass, and Christ's presence among his people is experienced in every Eucharist. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises draw from this view of redemption, and Southwell uses Ignatian practice, but in their understanding of redemption and grace, both Southwell and Ignatius are part of a much older tradition, even as they give a new expression to it.

Like Herbert, Southwell depicts the Incarnate God as all-powerful and powerless, fully experiencing human suffering. Herbert, however, develops these paradoxes in his poetry on the Passion;³⁵ Herbert touches little on the Nativity or the early years of Christ, emphasizing instead the sinner's redemption through Christ's shedding of his blood. But Southwell emphasizes Christ's "inner self offering" to the Father; all of Christ's life is an act of "self-oblation" (Cooke, "Sacrifice" 837). Christ makes an act of "internal sacrifice of will and soul in the first moment of life in the flesh," an act of sacrifice which will find its climax in the Passion (Gassner 299). But in becoming an infant, Christ begins the redemptive act: the words, "eternal life, to live doth now beginne," announce not only Christ's Incarnation and birth, but also the salvation of the sinner.

For Southwell, then, the Nativity is part of the redemptive moment: Christ, the "life," "light," "word," and

"joy," redeems us from "death," "darkness," deafness, and despair (12; 11). Christ, who is one with the Father, has himself become a sacrifice (City of God 10.6); he has surrendered to the Father's will and become one of his creatures. This paradox, inherent in the moment of the Incarnation, is developed throughout the first stanza in multiple ways: Christ, who is one of the "Three Divine Persons" (Exercises [102]),³⁶ is now the son, not only of God, but of Mary; the Eternal, "the olde of yeares" (3), has not only become finite, but one of the most helpless of beings. Older than any human being, older than the created universe, the creator's life "doth now beginne" (4). Again, one sees the sacrificial nature of the hypostatic union, the assumption of "mortality by eternity" (Eutyches, LF 412 [143]).

The first half of the next line, "the Word is dumme: the mirth of heaven doth weepe" (5), develops the beginning of the Gospel of John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word. This was in the beginning with God" (Rheims: John 1: 1-2).³⁷ The Word, through which all was made (Gen. 1: 3ff), has become mute. Yet in the next stanza, Southwell bids the reader: "Dull eares, attend what word this word doth bring" (9). The immediate wordplay is obvious: Christ is the Word made flesh; Christians are called to hear his word. However,

when one considers the multiple meanings of "word" in the poem, one finds other paradoxes: the "Word" whose "word" we should "attend" is "dumme" (5), even though the "word" which it brings is the Gospel itself. Furthermore, for the word to become "dumme" is for language to be left powerless; the Word through which God created the universe (Gen. 1: 3) has been, apparently, silenced. Moreover, as already noted, Christ is the silent Word who is received in the sacrament, and yet his word is to be received in spite of--or because of--his silence.

The remainder of the first stanza continues to evoke, in contrast to the traditional image of Christ's birth as a moment of joy, the image of the infant Christ suffering for sinners. The second part of the line, "the mirth of heaven doth weepe" ("Nativitie" 5), shows Christ suffering, not only in the Passion, but in his own birth into poverty and hunger. Similarly, the words "might feeble is, and force doth faintly creepe" (6) echo the Council of Chalcedon, which describes the Incarnate Christ as "lowliness assumed by majesty, weakness by power" (Eutyches, LF 412 [143]). Again, one sees the multiple meanings of "creep" here: Christ, who is all powerful, "move[s] . . . prone and close to the ground" (OED IV: 2.B1), and "without soaring or aspiring" (OED IV: 2.B3b). Southwell stresses, in these lines, that those things on which we rely--money, power, or

fame--have been rendered useless by the Incarnate God's helplessness.

Throughout this stanza, there is, in addition to the emphasis on the paradox of the God-Man, a call to sinners to know that their moment of salvation has come, and to act accordingly. First, the sinner, dead to God through the sin of Adam, is called on to see salvation in Christ, who cleanses original sin from the soul. In the line, "O dying soules, behold your living spring" (7), Southwell draws on the Epistle for Midnight Mass: Christ was born that he "might redeem us from all iniquity, and might cleanse to himself a people acceptable" (Titus 2: 14; New Roman Missal 138),³⁸ as well as the Prayer before the Epistle for Christmas Day, where the priest asks God to grant that Christ's birth "may deliver us whom slavery . . . doth keep under the yoke of sin [i.e. death]" (New Roman Missal 144).³⁹

The next line, "O dasled eyes, behold your sonne of grace" (8), draws on parallels between the light of the sun and the light of Christ, parallels expressed in the Christmas liturgy, such as the Gradual for Midnight Mass at Christmas: "With Thee is the principality in the day of Thy strength; in the brightness of the saints, from the womb before the day-star I begot Thee" (Ps. 110 [Vulgate

109]: 3; New Roman Missal 138).⁴⁰ More interesting, however, is the Preface for the Nativity:

It is truly meet and just, right and available to salvation, that we should always and in all places give thanks to Thee, O holy Lord, Father almighty, eternal God, because by the mystery of the Word made flesh, from Thy brightness a new light hath risen to shine on the eyes of our souls, in order that, God becoming visible to us, we may be borne upward to the love of things invisible.⁴¹ (New Roman Missal 798, emphases mine)

An examination of the poem reveals that the second stanza is preparatory to the Offertory and Consecration. One notes the use of light imagery which Southwell has incorporated into the second stanza: "O dasled eyes, behold your sonne of grace" (8). The sinners' souls are "dasled" by sin (8): "the implication is that sinful man is unable to see clearly" (Brown "Commentary" 121; n8). Yet "a new light hath risen to shine on the eyes of our souls" ("Preface for the Nativity," New Roman Missal 798): the light of the "sonne of grace" ("Nativitie" 8).

Likewise, the summons to hear "what word this word doth bring" (9) also echoes the Preface, which celebrates the "mystery of the Word made flesh" (New Roman Missal 798). Similarly, the following line, "Up heavie hartes, with joye your joye embrace" ("Nativitie" 10), urges Christians to be "borne upward," to prefer the "joye" of

Christ and "the love of things invisible" ("Nativitie" 10; New Roman Missal 798).

Had Southwell simply stopped at the second stanza, the poem would still have been theologically neutral, although the Eucharistic parallels are more ambiguous in the third stanza of "The Nativitie" than in "Christs bloody sweat." But as with "Christs bloody sweat," the poem changes movement in the third stanza, and moves from a simple meditation on the Nativity to a theological meditation on Eucharist and sacrifice. For it is in the third stanza that we find the Nativity most strongly linked with the sacrifice of the Mass:

Gift better then himselfe, God doth not know:
 Gift better then his God, no man can see:
 This gift doth here the geuer geven bestow:
 Gift to this gift let each receiver bee.
 God is my gift, himselfe he freely gave me:
 Gods gift am I, and none but God shall have me.
 (13-18)

The finest gift God can give is the gift of himself, a gift which he gives not once, at the Nativity or the Passion, but daily, in the Eucharist. The Christian who lives in historical time, who cannot see the God's gift of himself made present in the Incarnation, can see the gift of God's self made present in the daily offering of the Mass, a gift that is given "here" (15), daily, to all Christians throughout the world, "bestow[ed]" on Christians

by Christ, the "gever geven" (15), who has already given himself totally on the cross, and yet who continues to plead his sacrifice on the cross before the Father in the sacrifice of the Mass.⁴² And, as God gave himself freely to sinners, so too, the speaker resolves, in the third stanza, to give himself to God.

This is Ignatian; it echoes the prayer "Take and Receive," the "act of will" to which scholars refer (Batley 5; Martz 43). But it is also Eucharistic: it echoes the Preface, or the prayer which follows the Offertory and precedes the consecration and anamnesis of Christ's sacrifice:

It is truly meet and just, right and profitable for us, at all times, and in all places to give thanks to thee, O Lord, the holy One, the Father Almighty, the everlasting God.⁴³ ("Preface," New Roman Missal 773)

Because God has given himself, and has made himself "visible to us" (798)--simultaneously, in both the Incarnation and in the Eucharist--so, too, the speaker resolves to rededicate himself fully to God. Christ surrendered himself "freely" ("Nativitie" 17); so, the speaker determines, "none but God shall have me" (18).

More significant, however, is the ambiguity of the word "here" (15)". In the immediate context of the Nativity, of course, "here" means Bethlehem. Yet in the context of the lines which follow, the reference is more

ambiguous: "God is my gift; himself he freely gave me / Gods gift am I, and none but God shall have me" (17-18). "Here" does not simply refer to Bethlehem, centuries ago, but to the moment of which the poet speaks. The context, then, changes from the Nativity to the Offertory of the Mass, reflecting the anamnesis of Christ's sacrifice in the liturgy, both in union with and independently of the Church calendar. The sacrifice of Christ is "made present" at Christmas Mass, not only in Christ's offering of himself to God and to all sinners in becoming human, but also in his final consummation of that offering at Calvary, both of which are celebrated at Christmas Mass. Both the Nativity and the Passion are "made present" in the Christmas liturgy, and both were, as Gassner notes, incorporated into the anamnesis in the Roman Canon during the early Middle Ages (Gassner 302).

Moreover, the phrase "gever geven" suggests not merely God's decision to become a man, but God's willingness to give his life to atone for sin. Christ, the "gever," is "geven" for us in his surrender of his life on the cross; but he is also "geven" to us, in the sacrament, "here" (15). "This gift," then, is more than Christ present in the manger; it is Christ, present here and now in the Eucharist.

Such a reading is borne out by the line which follows: "Gift to this gift let each receiver be" (16). The "receiver" refers not merely to the Christian who receives Christ's grace through faith, but to those who receive Christ in the sacrament. Southwell calls on those who receive Christ's total offering of self, as it is made present in the sacrifice of the Mass, to return Christ's offering by giving themselves to him completely. It is not in the Nativity that one most fully receives Christ, but in the sacrament; in receiving this gift of Christ's presence, Southwell urges that those who receive should pledge themselves, offering themselves to Christ as "gift[s] to this gift." As God gave himself as a gift, the speaker resolves, so he shall make himself a gift to God (17a; 18a). That such an offering of self is an inadequate return for God's magnanimity is not considered by the speaker; the gift of self may be small, but it is everything, and as God gave himself fully, and "freely," to the speaker, so the speaker resolves that he shall belong fully, and "freely," to God. In doing so, the speaker joins with Christ, offering himself to God as one of the corporate body of Christ in the sacrifice of the Mass. Thus, the focus of the third stanza is on the sacrifice as defined by Augustine and by some Tridentine theologians:

consecration of oneself to God and total acceptance of his will (City of God 10.6; Tapper, qtd. Lepin 289).

"The Nativitie," then, does not follow the contemplative pattern set by Ignatius; rather, it follows the liturgy of the Christmas Mass--and provides a complete Christmas liturgy for use by the English Catholic who might be unable to attend Mass: the poem contains a stanza of meditation and prayer on the events of the Gospel, which is followed by a stanza which uses imagery from the Epistle, Gradual, and Preface. A stanza of offering and consecration follows; finally, the fourth stanza is a communion. In this poem, Southwell is encouraging the practice which he made use of during his own imprisonment in the Tower: the practice of spending an hour, daily, in prayer, offering oneself to God in union with the Mass as it is offered throughout the world (Caraman, Henry Garnet 192; Janelle 69-70).

This interpretation is supported by the fourth stanza, which is certainly Eucharistic. The fall has left all of us sinners, and our sins reveal that which is "brute" in us. As beasts, we need nourishment; the literal meaning of the next lines, that of the sinners feeding from Christ in the manger may strike some readers as too graphic an image to be effective. Yet the development is logical, and draws not only on the fusion of the wheatpress with the winepress

in patristic and Counter-Reformation theology (Engels 48),⁴⁴ but also on an image of execution, a sentence passed on one who, "arraigned for felony[,] . . . stood mute and would not plead" (OED XII: 413: I.1b). God is "flesh," and, even as an infant, is under sentence of death. Accused of the sins of humanity, he stands mute--an image which foreshadows the Passion Gospels (Mt. 27: 14; Mark. 15: 4-5; John 19: 9-10). But from this sentence of death comes the Resurrection, as well as the Eucharist, the "haye" which "renew[s]" the grace and eternal life which had been lost to sinners. In "The Nativitie," then, as in "The burning Babe," and Christ's Passion and death are already begun.

The second line of the fourth stanza draws on the Psalm:

Man, his daies are as grasse, as the floure of the
 filde so shal he florish. Because the spirit shal
 passe in him, and he shal not stand: and he shal know
 his place no more.⁴⁵ (Douai; Ps. 102 [103]: 15-16)

In becoming human, God has become like grass, and has therefore become the hay on which beasts will feed.

There is, then, a distinct progression from the Offertory to the Eucharist, from stanza three to stanza four, but the conceits have become too clever, too overdone, and the final stanza weakens the poem; its cleverness lacks the subtleties of the preceding stanza on

the Offertory, or of poems such as "The flight into Egypt" or "Christ's bloody sweat," which express the same doctrines with less didacticism and more subtlety. Yet it must still be said for the poem that the conceit of "brutest sinner[s]" feeding from the "hay" in the manger retains the logic and theology of the rest of the poem: moving from the depiction of the Nativity scene in the first stanza, and the implications of the Nativity for our redemption, the poet has proceeded to make the Nativity a part of the Eucharistic experience.

Augustine's definition of sacrifice is again implicit here: the Incarnation is a sacrifice because it is "[a] work which unites us in a holy communion with God . . . [and] is aimed at that final Good in which alone we can be truly blessed" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125).⁴⁶ If Christ was born in order to redeem sinful humanity, then it follows that the Nativity itself is an act of sacrifice by Christ, who in surrendering himself to God by taking on the limitations of a human being, is born "consecrated in the name of God and vowed to God"⁴⁷ that sinners may be joined with God, "the final Good," in communion (City of God 10.6; 7: 126). As a result, Christ himself is a sacrifice. As Christ's giving of himself at the Last Supper and in his Passion are both part of the sacrifice of the Mass, so too

is the Nativity; the redemptive moment belongs, for Southwell, to all times.

B. "His circumcision"

Martz does not argue for an Ignatian reading of a number of poems, including "His circumcision." Rather, he argues that they follow the use of the Rosary, according to the method advocated by Gaspar Loarte; the mysteries of the rosaries should be meditated "with the usual blending of concrete detail and abstract thinking. But . . . [the difference is a] division of a mystery into three points" wherein each stanza is independent, focusing on a different aspect of a mystery (Poetry of Meditation 102).

Some of the poems in the Maeoniae, such as "Her Spousals," can be seen to follow this pattern; "each of the . . . stanzas is a self-contained unit, loosely linked to the others The poem simply ends when each significant aspect of the scene has been covered" (103). Moreover, the Rosary was considered "the unlearned man's book" (Garnet, qtd. Caraman, Henry Garnet 144). It is likely, therefore, that Southwell would have used poetry to stress the Rosary and help Catholics to use it better.

However, a number of the pieces in which Martz sees Southwell working with the Rosary are far more complex. In some of these poems, one sees a pattern similar to that of

"The Nativitie": the poem opens with a brief meditation on the Gospel; the imagery of the poem draws on the readings and prayers of the Mass for the feast of the day, and the closing stanza emphasizes sacrifice in the context of the feast.

One such example is "His circumcision," which works both with sacrifice as submission and with the imagery of Christ's blood being shed--or "poured out" for sinners. In the first stanza, Southwell develops the Latin patior--meaning "to yield" as well as "to suffer"--from which the word "passion" is derived. In "His circumcision," Christ's sacrifice is portrayed both as submission and suffering. Portraying the Church as the Body of Christ, with Christ as head, and the individuals as members (1 Cor. 12: 12), "His circumcision" is more specifically Eucharistic than some of Southwell's other pieces. The beginning of the poem focuses on suffering and cleansing as means of redemption:

The head is launst to worke the bodies cure,
 With angring salve it smarts to heal our wound,
 To faultless sonne from all offences pure
 The faulty vassals scourges do redound,
 The Judge is cast the guilty to acquite,
 The sonne defac'd to lend the starre his light,

The vein of life distilleth drops of grace,
 Our rocke gives issue to an heavenly spring,
 Teares from his eies, blood runnes from wounded place,
 Which showers to heaven of joy a harvest bring,
 This sacred dew let angels gather up,
 Such dainty drops best fit their nectared cup.

With weeping eies his mother rewd his smart,
 If blood from him, teares ran from her as fast,
 The knife that cut his flesh did pierce her heart,
 The paine that Jesus felt did Mary taste,
 His life and hers hung by one fatall twist,
 No blow that hit the sonne the mother mist. (1-18)

Here, as in "The Nativitie," Southwell draws on the liturgy, notably the Epistle for the Feast of the Circumcision: "[Christ] gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and might cleanse to Himself a people acceptable" (Titus 2: 14; New Roman Missal 168).⁴⁸ The Secret also emphasizes cleansing; in the prayer, which is said directly before the Preface, the priest asks God to "cleanse us by Thy heavenly mysteries" (New Roman Missal 169).⁴⁹ Similarly, the Postcommunion prayer asks God that "this communion [may] cleanse us from sin" (New Roman Missal 169).⁵⁰ In "His circumcision," as in "The Nativitie," Christ's sacrifice is the means by which sinners are saved; in offering and receiving the Eucharist, Christians are made clean; but here, the cleansing moment "made present" in the Mass is at once Christ's giving of himself, which is celebrated in the Eucharist, and the Circumcision, which is celebrated in the prayers of the liturgy.

The cleansing attributes of the Eucharist which are emphasized in the liturgy for the feast are also stressed in the poem: in the first stanza, Christ, who is the "head"

of the Church (1), is "launst" as one might lance a tumor or sore (OED 8: 615.II.7), in order to remove whatever impurities might be within. But while it is the body which contains the impurities, it is the head, "the faultless sonne," who is "launst." The use of "launst" is also symbolic of Christ's Passion, where Christ's side is opened "with a speare, and . . . there came forth bloud and water" (Rheims; John 19: 34).⁵¹ The text has always been regarded as Eucharistic; already, even in his Circumcision, Christ experiences his Passion and gives the blood of the Eucharist and the water of baptism, which will nourish and cleanse the sinner. Again, one sees the anamnesis of Christ's offering of himself, as Christ, "from all offenses pure," receives the "scourges" due to his "faulty vassals" (3-4). By focusing on Christ's purity as well as his place as Lord and Judge, Southwell portrays Christ's act of sacrifice, not only in the Passion, but in all the events of Christ's life, and hence throughout the Church year.

Moreover, Southwell's Christ-child is, once more, submissive: Christ undergoes circumcision out of obedience to his own law, even though he himself, as God, established the law. He claims no special treatment as a man; rather, his circumcision is part of his act of total obedience to God, and is redemptive: "Christ through his whole life merited and made satisfaction for our sins" (qtd. Lepin

307, n1).⁵² At the same time, Southwell also urges, implicitly, that Catholics be submissive to the will of God, refusing to attend Anglican services, but willingly paying the fines for recusancy and accepting other hardships that resulted.

That the Circumcision, like the Nativity, foreshadows the Passion will be expressed by later seventeenth-century poets.⁵³ For Southwell, however, the liturgy of the Circumcision is not a foreshadowing, but an anamnesis, or "making present," of Christ's Passion and death in the celebration of the Eucharist, even as it celebrates the Feast of the Circumcision. This is not exclusively Ignatian; that Christ suffered for the sins of humanity at his Circumcision is expressed by medieval writers (St. Bonaventure, Meditations 43-44), and was expressed in Anglican theology and poetry of this period as well (Chambers 77-90). In the second stanza, Christ's blood showers "a harvest" for the angels. The implications are twofold: the "harvest" of sinners redeemed by Christ's death and Resurrection is implied. At the same time, however, the "sacred dew" which the angels "gather up" (11) is the blood of Christ in the sacrament, given at the Last Supper and shed on the cross, but shed at the Circumcision as well. The Circumcision and the Passion are therefore both part of Christ's act of surrender to the Father; in

the moment of the Circumcision Christ both anticipates and experiences the suffering which will restore sinners to God.

The third stanza builds on this concept. Since the Eucharistic moment is the moment when heaven is joined to earth (St. Gregory, qtd. Lepin 40), it is a moment outside of time. Therefore, in offering the Eucharist on the Feast of the Circumcision, the priest and the worshipper are present at both the Circumcision and the Passion. This can be seen the first stanza: the "paine that Jesus felt" is felt by Mary (6); "the knife that cut his flesh did pierce her heart" (5). The moment foretells--and liturgically, is identical to--the Passion. The Circumcision takes place before the prophecy of Simeon at the Presentation: yet already Mary suffers with Christ; already the prophecy, "thine owne soule shal a sword pearce" (Rheims; Luke 2: 35),⁵⁴ is fulfilled in the moment of Christ's Passion as he experiences it in the Circumcision. Consequently, one finds that all of the events of Christ's life, as celebrated in the liturgical year, are acts of sacrifice, and Christians who participate in the liturgical sacrifice are present at the moment of their own salvation.

In another sense, the Circumcision is sacrificial, not only as defined by St. Augustine, but also as defined by St. Bellarmine. Christ, "in recognition of human infirmity

and in worship of the divine majesty," is "consecrated and changed" through the rite which is administered (qtd. Clark 452). Christ does not undergo circumcision because he is a sinner, but because we are; he submits "to heal our wound" ("His circumcision" 2). In the moment of consecration, he "distilleth drops of grace" ("Nativitie" 8). In the Circumcision, Christ redeems by submitting to God's will, and by consecrating himself to God; in doing so, Christ fulfills Augustine's definition of sacrifice; but his circumcision is also sacrificial in its moment of change--not only in Christ's own change from uncircumcised to circumcised, but in the first "drops of grace" (7) which the Christian receives in the sacrament.

C. "The Epiphanie"

Similarly, in "The Epiphanie," Southwell does not follow any particular prescribed meditative method; there is, rather, a cryptic but careful development of the liturgy for the feast of the day. The stanza of offertory and consecration in this poem is far more subtle than that of "The Nativitie," but the emphasis on offering material sacrifice in exchange for receiving Christ, in the mind and in the heart, is strongly suggestive of "mental attendance at Mass" (Janelle 69). In addition, the poem makes use of

the texts of the Mass; once again, the theme of sacrifice is developed in the context of the liturgy.

"The Epiphanie" encourages material as well as spiritual sacrifice; although a general audience could have appreciated the poem, it appeals, specifically, to the English schismatic, that is, to the Catholic who conformed out of reluctance to part with worldly possessions. Like the magi, the Christian brings his wealth to Christ; like the magi, he receives a greater wealth:

To blaze the rising of this glorious sunne
 A glittering starre appeareth in the east
 Who sight to pilgrim toyles three sages wun,
 To seeke the light they long had in request,
 And by this star to nobler starre they pace,
 Whose armes did their desired sunne imbrace.

Stall was the sky wherein these plannets shinde,
 And want the cloud that did eclipse their raies,
 Yet through this cloud their light did passage finde,
 And pierc'd these sages hearts by secret waies,
 Which made them know the ruler of the skies
 By infant tongue and lookes of babish eies.

Heaven at her light, earth blushes at her pride,
 And of their pompe these peeres ashamed be,
 Their crowns, their robes, their traine they set
 aside,
 When Gods poore cottage, clouts, and crew they see,
 All glorious things their glory now despise
 Sith God Contempt doth more then Glory prise.

Three giftes they bring, three giftes they beare away,
 For incense, mirre, and gold, faith, hope, and love,
 And with their gifts the givers hearts do stay,
 Their mind from Christ no parting can remove.
 His humble state, his stall, his poore retinew
 They fancy more then all their rich revenew. (1-24)

"The Epiphanie" is far less Eucharistic in its imagery than "The Nativitie" or "His circumcission"; however, Southwell again makes use of the prayers of the feast, in particular, the Lesson from Isaiah:

Arise, be enlightened, O Jerusalem; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For behold darkness shall cover the earth, and a mist the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and His glory shall be seen upon thee.⁵⁵ (Is. 60: 1-2; New Roman Missal 175)

The parallel between England and Jerusalem is not difficult to determine; although "darkness covers the earth," the light of Christ will still shine on those who choose to join with Christ, and who, like the magi, will prefer Christ's "poore retinew" (23) more than wealth. The poem echoes "New Prince, new pompe," which, as has been noted,⁵⁶ emphasizes that Christ's "stable is a Princes Court, / The Crib his chaire of state" (17-18).

Similarly, in "The Epiphanie," one finds true "Glory" in "Gods poore cottage" (18; 16). The Christian must therefore recognize that in sacrificing riches, one finds unconquerable wealth. For it is in his "humble state" that Christ will conquer sin and death; those who prefer material comforts to the cross have rejected Christ's sacrifice, and have rejected the "glory" that the magi have found. Christ does not reveal himself to those who hold to wealth and rank, or to those who seek Christ among the

powerful. As in "New heaven, new warre," where Christ's weapons against sin and death are "teares" and "babish cryes" (31; 33), so in "The Epiphanie," Christ is known "by [his] infant tongue and lookes of babish eies" (12).

Southwell again makes use of the paradoxes of the Incarnation, of "lowliness assumed by majesty, weakness by power" (Eutyches, LF 412; [142]). Christ does not proclaim that he is "ruler of the skies"; instead, he reveals himself by his "infant tongue" ("Epiphanie" 10; 12). But Christ, by being born helpless, by "appearing in our mortal nature[,] hath restored it by the shedding upon us of that new and immortal light" ("Preface for the Epiphany," New Roman Missal 800-801).⁵⁷

In exchange for worldly "pompe" ("Epiphanie" 14), the Christian, like the magi, experiences the light of Christ, which pierces his heart by "secret waies" (10). Through the "cloud" of his "want," Christ's manifestation to the Gentiles was achieved; through such a cloud of want Christ's light will "passage finde" to the English Catholic (9), who sacrifices his possessions for his faith, preferring, to his earthly wealth, "the beauty of [God's] Majesty" (New Roman Missal 175).⁵⁸

The poem does not fit the formula of the Mass as well as does "The Nativitie," yet "The Epiphanie," perhaps in part because it does not attempt to be so formulaic, is a

better poem. However, there is an offertory in the third stanza; the magi, seeing Christ's humble state, "set aside" their fine possessions and "now despise" glory and wealth (15; 17). The Christian's response to Christ should be the same: for Christ, one should feel shame at one's "pompe" (14), and reject "crowns . . . robes, [and] traine" for "Gods poore cottage" (15; 16).

Moreover, there is an implicit communion: in the fourth stanza, the magi "beare away," in exchange for their wealth, the grace of having received Christ: "For incense, mirre, and gold, faith hope, and love / And with their gifts the givers hearts do stay" (20-21). The magi give from their hearts, and of their hearts; otherwise, their gifts would be worthless: "If I should distribute al my goods to be meate for the poore, and if I should deliuer my body so that I burne, and have not charitie, it doth profit me nothing" (Rheims; 1 Cor. 13: 3).⁵⁹ The English Catholic must, like the magi, give from the heart; however impoverished recusants become for their beliefs, it "profit[s] . . . nothing" if they do not do so in union with the sacrifice of Christ, and retain the love of Christ, and their neighbor, in their hearts as they do so. There is, then, an implicit emphasis on "spiritual communion," and on receiving Christ, and the love of Christ, into one's mind: "Even by desiring it [the

Eucharist] a person obtains grace whereby he is spiritually alive" (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 7).⁶⁰ In being mentally present at Mass, then, the Christian receives the grace which comes from desiring the sacrament. In consecrating oneself to God in union with Christ, and with his Church, the Christian receives the fruits of "Christ and his Passion [which] are the cause of grace and spiritual refreshment and charity" that come from the Eucharist (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 7).⁶¹ Roman Catholics who so desire union with Christ in the sacrifice of the Mass, are therefore like the magi. "Their minde from Christ no parting can remove" ("The Epiphanie" 22), and they "beare away, / . . . faith, hope, and love" (19b-20).

"The Epiphanie" addresses schismatics, specifically, but its underlying theme also reminds those Catholics who refuse to attend services that they are like Christ in choosing a life of poverty.⁶² Moreover, Anglicans would also have found the poem appealing. As noted, the poem makes use of the liturgy; the Lesson from Isaiah is incorporated into the second stanza; more indirectly, Southwell also uses the Collect, that is, the Prayer before the Epistle, a text which was part of the Anglican liturgy as well:

O God, Who by the guidance of a star didst this day
 reveal Thine only-begotten Son to the Gentiles,
 mercifully grant that we, who know Thee now by faith,

may be so led as to behold with our eyes the beauty of Thy majesty.⁶³ (New Roman Missal 175)

Southwell's use of the Prayer is more implicit than his use of the Lesson; Christ's grandeur is not obvious to us because of his "want" (8). And although the magi expect to find a king situated in pomp and glory, as the Gospels indicate (Mt. 2: 1-3), nevertheless, through their faith they know "the beauty of [Christ's] majesty" because they acknowledge him as "ruler of the skies" (11). This parallel, too, is implicit in the poem: both the magi and the Christian seek Christ out in places he is not to be found. Inadvertently, therefore, they seek him in the midst of those who are powerful and evil, seeing power and attractiveness as signs of God's bounty. This idea is implicit in the poem, but is found in the Gospel for the Feast of the Epiphany, which includes the visit to Herod (Mt. 2: 1-8; New Roman Missal 176-177). Similarly, Christians continue to expect that God's chosen will prosper; they need to be reminded that it is in accepting poverty that one becomes most like Christ.

In this, the poem appeals to Anglican and Roman Catholic alike, but there lies an additional message of encouragement to the Roman Catholic who did not conform and paid the financial price: they are like the magi. And in exchange for their fines, if given cheerfully as were the

magi's, they receive a greater wealth: "For incense, mirre, and gold, faith, hope, and love" (20). The line draws on the traditional typology behind the meaning of the magi's gifts: incense acknowledges Christ's divinity, myrrh, his Passion, and gold, his kingship. Like the magi, they must acknowledge Christ to be God, King, and Redeemer. In doing so, they will obtain the faith in his divinity, the hope of knowing that they are redeemed by his Passion, and the love for Christ which they would owe to any ruler; in acknowledging Christ, freely, and willingly, they too will be given faith, hope and love.

The last stanza therefore makes use of, and encourages, the offering and consecration of self to God. However, Southwell's emphasis is more on Christ's sacrifice in being born into poverty than on his sacrifice on Calvary; he commends those who, by giving their riches for their faith, emulate the magi. In so doing, they will be joined to Christ: "And with their gifts the givers hearts do stay / Their mind from Christ no parting can remove" (21-22). Likewise, the Christian who makes an act of sacrifice is "unite[d] in a holy communion with God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125). Again, although "The Epiphany" addresses schismatics in particular, the poem also appeals to the Anglican, whose liturgy emphasized spiritual sacrifice, as well as the Catholic, whose financial

sacrifice was often very real. Moreover, the poem provides texts from the Mass, even as it encourages an offering and consecration of self to God for those who cannot attend Mass physically to use for an hour in prayer.

D. "The flight into Egypt"

In "The flight into Egypt," one sees the sacrifice of self to God by those who are righteous, in this case, the Holy Innocents who are massacred by Herod, whose offering to God is made holy by their own submission, and the blood which they shed as the "first flowers of Christian spring" (13). If the Mass is the joining of earth and heaven, and of the visible and invisible (St. Gregory, qtd. Lepin 40), then the Holy Innocents, who are celebrated as martyrs, are members of the mystical body of Christ. Like the Christ child in "The Nativitie," they can use no words to pray; like the Christ child in "His circumcision," their suffering and redemption is through blood, and through the surrender of their lives, which joins them to God and gives them eternal life.

Alas our day is forst to flie by night,
 Light without light, and sunne by silent shade,
 O nature blush that suffrest such a wight,
 That in thy sunne this darke eclipse hath made,
 Day to his eies, light to his steps denie,
 That hates the light which graceth every eie.

Sunne being fled the starres do leese their light,
 And shining beames, in bloody streames they drench.

A cruell storme of Herods mortal spight
 Their lives and lightes with bloody showers doth
 quench,
 The tyrant to be sure of murdring one,
 For feare of sparing him doth pardon none.

O blessed babes, first flowers of christian spring,
 Who though untimely cropt faire garlandes frame,
 With open throats and silent mouthes you sing
 His praise whom age permits you not to name,
 Your tunes are teares, your instruments are swords,
 Your ditty death, and blood in lieu of wordes. (1-18)

Scholars describe the "peculiarly Jesuitical desire for martyrdom" (Schten 78) in Southwell's poetry, but in fact this desire is less a destructive, guilt-centered view of self than a logical extension of the Augustinian concept of sacrifice as expressed by numerous theologians, and by Ignatius himself. Like Christ, the Innocents sacrifice themselves not merely by their suffering and death, but by their complete surrender to the will of God, and are left helpless against those who make no such offering. In doing so, they are consecrated to God. Moreover, because the sacrifice of the Mass is a moment which is outside of historical time, those who are martyred by Herod are as much able to join in the sacrifice of Christ as those present at the sacrifice of the Mass.

The first stanza shows more than a "juvenile taste for verbal opposition" (Janelle 163). It combines the contradiction of the Incarnation as it is revealed in Christ, the all-powerful made powerless, with the imagery

of the opening of the Gospel of John, a Gospel which was read at the end of every Mass, following the reception of communion by the faithful:

In Him was life, and the life was the light of men: and the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness did not comprehend it. . . . That was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that commeth into this world. He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not.⁶⁴ (John 1: 4-5; 9-10; New Roman Missal 795)

The light, which is Christ, and which "shineth in darkness," is not misunderstood by the darkness, nor does the darkness simply refuse it or ignore it. Rather, Christ is at the mercy of the darkness that is Herod. Not only must Christ flee under the cover of darkness, but he is "forst to fly" by Herod ("Flight" 1), who has surrendered himself over to sin and darkness. Nature should be ashamed, not only that it has left the Christ-child helpless against such a power, but that it "suffrest," or submits to (3; OED 17: 126.1), such a "darke eclipse" as Herod ("Flight" 4). Having surrendered himself to darkness, Herod should be denied the light of ordinary nature; so too should anyone who rejects Christ, "the light which graceth every eie" (6).

The second stanza continues to develop the light imagery, but its focus is on the bloodshed inflicted by Herod on those who might resemble, in any way, the infant

Jesus. Herod, like the powers of darkness, can be seen to reject not only the light in which one finds "the light of men" (John 1: 4), but also those in whom Christ might be present, in whom Christ's light might be found. Even the lesser lights, "the starres[,] do lose their light," drenched as "their shining beams in bloody streames" are (7-8), and their own small lights darkened by showers of blood (10). By "pardon[ing] none" who might be filled with the light of Christ, "the tyrant" believes that he is triumphant (11). The stanza remains focused on the Massacre of the Innocents and on Herod, but Southwell is surely making a comparison between the Catholics, who in receiving Communion, had Christ living in them and the Holy Innocents, who were lesser "starres" to shine with the Christ-child.

The third stanza focuses on the Innocents and their act of martyrdom. The image "christian spring" (13) makes use of the emblem imagery in baroque art (Daly 38-41), where Christ is portrayed as a fountain which nourishes those who drink from him. Again, one sees the use of "blessed" in the sacrificial sense: the Innocents are "[made] 'sacred,'" or "consecrate[d]" (OED II: 281.1)--that is, they are a sacrifice. Here, their act of sacrifice is joined with the sacrifice of Christ. Like the infant Jesus, they are helpless and have surrendered themselves

wholly to God's will; with Christ, they have been offered to God in his own sacrificial act, an act which stands outside of the realm of human time, and an act which began even with the events of the Annunciation and the Nativity. Consequently, though "untimely" in their deaths, they are the "first flowers" to be made sanctified in Christ, and their own deaths praise God by giving witness to Christ's birth. Unlike much of Southwell's poetry, however, "The flight into Egypt" uses sacrifice in the sense of blood-offering. It is through giving their lives that the Innocents praise God. Hence, their worship and their witness to God is not possible through spoken language; too young to speak, they praise Christ with "silent mouthes" (15-16). Like the martyrs of later periods, their best witness to him is in their act of suffering: the "tunes" to which they sing his praise are their own tears; the "instruments" which play such tunes are the swords by which they die (17), and the word by which they give their testimony is the "blood" which they shed (18). Like the Elizabethan martyrs, the Innocents give praise to God in the act of dying, however silent their witness is forced to be.

Janelle traces the lines, "With open throats and silent mouths you singe / His praise, Whome age permits you not to name" (15-16), to the Italian poet Tansillo (214).

Both poets, however, had another source to draw on: in the Mass, the prayers for the feast emphasize the silence of the martyrs; the Introit Prayer, for example, uses the words of the Psalm: "Out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings, O God, thou hast perfected praise, because of Thine enemies" (Ps. 9 [Vulgate 8]: 3; qtd. New Roman Missal 154).⁶⁵ Perfect praise entails perfect consecration to God, and perfect consecration to God requires total submission to God's will; martyrdom, the finest form of consecration of self, and the Holy Innocents' death, exemplify such praise. This concept is also found in the Prayer before the Epistle:

O God, Whose praise the martyred innocents did this day proclaim, not by speaking, but by dying, do to death in us all the malice of sinfulness, that our lives may also proclaim Thy faith, which our tongues profess.⁶⁶ (New Roman Missal 154; emphases mine)

There is, in the poem, less emphasis on the need to make a personal offering of self to God than as there is in other poems of the Maeoniae; nor does Southwell attempt to make this poem so explicitly Eucharistic as "The Nativitie" or "Christ's bloody sweat." The liturgical references, however, would have been known not only to Roman Catholics but to Anglicans; the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer uses the same Collect (87), and Southwell's meaning would therefore have been appreciated by Protestants as well as

Catholics. As the Innocents died for God, so Christians should live for God. In "The flight into Egypt," the Innocents sing God's praise "with open throats and silent mouths"; on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, the Christian openly asks that he be able to profess, through actions, the same faith in God.

E. "The Presentation"

Martz cites "The Presentation" as typical of the meditation method suggested by the Jesuit Loarte for use in praying the Rosary (Poetry of Meditation 103). Here, he is on stronger ground; the poem does not use the prayers of the feast so heavily as he does in other pieces such as "The Nativitie." Nevertheless, "The Presentation," too, develops sacrifice in the context of the feast for the day. As in "His circumcision," Christ submits to the law which he himself established; as the first born male, he "shal be called holy to the Lord" (Lev. 7: 8; Rheims; Luke 2: 23).⁶⁷ Thus, although still an infant, Christ is already a sacrifice, "a man consecrated and vowed to God" (City of God 10.6), not only by his own act of submission in becoming man, but by being consecrated according to Jewish law as well.

The poem works with the original meaning of "redemption": that is, "'buying back' or 'ransoming' "

(Jensen, "Redemption (In the Bible)" 136). As in "The Epiphanie," there is a strong emphasis on material sacrifices made for Christ throughout the poem:

To be redeemd the worlds Redeemer brought,
 Two silly turtle doves for ransome paies,
 O ware with empires worthy to be bought,
 This easie rate doth sound not drowne thy praise,
 For sith no price can to thy worth amount,
 A dove, yea love, due price thou doest account.

Old Simeon, cheape penny worth and sweete
 Obeind when thee in armes he did imbrace,
 His weeping eies thy smiling lookes did meete,
 Thy love his heart, thy kisses blest his face,
 O eies, O hart, meane sights and loves avoyde,
 Base not your selves, your best you have enjoyde.

O virgin pure thou dost these doves present
 As due to law, not as an equall price,
 To buy such ware thou wouldst thy life have spent,
 The world to reach his worth could not suffice,
 If God were to be bought, no worldly pelfe,
 But thou wert fittest price next God himselfe. (1-18)

The contrast between Christ's redemption and our own is here established: Christ, "the worlds Redeemer" is "ransome[d]" for two turtledoves (1; 2). The "easie rate" of his "ransome" is implicitly compared to the high price which Christ paid to redeem sinners. Christ, while sharing our humanity, is already consecrated to God, and is already a sacrifice. Moreover, he does not share our sinful state, and needs no one to suffer to obtain his redemption; consequently, the small worth of the doves, compared to the worth of Christ, "doth sound not drowne [his] praise" (4).

Nevertheless, such a small price as paid by Mary--who, like Christ, had consecrated herself totally to the will of God--is not the price which the Christian should pay. Christ is worth "empires" (3); Christians' "due price" is "love," and they should gladly give, as offerings to him, the recusancy fines which are extracted from them, as well as their freedom, and their lives. Such is no more than a return of Christ's payment for them; as Christ "ransome[d]" sinners out of love, so Christians should in return show their love to Christ, regardless of the price.

The second stanza focuses on Simeon's redemption--a "cheape penny worth" of Christ's love is granted to him "when [Christ] in armes he did imbrace" (7). Again, the love of Christ is beyond price; to hold Christ, and to know, for a moment, the joy which he will know when in heaven with him, is no more than a "cheape penny worth" (7). Yet in embracing Christ, Simeon is "made sacred" by Christ, whose "love [blest] his heart . . . [and] kisses blest his face" (10). Southwell addresses Simeon--and in doing so, exhorts his readers, encouraging them to give themselves to God.

When, therefore, the Apostle [Paul] had exhorted us to present our bodies as a sacrifice, living, holy, pleasing to God--our spiritual service--and not to be conformed to this world but be transformed in the newness of our minds, that we might discern what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God, he went on to remind us that it is we ourselves who

constitute the whole sacrifice.⁶⁸ (City of God 10.6; 7: 127)

Likewise, Southwell addresses Simeon--and his reader--"O eies, O hart, meane sights and loves avoyde, / Base not your selves, your best you have enjoyde" (11-12). In this way Southwell implicitly reminds his readers that they, like Simeon, are "blest," or consecrated, by Christ's love, and urging them to prefer his love over material comforts.

In contrast to Simeon is Mary, whom Southwell addresses in the third stanza. Mary pays the "ransome" for Christ, "as due to law" (14). Like Christ, Mary is obedient to God's law, and hence presents the "silly turtle doves" (2) for his redemption, even as she recognizes that such ransom is inadequate. She obeys God's law, however, not because she is forced to do so, but because of her love for Christ. The Presentation is therefore an act of submission to God's law, and foreshadows Christ's act on Calvary, where Christ will, out of obedience to the Father, redeem not himself, but sinners.

Unlike us, however, Mary recognizes Christ's true worth, and Southwell addresses her accordingly: "To buy such ware [as Christ] thou wouldst thy life have spent" (15). The poem makes little direct use of Eucharistic imagery, and there is no obvious Offertory and Consecration. However, Southwell's audience, upon reading

the poem, would have understood the exhortation to join in Christ's sacrifice by surrendering to divine as well as human law. Christ is far beyond the worth of "worldly pelfe" (17) and if the price of one's faith is the loss of possessions, one must remember that Christ, "the worlds Redeemer," is worth much more (1). Likewise, Southwell's readers would have recognized the implicit encouragement to emulate Mary and be willing to give their lives "to buy such ware" as Christ (15). If the price of one's faith is one's life, then the English Roman Catholic should, like Mary, be willing to pay.

While the poem does not make direct use of the liturgy for the feast, "The Presentation" expresses the great worth of Christ and the price Christians must pay to acknowledge him (1-6); in addressing Simeon, Southwell urges his reader to rise above the "meane sights and loves" of this life (11), and be "blest" (10), or consecrated, to God. The poem closes with a final stanza addressed to Mary in which Southwell encourages Catholics, indirectly, to consecrate themselves to God, and to give their lives if that is the price for attaining the "ware" that is Christ (15). Throughout the poem, the emphasis on Mary's love for Christ, on Christ's worth, and on submission to the law of God, creates an emphasis on sacrifice in the context of the

Feast of the Presentation, and urges readers to make their own acts of offering and consecration to God.

F. Other Pieces

Throughout Southwell's other poetry on the life of Christ, one finds such recurring images of Christ's entire life on earth as an act of self-offering; in "Christ's returne out of Egypt," Christ comes back from exile to Nazareth, "There, with his life more deeply death to maime / Then death did life by all the infants spoile" (3-4). Christ's triumph over sin and death, which completes itself in the Passion, has already begun. Even now, as a child, his power over death is stronger than the power death holds over those who have been slain; as a result, his life promises that the Holy Innocents have found salvation in dying for God. There is, however, less Eucharistic imagery here. Although the poem's imagery of Christ as a flower who will "ripe fruit . . . with thornes hange on a tree," there is no apparent text of the Mass; while the poem makes use of sacrificial imagery, it is meditative rather than liturgical in its focus.

"The Virgins salutation," a devotional poem to Mary, is more complex. It is meditative, but it also incorporates the concept of the Incarnation as sacrificial. It is difficult to determine, here, any use of specific

prayers for the liturgy; the text seems to adapt itself for use as a meditation on the Rosary, as Martz suggests (102-103); but it also could have been used as a text for meditation when it was not possible to be at Mass. Once more, there are the multiple meanings of "blisse" and "bless" found in the second stanza:

O virgin breast the heavens to thee incline,
 In thee their joy and soveraigne they agnize,
 Too meane their glory is to match with thine,
 Whose chaste receipt God more then heaven did prize,
 Haile fairest heaven, that heaven and earth dost
 blisse,
 Where vertues starres God sunne of justice is. (6-12)

Again, one sees the Eucharistic sacrifice, wherein "the earth is joined to the heavens and the visible and invisible are made one" (St. Gregory, qtd. Lepin 40).⁶⁹ As Mary conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit, so too, in the sacrifice of the Mass, the power of the Holy Spirit "transforms upon the altar . . . the oblation of bread and wine into the sacrament of flesh and blood" (qtd. Gassner 317). Thus, the poem is a meditation on the Annunciation, but it is also more: it is a meditation on the consecration, on the anamnesis of Christ's Incarnation in the Mass.

This anamnesis is further developed in the final stanza, which focuses on the pride behind Adam's fall and

the surrender and humbling inherent in God's act of love,
and the consequences of each:

With hauty minde to godhead man aspirde,
And was by pride from place of pleasure chac'de,
With loving minde our manhood God desired,
And us by love in greater pleasure plac'de,
Man labouring to ascend procurde our fall,
God yeelding to discend cut off our thrall. (13-18)

The Incarnation is a moment of submission, and Southwell contrasts it with the fall: because of his haughtiness, "man aspirde" to "be as Gods" (3; Gen. 32: 5) and was driven out of Eden. In contrast, "With loving minde our manhood God desired" (15). God, "yeelding to discend" (18), in surrender to the Father's will, restores all sinners to grace, to an even higher state of grace than that of Eden. The poem does not provide so exact a text of the Mass, as noted, but it does provide a Eucharistic text and a moment of sacrifice, even as it contemplates the mystery of the feast of the Annunciation over which the Christian can meditate.

Not all of the Maeoniae can be made to fit an exact formula of the Mass; nor should one try to force all of the pieces to do so. As Janelle notes, some, such as "The visitation," make use of the liturgy in other ways, "closely paraphras[ing] the Gospel narrative"; "Our Ladie's Nativitye" uses the Ave Maris Stella (273). Both poems are

liturgical, and could be used by devotees who could make their own prayers of sacrifice as they meditate on the Mass. Yet the poems are also apostolic pieces, and can be interpreted from other angles.

In conclusion, Southwell can be seen to use meditation and liturgy in his poetry in far more varied ways than those with which he has previously been credited. While he does work with general meditations on the mysteries of Christ's life, and devotional poetry to Mary such as "The death of our Ladie" and "The Visitation," which would have appealed to Anglicans and Catholics, poems such as "Sinnes heavie loade," discussed in this chapter, work with sacrifice in an explicitly Eucharistic manner, and provide a framework of liturgy, or "pocket-Mass," for the Roman Catholic for whom attendance at Mass is not possible. Other pieces, such as "The Virgins salutation," are more general, and can be used as meditations by a Catholic worshipper in need of a text for the Mass, or by Anglicans who had not rejected devotion to Mary. Finally, pieces such as "The Epiphany" and "His circumcission" emphasize sacrifice in more ecumenical ways, providing a liturgical text for use by recusants, but also able to reach schismatics, and Anglicans as well, encouraging them to emulate Christ's sacrifice by consecrating themselves to God throughout their lives. To limit influences on

Southwell's poetry to Ignatian spirituality is to overlook his ability to provide, particularly for his recusant readers, the sacrifice of the Mass, which Southwell, as a priest, was under obligation to provide to as many parishioners as possible.

Notes

1. Terrena coelestibus jungi, unumque ex visibilibus atque invisibilibus fieri (Dialogues, qtd. Lepin 40).

2. Ross argues that the recusant belonged to a faith that was

corporate and active . . . in its personal and contemplative demands upon him. But he was denied the corporate, active Catholic way of life. . . . Liturgically, he adored the Wounds of the Cross; practically, he saved his own skin. (237)

Therefore, he maintains, the experience of the Mass as a corporate sacrifice, in which the Christian participates, is for the recusant "at a distance and secondhand" (237).

There is, of course, much truth to this; the practice of "mental attendance at Mass" (Janelle 69) is surely a less desirable act of liturgical sacrifice than attending Mass secretly, which, in turn, is less ideal than attending Mass openly. Nevertheless, the corporate sense of the Eucharistic sacrifice does remain for the recusant, and it is this corporate understanding of the Eucharistic sacrifice which makes his individual devotion to the Eucharist possible. Moreover, the recusants for whom Southwell wrote could and often did make heavy material and physical sacrifices; for many of these, Eucharistic symbols can hardly be said to be merely "icons of a private devotion"

(237). It is these recusants whom Southwell is addressing, urging them to be staunch in their sacrifices, and to see their suffering as an emulation of Christ's suffering, in which they participate, liturgically, in the Mass.

3. See Chapter One, Endnote Two, page 35-36, for a brief review of the Penal Laws.

4. See, for instance, Scallon, who discusses the emphasis on "the mystery of the spontaneous flow of blood from the pores of Jesus in His agony" (117). Likewise, Brown describes how the opening stanza develops the "Christian paradox . . . the mystery of blood (as symbol of life) that does not extinguish but increases the power of fire (as symbol of love)" ("Textual Introduction" lxxxiv). However, Brown does not discuss further the sacrificial implications inherent in the poem.

5. Batley argues that "Southwell used his poetry as a vehicle for teaching the priestless and often ignorant English recusants about their faith" (Batley, "Gethsemane" 1), and that the purpose of the poem is to teach the recusant about Christ's suffering in the Passion, and how his suffering is prefigured in the bloody sweat (2). While it is true that Southwell used his poetry for apostolic purposes, it is hard to imagine anyone literate enough to read a poem who was so ignorant as to know nothing about the

Passion; on the other hand, the sacrifice of the Mass was misunderstood by Catholics as well as Protestants. Anglican theology affirmed Christ's suffering on the cross at least as much as Roman Catholic theology; one can just as easily argue that if Southwell used poetry to instruct, he might have tried, whenever possible, to teach doctrines with which the Established Church disagreed, and which were unavailable to most recusants.

6. See, for example, Calvin's Institutes:

Altera Missae virtus proposita erat, quod Christi crucem et passionem opprimit et obruit. Hoc quid certissimum est, everti Christi crucem, simulac erigitur altare At vero Missa, quae hac Lege tradita est, ut millies centena sacrificia in singulos dies peragantur, quo spectat, nisi ut Christi passio, qua unicum hostiam se Patri obtulit, sepulta submersaque iaceat? (Inst. 4.18.3)

Another power of the Mass was set forth: that it suppresses and buries the cross and Passion of Christ. This is indeed very certain: that the cross of Christ is overthrown as soon as the altar is set up To what purpose is the Mass, which has been so set up that a hundred thousand sacrifices may be performed each day, except to bury and submerge Christ's Passion, by which he offered himself as sole sacrifice to the Father? (Inst. 4.18.3)

See also Luther, Abomination 315, and Zwingli, Defense, "Article 18." For a fuller discussion, see Chapter Two, pages 59-64.

7. Batley only notes that the Pelican is symbolic of the paradoxes of Christ's death and resurrection. That the Pelican, who nourished the young with its blood, was an icon of the Eucharist was so widely recognized that Corpus Christi College, under pressure from the Puritans, removed it from its coat of arms (Caraman, Henry Morse 4). Batley, however, cites the Pelican only as "an icon of Christ" ("A Jesuit Meditation on Gethsemane" 4); she sees no context with the Mass outside of the Adoro Te Devote, in which the penitent asks to be cleansed in Christ's blood. "This reference to the Pelican emphasizes the power and value of the blood that fell in Gethsemane, as well as on the cross" (4).

8. Qui pro vobis et pro multis [effundetur] in remissionem peccatorum (New Roman Missal 783).

9. Non mea voluntas, sed tua fiat (Vulgate; Luke 22: 42).

10. See Engels' "Christ in the Winepress: Backgrounds of a Sacred Image" for a discussion of the background for the winepress in seventeenth-century poetry. Engels cites the King James Version of the text of Isaiah from which the image is chiefly drawn:

Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat? I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the people there was none with me: for I will tread them in mine anger,

and trample them in my fury; and their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my raiment. (Is. 63: 2-3; qtd. Engels 47)

Quare ergo rubrum est indumentim tuum, et vestimenta tua sicut calcantium in torculari? Torcular calcavi solus, et de gentibus non est vir mecum; calcaui eos in furore meo, et conculcavi eos in ira mea; et aspersus est sanguis eorum super vestimenta mea, et omnia indumenta mea inquinavi. (Vulgate; Is. 63: 2-3)

Engels reviews, briefly, the early patristic scholars who chiefly saw the text as an allusion to Christ's Passion. He adds that in later patristic commentary "the oil press and wheat press became deliberately conflated with and fully assimilated to commentaries involving the winepress" (48). One sees this assimilation in Southwell's "Christ's Bloody Sweat," with the "sweet olive" that renders its oil "unstamped" (1; 3), and in the fourth stanza of "The Nativitie," where the Eucharist comes from Christ, who "lies in Manger prest" (21).

11. Non mea voluntas, sed tua fiat (Vulgate; Luke 22: 42).

Not my will, but thine be done (Rheims; Luke 22: 42).

12. Qui perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam (Vulgate; Mt. 10: 39).

13. Dei nomine consecratus, et Deo votus, in quantum mundo moritur ut Deo vivat, sacrificium est (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

14. His ergo rejectis, vera definitio sacrificii proprie dicti in genere haec esse potest sacrificium est oblatio externa facta soli Deo, qua, ad agnitionem humanae infirmitatis et professionem divinae majestatis, a legitimo ministro res aliqua sensibilis et permanens ritu mystico consecratur et transmutatur. (Disputationes, qtd. Lepin 343, n2)

15. Only Brown sees any corollaries between "Sinnes heavie loade" and the Mass; she notes the parallel between the "bleeding kisse" and the kiss of peace ("Sinnes heavie loade" 28; "Commentary" 125). Other scholars focus on the paradoxes in the poem, and on their meditative possibilities: Scallon views "Sinnes heavie loade" as a series of

contrasts between Christ's two falls to earth at His birth and in His agony, between Heaven and earth, between the two natures of Christ . . . and finally between Christ's fall to the ground in the Garden and in His burial. (119)

These contrasts, he says, are meant to illuminate the agony Christ endured. Similarly, Janelle sees the poem as an expression of "the poet's tender concern for Christ, and his desire of union with him" (272).

Martz argues that the poem is a "[meditation] on Christ's Agony in Gethsemane," emphasizing its "paradoxical reasoning" (43). The first two stanzas are "composition and memory" (Poetry of Meditation 40); the next four are a "theological analysis" (41) which are meant to create an

"understanding" (43); finally, the seventh stanza is a "colloquy" (41).

16. Here, again, Southwell is using the same biblical and patristic texts as Herbert uses in his poem, "The Agony"; Engel, in "Christ in the Winepress: Backgrounds of a Sacred Image," discusses the Biblical, Patristic and Reformation image of Christ as the one who trods and is trodden, who is victor and vanquished. The focus of his discussion is on the seventeenth-century poets, from Herbert to Milton, but he notes Southwell's use of the image, and how in "Sinnes heavie load" "Christ sacrifices Himself, subjugating Himself to the Passion, whose instruments rightly belong to [sinful] mankind" (46).

Southwell uses the image again in An Epistle of Comfort, where he quotes Augustine:

Let every one that cometh to the service of God persuade himself that he is come like a grape to the wine press, he shall be crushed, squeezed, and pressed, not so much to procure his death to the world, as his reservation in God's cellar. (qtd. 10)

In "com[ing] to the service of God," the Christian recognizes that he, like Christ, must submit to be pressed as Christ was pressed, and that true service of God inevitably demands a price. Thus, Southwell exhorts Roman Catholics to emulate Christ in serving God willingly.

17. See Chapter Two, pages 51-52 and 55-56, for further discussion of the connections between the Eucharist and the Incarnation; see also Gassner 305-323.

18. Terrena coelestibus jungi (qtd. Lepin 40).

19. in forma Dei (Vulgate; Phil. 2: 6b).

20. totus Christus (ST 3a.76.1; 58: 92)

21. Si enim aliqua duo sunt realiter conjuncta, ubicumque est unum realiter, oportet et aliud esse (ST 3a.76.1; 58: 94).

Wherever two things are actually joined together, wherever you have one, the other has to be (ST 3a.76.1; 58: 95).

22. sub speciebus panis (ST 3a.76.2; 58: 98).

23. ex reali concomitantia (ST 3a.76.2; 58: 98).

24. Quia enim divinitas corpus assumptum numquam deposuit (ST 3a.76.1; 58: 94).

25. Sed quia Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur, ut dicitur Rom. vi, anima ejus semper est realiter corpori unita. Et ideo in hoc sacramento corpus ejus semper est realiter corpori unita. Et ideo in hoc sacramento corpus quidem Christi est ex vi sacramenti, anima autem ex reali concomitantia. (ST 3a.76.1; 58: 94)

Since Christ being raised from the dead will never die again, as we read in Romans, his soul is always really united to his body. And so the body of Christ is in this sacrament as a result of the sacramental sign and his soul is there by a natural concomitance. (58: 95)

26. The emphasis on surrender expressed in "Christ's bloody sweat," "Sinnes heavie loade," and in the poetry on the Incarnation, is also found in An Epistle of Comfort, where Southwell says, "Let us but consider the last tragical pageant of his Passion, wherein he won us, and lost himself" (43; emphasis mine), and urging Roman Catholics to surrender willingly, he says,

If therefore God is more delighted with our valour in conflict than with all pleasure in peace, let us say with St. Peter . . . With thee I am ready to go into prison, and to death itself. And with St. Thomas: Let us go also, and die together with him. (Epistle 39)

27. Dei nomine (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41; 283);

In quantum mundo moritur ut Deo vivat (10.6; PL 41: 283).

28. Scallon admires Southwell's use of paradox, but calls "The Nativitie" "purely devotional poetry, the art of rhetoric placed in the service of God" (107). Janelle faults this poem, and "Christ's Childhooe," as poems which

altogether miss the emotional possibilities of the Gospel narrative. For the description of the scene at Bethlehem are substituted rhetorical exclamations on the contrast between God's greatness and the lowliness of Jesus, and conceits

on God's gift of himself in the Incarnation.
(162)

29. Imaginando Iesum Christum coram me adesse in cruce fixum. Itaque exquiram mecum rationem, qua Creator ipse infinitus fieri creatura, et ab aeterna vita ad temporariam mortem venire pro peccatis meis dignatus sit. (Versio Vulgata [53])
30. quomodo Personae tres divinae, universam terrae superficiem speculantes hominibus refertam, qui ad infernum omnes descendebant, in deitatis suae aeternitate decernunt, ut secunda Persona pro salute humani generis naturam hominis assumat. (Versio Vulgata [102])
31. [Mary and Joseph] making the journey and laboring that our Lord may be born in extreme poverty, and that after many labors, after hunger, thirst, heat, cold, after insults and outrages, He might die on the cross, and all this for me. (Exercises [116])

laborum et causarum, ob quas summus omnium Dominus in summa natus sit egestate, laturus quoque in hac vita cum perpetua paupertate labores, famem, sitim, aestum, frigus, opprobria, verbera et crucem tandem subiturus, idque mei causa. (Versio Vulgata [116])

32. qui cum in forma Dei esset . . . semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens (Vulgate: Phil. 2: 6b-7a).
33. a maiestate humilitas, a virtutue infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas (Enchiridion Symbolorum 293 [143]).
34. Per hoc . . . sacramentum augetur gratia et perficitur spiritualis vita, ad hoc quod homo in seipso perfectus existat per conjunctionem ad Deum. (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 6)

35. See, for example, "The Sacrifice":

Heark how they crie aloud still, Crucifie:
It is not fit he live a day, they crie
 Who cannot live less than eternally. (97-99)

36. quomodo Personae tres divinae (Versio Vulgata [102]).

37. In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et
 Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum (Vulgate:
 John 1: 1-2).

38. Christi qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut nos
 redimeret ab omni iniquitate, et mundaret sibi populum
 acceptabilem (Titus 2: 14; New Roman Missal 138).

39. Quos sub peccati jugo vetusta servitus tenet (New Roman
Missal 144).

40. Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae: in splendoribus
 sanctorum, ex utero ante luciferum genui te. (Ps. 110
 [Vulgate 109]: 3; New Roman Missal 138).

See also the Gradual for Christmas Mass at Day-Break:

Dominus regnavit, decorem induit: induit Dominus
 fortitudinem, et praecinxit se virtute. (Ps. 93
 [Vulgate 92]: 1; New Roman Missal 141)

The Lord hath reigned, He is clothed with beauty; the
 Lord is clothed with strength, and hath girded Himself
 with power. (New Roman Missal 141)

The prayers of the Christmas liturgy which celebrate both God's strength and God's humbling of himself to become a human being, create a paradox which could be developed into poetry by anyone who was alert to its possibilities. Jesuit meditative practices would have made Southwell particularly attentive to such paradoxes and their possibilities for poetry, but the paradoxes are already present in the Christmas liturgy.

41. Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus: Quia per incarnata verbi mysterium, nova mentis nostrae oculis lux tuae claritatis infulsit: ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per hunc in invisibilium amorem rapiamur. (New Roman Missal 798)
42. Tapper, qtd. Lepin 289, n2. See Chapter Two, page 69 for the definition of Christ as continual High Priest.
43. Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte (New Roman Missal 773).
44. See Endnote 9 for further discussion of the winepress imagery of Isaiah 62: 2-3 and its parallels with the Eucharist as developed in Christian theology.
45. Homo, sicut foenum dies ejus;
tanquam flos agri sic effloreat;
quoniam spiritus pertransibit in illo, et non
subsistet;

et non cognoscet amplius locum suum. (Ps. 103 [Vulgate 102]: 15-16)

As for man, his days are like grass; he flourishes like a flower of the field; for the wind passes over it, and it is gone, and its place knows it no more. (Oxford Annotated; Ps. 103: 15-16)

46. Opus, quod agitur, ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse possimus. (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283)

47. Unde ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus, et Deo votus . . . sacrificium est (De Civitate Dei 10.6; 41: 283).

48. Christi qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut nos redimeret ab omni iniquitate, et mundaret sibi populum acceptabilem (Titus 2: 14; New Roman Missal 168).

49. Caelestibus nos munda mysteriis (New Roman Missal 169).

50. Haec nos communio, Domine, purget a crimine (New Roman Missal 169).

51. Unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua (Vulgate; John 19: 34).

52. Nam Christus in tota ejus [sic] vita meruit, et satisfecit pro peccatis nostris: neque ea de causa delentur merita passionis in cruce et ejus satisfactiones, ut in eodem loco declarat B. Thomas. (Leriensis; qtd. Lepin 307, n1)

53. See Chambers, Transfigured Rites in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (77-90), for a more complete discussion of the Circumcision. Chambers focuses on "True circumcision of the Spirit" (Book of Common Prayer 91; Chambers 77-84), citing poems such as that of Herrick's piece, "To his Savior. The New Yeers gift" (79-80).

As noted earlier in this study, (see Chapter One, 23-24, and endnote 26, pages 45-46), Chambers, while studying Catholic poets such as Crashaw, as well as a variety of Protestant poets, interprets such pieces chiefly through a Calvinist theology of sacrifice: "As by Birth we received the adoption of sons; so by his circumcision, the redemption of the Law: and without this, his Birth had not availed us at all" (Sparrow, qtd. Chambers 79). Such a view is not the traditional Roman Catholic theology of redemption: Christ redeems through the Incarnation, in which he becomes mediator. He redeems through giving his life as ransom, through his suffering, death and Resurrection, through his obedience to God and through his defeat of Satan (Peterman 145). In all of these ways, Christ redeems humanity from sin; nowhere does Catholic theology stress a need to be redeemed from the Law.

Similarly, Chambers cites Boys, dean of Canterbury Cathedral, on the Circumcision, who states that "Christ happily was called Iesus, and circumcised at the same time,

to signifie that there is no remission of sinne without shedding of blood" (qtd. Chambers 80). While such an idea may be invaluable in studying poets such as Herbert, it eliminates the multiple meanings of sacrifice which Southwell, or any Catholic poet, can use, and lessens an appreciation of those Roman Catholic poets which are studied. Moreover, Chambers seems self-contradictory; in the following chapter a sermon by Donne is cited to express the view that Christ's Incarnation and birth are also part of his sacrifice: "All that Christ said, or did, or suffered, concurred to our salvation" (qtd. 99), a view which is closer to that view of redemption with which Southwell is working. Clearly, then, this idea was also accepted by any number of Anglicans, and to cite such broad yet contradictory interpretations of sacrifice and apply them to a number of poets with such varied theological views as Crashaw, Milton and Donne is to oversimplify the complex theological issues involved.

54. Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius (Vulgate; Luke 2: 35).

55. Surge, illuminare, Jerusalem: quia venit lumen tuum, et gloria Domini super te orta est. Quia ecce tenebrae operient terram, et caligo populos: super te autem orietur Dominus et gloria ejus in te videbitur. (Is. 60: 1-2; New Roman Missal 175)

56. See Chapter Three, pages 127-134, for a complete discussion of "New Prince, new pompe."
57. in substantia nostrae mortalitatis apparuit, nova nos immortalitatis suae luce reparavit (New Roman Missal 800-801).
58. tuae celsitudinis (New Roman Missal 175).
59. Si distribuero in cibos pauperum omnes facultates meas, et si tradidero corpus meum ita ut ardeam, charitatem autem non habuero, nihil mihi prodest. (Vulgate; 1 Cor. 13: 3)
60. Unde ex efficacia virtutis ipsius est quod etiam ex voto ipsius aliquis gratiam consequatur, per quam spiritualiter vivificetur (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 6).
61. Christus et ejus passio est causa gratiae et spiritualis refectio, et caritas (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 6).
62. Implicit in the lines is the understanding of martyrdom as expressed more explicitly in An Epistle of Comfort, that is, that one need not be executed to be a martyr; the triumph awarded to martyrs is given to "all [those], though never so unknown, whose days by imprisonment, banishment or any other oppression, are abridged in defence of the Catholic Faith" (227).

63. Deus, qui hodierna die Unigentum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti: concede propitius; ut, qui jam te ex fide cognovimus, usque ad contemplandam speciem tuae celsitudinis perducamur. (New Roman Missal 175)
64. In ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum. Et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt Erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. (Vulgate; John 1: 4-5; 9-10)
65. Ex ore infantium, Deus, et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos (Ps. 9 [Vulgate 8]: 3; New Roman Missal 154).
66. Deus, cujus hodierna die praeconium Innocentes Martyres non loquendo, sed moriendo confessi sunt: omnia in nobis vitiorum mala mortifica; ut fidem tuam, quam lingua nostra loquitur, etiam moribus vita fateatur. (New Roman Missal 154)
67. Qui omne masculinum adaperiens vulvam, sanctum Domino vocabitur (Vulgate; Luke. 2: 23).
68. Cum itaque nos hortatus esset Apostolus, ut exhibeamus corpora nostra hostiam vivam, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium nostrum, et non conformemur huic saeculo, sed reformemur in novitate mentis nostrae; ad probandum quae sit voluntas Dei, quod bonum et beneplacitum et perfectum, quod totum sacrificium ipsi nos sumus. (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284)
69. Terrena coelstibus jungi, unumque ex visibilibus atque invisibilibus fieri (Dialogues; qtd. Lepin 40).

CHAPTER V

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE EUCHARIST: ACCEPTANCE AND DENIAL

Christ's sacrifice, then, is all-encompassing: his Incarnation, his birth into impoverished and humble circumstances, his life of hardship, and his obedience to God in accepting an ignoble death. All of his life is an act of sacrifice, a sacrifice which is "made present" in the Eucharist; his suffering is not only an act of obedience to God, but also an act of love for sinners. What, then, is the appropriate response to such love? Is an appropriate response possible? Herbert desired intensely to find a truly fitting response to Christ's act of love; yet he felt that no response could ever be appropriate. Even if he were to give his life, he felt that his own sinful state would preclude the worthiness of his sacrifice: "My sinnes deserve the condemnation" ("The Reprisall" 4). Southwell would have agreed with Herbert that his own sinful state made his sacrifice imperfect. Nevertheless, he considered such a sacrifice appropriate if one gave of oneself as completely as God demanded: "Why should we doubt that at our death he will receive us; especially if we die for him as he died for us?" (EC 144). Yet at all times the Christian must remember that it is

Christ, and not the martyr, who redeems the martyr: "We would attribute too much to ourselves in this human flesh did we not, even to the moment of laying it aside, live under the favor of pardon" (City of God 10.22; 7: 156).¹

It is in such a context that one must understand Southwell's so-called poetry on martyrdom, or "prison poetry." Such poetry does not, as some have argued, express the misery of life and Southwell's desire to die (Grossart, "Memorial-Introduction" lxxxvii-lxxxviii; McAuley 65f); rather, it emphasizes the need to repent, and "not to be conformed to this world but be transformed in the newness of our minds" (City of God 10.6; 7: 127).² Although early scholarship focuses largely on Southwell's obsession with martyrdom, few of his poems explicitly concern martyrdom; aside from his poem, "I dye without desert," written for Philip Howard, and "Decease release," written after the execution of Mary Stuart, most of Southwell's poetry which deals with martyrdom does so only indirectly, in poems such as "Mary Magdalens complaint at Christs death." In such poems, Southwell stresses the individual Christian's need to offer oneself to God, to value Christ's love over earthly pleasure, and to consecrate one's soul to God as an offering "aflame in the fire of divine Love" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).³ In doing so, the Christian becomes a sacrifice. In many

cases, this offering requires total sacrifice--if necessary, the sacrifice of one's life. For those who are not called to martyrdom, a life of consecration to God is still possible; such a life of obedience is still sacrificial, so long as one gives to God everything that one is called to give.

In this chapter, three different groups of Southwell's poems will be discussed. First, as his specifically Eucharistic poetry cannot be ignored, this chapter will examine "A holy Hymme" and "Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter," wherein Christ's sacrifice and its benefits are shown to the Christian. Second, inasmuch as Southwell's poetry on martyrdom must be examined with the proper understanding of his view of sacrifice, this chapter will examine poems which deal directly or indirectly with the sacrificial nature of martyrdom, such as "I dye without desert," "Decease release," and "Mary Magdalens complaint at Christs death." Finally, "Saint Peters Complaint" will be examined in some detail, as it provides a strong contrast with pieces such as "Decease release." While the martyr's response to Christ's act of love is to embrace God's will, and join in the sacrifice of Christ, the apostate rejects God, denying Christ in the Eucharist as Peter denied Christ in his Passion. Although Peter ultimately repents, and the sacrificial nature of his

repentance will be noted, he shall be treated separately, and at length, as an example of apostasy defined as the rejection of the sacrifice of Christ.

1. The Real Presence and Sacrifice

A. "A holy Hymme"

Few of Southwell's poems are openly Eucharistic; of those which are, Brown considers one, "A holy Hymme," to be of questionable authorship ("Introduction," lxxviii). The poem is a literal translation of Aquinas' Lauda Sion, and it gives little attention to the issue of sacrifice. As Aquinas was writing at a time when the Real Presence, not Eucharistic sacrifice, was being questioned, a literal translation of his hymn will find no defense of a doctrine that was not being challenged.

There is little explicit sacrificial imagery in the poem, although it does deal with a number of issues raised by the Reformers. For example, Calvin argued that only those who believed received Christ's presence in the sacrament (Inst. 4.17.33), a doctrine which Southwell, like Aquinas, denies:

Both the good and bad receive him,
 But effectes are divers in them,
 True life, or dewe destruction,
 Life to the good, death to the wicked:
 Marke how both alike received
 With farre unlike conclusion. (49-54)

While both Catholic and Protestant accepted St. Paul's condemnation of unworthy reception (1 Cor. 11: 29), their reasons for proscribing the reception of communion by sinners or unbelievers automatically followed the understanding of how one receives Christ's presence. If one receives by faith, as Calvin maintains (Inst. 4.17.5), then, logically, the unbeliever receives nothing. If, however, Christ is present by transubstantiation in the sacramental elements, then Christ is received by all who communicate, although one who receives worthily receives "the strength to journey to heaven" (ST 3a.79.2; 59: 11),⁴ while "whoever in mortal sin receives this sacrament . . . is guilty of sacrilege as a violation of the sacrament, and accordingly sins mortally" (ST 3a.80.4; 59: 45).⁵

Other stanzas argue against Zwingli's doctrine that the communicant tears at Christ's flesh with his teeth ("On the Lord's Supper" 190-1): "None that eateth him doth chew him / None that takes him doth divide him" ("A holy Hymme" 43-44). The point is made, again, a few stanzas later:

When the priest the hoast devideth,
 Know that in each part abideth
 All that the whole hoast covered,
 Forme of bread not Christ is broken. (55-58)

Although the poem deals chiefly with the Real Presence, the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist is implied here and in other places in the poem, in the wordplay on "hoast," from

the Latin "hostiam," or "victim": the victim is divided; yet the "whole hoast," or whole victim, remains unbroken. There is, then, an implicit suggestion of the victim who is broken, yet who saves, and remains whole. In the same way, earlier in the poem, Christ's presence is tied in with the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist in the use of "host":

That at supper Christ performed
To be done he straightly charged
For his eternall memory.
Guided by his sacred orders
Bread and wine upon our altars
To saving host we sanctifie. (25-30)

The emphasis on "host" as victim is not strong in the poem, but the implication is there.

"A holy Hymme" is probably one of Southwell's earliest poems; Scallon suggests that it is an "exercise aimed at demonstrating [Southwell's] mastery of Latin while at the same time allowing him to practice expression in his native language" (123). However, the poem is apostolic; the above stanza summarizes, briefly, the Roman Catholic understanding of the anamnesis, or "making present," of Christ's sacrifice in the Mass, which is to be celebrated "for his eternall memory" ("A holy Hymme" 27). Again one must remember the Latin definition of memorare as it is understood in Roman Catholic Eucharistic theology;⁶ Christ bids that the bread and wine be consecrated not simply as a memorial to him, but also that he be "made present." The

use of "saving host" also highlights this (30): Christ, the saving victim, is present in the "host," as it is "sanctifie[d]" (30), or "manifest[ed] . . . as holy" (OED XVI: 439.3b).

B. "Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter"

Southwell's other poem on the Eucharist, "Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter,"⁷ focuses on the Real Presence; however, one finds something closer to the emphasis on sacrifice which is found in the Maeoniae. Southwell works with both dogmas; without Christ's presence in the Eucharist, there can be no Eucharistic sacrifice.

The core of the poem is the Presence; Southwell draws on earlier apologists such as More, who argued that if the Eucharist is not the body of Christ, then "God is not able to perform his worde" (Treatise on the Passion 39). Southwell also understood, perhaps, the value of appealing to Protestants using their argument that God's truth is revealed through the Bible: "And if the wonder of the worke be newe, / Beleive the worke because his worde is trewe" (17-18). Southwell, like More, argues that at the moment of consecration "the substance of the bread and wine . . . is changed into the body of Christ" (ST 3a.75.3; 58: 67).⁸ In the Eucharist, the Christian receives the Real Presence

of Christ because the "Word" is "trewe" (18);⁹ Christ is faithful to his promises.

Similarly, in the final stanza, Southwell turns to the Bible for his argument; the lines combine the image of Christ, the Word made flesh, speaking the words of consecration over the bread and wine, with the image of God as Creator. If God can, through his word, divide the land from the ocean, and make "al liuing & mouing creature[s]" (Douai; Gen. 1: 21),¹⁰ then God can, through his own word, change that which he has made.

What god as auctor made he alter may,
 No change so harde as making all of nought:
 If Adam framed was of slymyed claye,
 Bredd may to Christes most sacred flesh be wrought.
 (83-86)

But it is in the subtle references to sacrifice that one finds Southwell's best development of paradox, and the best lines of the poem:

That which he gave he was, o peerelesse gifte,
 Both god and man he was, and both he gave,
 He in his handes him self did trewelye lifte:
 Farre off they see whome in them selves they have.
 Twelve did he feede, twelve did their feeder eate,
 He made, he dressd, he gave, he was their meate.

They sawe, they harde, they felt him sitting nere,
 Unseene, unfelt, unhard, they him receiv'd,
 No diverse thing though divers it appeare,
 Though sences faile, yet faith is not deceivd'.
 And if the wonder of the worke be newe,
 Beleive the worke because his worde is trewe. (7-18)

As noted, Southwell used poetry to teach Roman Catholic dogmas because he could not preach openly (Scallion 128). "Of the Blessed Sacrament" addresses the issues raised by the Reformers and discussed at Trent: if Christ's sacrifice at Calvary was all that was necessary for salvation, then how could the Last Supper, or the Mass, be a sacrifice?

These questions are addressed in these stanzas, where the emphasis on giving is strong: "That which he gave he was, o peerelesse gifte, / Both god and man he was, and both he gave" (7-8). On the cross, Christ gave himself for sinners, dying as a man, but at the Last Supper, liturgically, Christ gave himself to the Father, as he gave his body and blood as a sacrament to his disciples: "This is my body"; "This is the Chalice of my blood" (New Roman Missal 780; 783).¹¹ Yet Christ in the Eucharist does not simply give himself as man; because Christ is present in his glorified state, he also gives his divinity (ST 3a.76.1; 58: 94-95).

The first of these stanzas incorporates both Aquinas' doctrine on the Real Presence and Augustine's teaching on sacrifice. In The City of God, Augustine describes Christ as

the true Mediator In His character as God, He receives sacrifices in union with the Father . . . yet He chose, in His character as a slave, to be Himself the Sacrifice rather than to receive it Thus

it is that He is both the Priest who offers and the Oblation that is offered.¹² (10.20; 7: 153)

The first two lines of these stanzas develop Augustine's teaching on sacrifice even as they develop Aquinas' teaching on Real Presence: "that which he gave," from the Incarnation to his suffering on the cross, was himself, "in His character as a slave" ("Blessed Sacrament" 7; City of God 10.20; 7: 153). Christ's gift of self, which redeemed us, is "peerelesse," beyond measure. The next line emphasizes not only the Real Presence but the hypostatic union: "Both god and man he was, and both he gave" (8). Christ suffered in his human nature on the cross; but "because of the grace of [the hypostatic] union Christ's humanity is holy and sinless" (Clarke, "Grace of Hypostatic Union" 307). It is, therefore, because of his divine nature that Christ's sacrifice on the cross is the perfect sacrifice:

Christ's humanity was sanctified by abundant sanctifying grace and the accompanying supernatural gifts; the gift of grace was in proportion to the magnitude of the gift of union. (Weis, "Incarnation" 414)

Though it was his human nature that suffered in the Passion (ST 3a.76.1; 58: 95), the Passion would not have been of such redemptive value had Christ's human nature not been so sanctified by his divine nature in the hypostatic union.

In the next lines, Southwell argues against Zwingli, who maintained that Christ cannot be present in the Eucharist because he is in heaven ("On the Lord's Supper" 214). In response, Southwell incorporates, simultaneously, the doctrine of the hypostatic union with the doctrines of Real Presence and of sacrifice: Christ has given himself to us as the sacrifice in his human nature; but in his divine nature he "receives sacrifices" (City of God 10.20; 7: 153). Christians at Mass, then, like the disciples at the Last Supper, see Christ "farre off," and yet they "have" him within (10). Southwell implicitly argues that Christ cannot be confined to the limits of space or time, and that to argue, as Zwingli does, that Christ is only in heaven is to confine him to the powers of his human nature.

The imagery of the first three lines emphasizes the parallels between the Last Supper and the sacrifice of Calvary; in both moments, Christ gave himself,¹³ the "peerelesse gifte" of his divinity ("Blessed Sacrament" 7), completely united with his humanity in the hypostatic union. The lines suggest not only Christ's actions at the Last Supper, but on the cross: "He in his hands him self did trewelye lifte" (9). Christ's sacrifice, begun in the Incarnation, culminated in his free surrender to the suffering of the Passion. The parallels between the Last Supper and the cross are emphasized by the image of Christ

being "lifted up" (9); Christ "lifte[s]" himself as he lifts the bread which he consecrates; at the same time, however, the image recalls Christ's being "lifted up" on the cross. Of his own free will, he gave himself in an act of sacrifice, both liturgically in the Last Supper and physically in the Passion; through the Last Supper we are given the Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ, and we experience Christ's lifting himself up in his act of surrender to the Father. In two ways, then, Christ's "final meale was fountayne of our good" (5). At the Last Supper, Christ accepted his Passion, by which sinners are redeemed; in addition, he liturgically enacted his acceptance of that Passion when he instituted the Eucharist:

It [the Eucharist] was the same body of Christ that the disciples knew in its proper appearance It was not impassible when seen in its proper human guise, rather indeed it was all ready to undergo the Passion, nor, consequently, was it impassible when it was given under the sacramental species.¹⁴
(ST 3a.8a.3; 59: 95; emphasis mine)

From the Last Supper, therefore, Christians receive, through the Eucharist, "Christ there present and his Passion there represented" (3a.79.2; 59: 9).¹⁵ The Passion was the "fountayne of our good" ("Blessed Sacrament" 5); that is to say, the Passion is the source of grace which preserves Christians from future sin and

effects "attainment of heaven" (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 9);¹⁶
through the Eucharist this same grace is received.

The Christian, then, is urged to respond: as Christ gave himself out of love, so the Christian is to turn to Christ, and respond with faith and love, for "the treasure" of Christ's body and blood" ("Blessed Sacrament" 23). Southwell addresses this section of the poem, in particular, to Catholics who are in doubt, or who are reluctant to give up their material well-being; Southwell emphasizes that those who will not reject worldly "selfelove" (25), or "ambition" (26), will never achieve the "blisse," or joy, which comes to those who make the necessary sacrifices:

Here truth beleefe, beleefe inviteth love,
So sweete a truth love never yett enjoy'd,
What thought can thincke, what will doth best approve
Is here obteyn'd where no desire ys voyde.
The grace, the joy, the treasure here is such
No witt can wishe nor will embrace so much.

Selfelove here cannot crave more then it fyndes,
Ambition to noe higher worth aspire,
The eagrest famyn of most hungry myndes
May fill, yea farre exceede their owne desire:
In summ here is all in a summ expressd,
Of much the most, of every good the best. (19-30)

In coming to Christ with "beleefe," and with "love" (19), the Christian obtains the grace which comes from Christ: "Just as by coming visibly into the world he [Christ] brought the life of grace into it . . . so by coming to men

sacramentally he causes the life of grace" (ST 3a.79.1: 59: 5).¹⁷ Moreover, the sacrament both represents and is Christ's Passion (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 4-5), "the grace, the joy, the treasure" of Christ's dying out of love for sinners (23). But one cannot come to Christ's offering of himself with ordinary human love: one must reject all "selfelove" and worldly "ambition" (25; 26).

Many schismatics conformed, not out of fear of losing that which they had, but out of greed or ambition: those who did not conform could never hope for a place at court, or for a position at the university. Southwell argues that these things are not worth conforming for:¹⁸ there is "noe higher worth" than the Eucharist (26), which satisfies all desire, all hunger, all the senses:

To ravishe eyes here heavenly bewtyes are,
 To winne the eare sweete musicks sweetest sound,
 To lure the tast the Angells heavenly fare,
 To sooth the sent divine perfumes abounde,
 To please the touch he in our hartes doth bedd,
 Whose touch doth cure the dephe, the dumm, the dedd.

Here to delight the witt trewe wisdome is,
 To wooe the will of every good the choise,
 For memory a mirrhor shewing blisse,
 Here all that can both sence and soule rejoyce:
 And if to all all this it do not bringe,
 The fault is in the men, not in the thinge. (31-42)

The first of these stanzas works with the senses, and Brown argues that they reflect "the [Ignatian] meditative pattern in which the application of the senses" is found

("Commentary" 131; n31-40). Southwell's training would have led him to consider how the sacrament satisfied each of the five senses, but Scallan is correct when he argues that a more accurate label for the poem would be "liturgical": the poem "is verse intended to stir up devotion by celebrating the mysteries of revealed religion" (Scallan 127). The liturgical nature of the poem is developed here, where Southwell refers to the anamnesis, or the "making present"--in Latin, the Unde et memores--of Christ's sacrifice.¹⁹ Having made reference to the healing nature of the sacrament (36), how it satisfies our "hartes" and our "witt[s]" (36; 37), the poem goes on to express a belief in the anamnesis: "For memory a mirrhor shewing blisse" (39). The line implies the Unde et memores, or the prayer which follows the act of consecration:

We, Thy servants . . . calling to mind the blessed passion of the same Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, His resurrection from the grave, and His glorious ascension into heaven, offer up to Thy most excellent majesty . . . a victim which is pure, a victim which is holy, a victim which is stainless.²⁰ (New Roman Missal 784)

In remembering Christ's sacrifice, we find a "mirrhor," or image, which "shew[s]" Christ's "blisse," his sacrifice of himself to the Father. Southwell's use of the term "mirrhor" echoes Aquinas' analogy of the sacrament as a

picture, or "a definite image representing Christ's Passion, which is his true sacrifice" (ST 3a.83.1; 59: 135).²¹ Thus, the consecration of the sacrament "shew[s]" us Christ's "blisse," his loving sacrifice of himself to the will of God. It is this love, "made present" in the Eucharist, which makes "both sence and soule rejoyce" (40), and which pleases all our senses, our "witt," and our "will." There is certainly an echo of Southwell's Jesuit training in his development of the sacrament's appeal to the senses, but it is only an echo: the focus of the stanzas remains the Real Presence and the "blisse," or sacrifice of Christ, which is celebrated in the Unde et memores.

Southwell works with additional sacrificial imagery by building on the multiple meanings of "host" and "bliss" to create, again, the paradoxes of the Eucharistic sacrifice and the Incarnation:

The god of hoastes in slender hoste doth dwell,
 Yea god and man, with all to ether dewe:
 That god that rules the heavens and rifled hell,
 That man whose death did us to life renewe,
 That god and man that is the Angells blisse,
 In forme of bredd and wyne our nurture is. (61-66)

Throughout the poem, and particularly in this stanza, one sees again the multiple meanings of "blisse." Christ, "the god of hoastes," or of angels (61), is simultaneously the "blisse," or sacrifice, of the angels; through "the

forme[s] of bredd and wyne" the Christian receives his grace (66).

In this stanza, too, the Real Presence is emphasized, but in the context of the Eucharistic sacrifice. "The god of hoastes" is Christ's divine nature, the God who rules over the heavenly hosts of angels; yet the same God "in slender hoste doth dwell" (61). Here we see something of what was found in Southwell's Nativity poetry, the contrast between the divine nature and the human nature of Christ. As both natures are present in the hypostatic union, so both are present in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Moreover, we see the balance between the all-powerful and the powerless; in the first context, "hoastes" refers to the angels that attend on God; in the second context, "hoste" refers to Christ's presence as sacrificial victim (OED 7: 417). Christ "dwell[s]" in the Host (61), the Blessed Sacrament; but he also dwells in the victim, the Incarnate Word, which is present in the sacrament.

The "host" therefore lends itself to a number of subtle paradoxes; Christ is the God of "hoastes," of heavenly angels, but he is also the "god of hoastes," or of victims (61), a God who cares for his creation, and who has experienced the suffering of those Roman Catholics who refused to conform. Moreover, he "dwell[s]" in such victims (61); the Catholic who offers himself as a member .

of Christ's body, in the Sacrifice of the Mass, and who receives the Host receives Christ, the "God of hoastes," who will be present in Catholics in their suffering-- whether they suffer in smaller ways, by paying the fines, or whether they are asked to give more, being imprisoned or even executed.

Consequently, as "god and man" (65), Christ is both the victim and the one who dwells in those who are victims; Christ, who "rifled hell" through his own act of submission (63), dwells in and sustains the martyrs, and in all those who suffer, inasmuch as they submit to God in their suffering as members of the Church, who "is offered in the very offering she makes to God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 127).²²

2. Martyrdom as Sacrifice

Despite the general view that Southwell's poetry expresses his desire for martyrdom, few of his poems deal directly with martyrdom. Those which do reflect the sacrificial teaching of Augustine: Christians are members of Christ's body; therefore, their offerings to God are offerings of the corporate body of Christ;²³ the martyr is, consequently, joined with Christ in his sacrifice. Moreover, if anyone who is consecrated to God is a sacrifice (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126), how much more is

the martyr, who is consecrated--from the Latin consecrare, to "dedicate [or] devote as sacred, deify" (OED 3: 758)--in giving his life. As a member who cannot be severed from the Body of Christ (EC 166), the martyr is made a perfect offering in the Eucharistic sacrifice:

Such is the sacrifice of Christians: "We, the many, are one body in Christ" [Rom. 12: 5]. This is the Sacrifice, as the faithful understand, which the Church continues to celebrate in the sacrament of the altar, in which it is clear to the Church that she herself is offered in the very offering she makes to God.²⁴ (The City of God 10.6; 7: 127)

A. "I dye without desert"

Such an offering of the martyr as a member of Christ's body, the Church, given in the Eucharistic sacrifice, is depicted in "I dye without desert." In the poem, the speaker grows in spiritual understanding, and comes to accept that virtue is not rewarded in this world (23-24). Instead of trusting in human pity (1-12), the speaker realizes that he must trust in God, in whose hands his fate truly lies (18; 35-36).

If orphane Childe enwrapt in swathing bands
Doth move to mercy when forlorne it lyes,
If none without remorse of love withstands
The pitious noyse of infantes selye cryes,
Then hope, my helplesse hart, some tender eares
Will rue thy orphane state and feeble teares.

Relinquisht Lamb in solitarie wood
With dying bleat doth move the toughest mynde,
The gasping pangues of new engendred brood,

Base though they be, compassion use to finde,
 Why should I then of pittie doubt to speede,
 Whose happ would force the hardest hart to bleede?

Left orphane like in helpelesse state I rue,
 With onely sighes and teares I pleade my case,
 My dying plaints I daylie do renewe,
 And fill with heavy noyse a desert place.
 Some tender hart will weepe to here me mone,
 Men pittie may, but helpe me god alone.

Rayne downe yee heavens, your teares this case
 requires,
 Mans eyes unhable are enough to shedd,
 If sorow could have place in heavenly quires
 A juster ground the world hath seldome bredd.
 For right is wrong'd, and vertue wag'd with blood,
 The badd are blissd, god murdred in the good.

A gracious plant for fruite, for leafe, and flower,
 A peereles gemm for vertue, prooffe, and price,
 A noble peere for prowesse, witt, and powre,
 A frend to truth, a foe I was to vice,
 And loe, alas, nowe Innocente I dye,
 A case that might even make the stones to crye.

Thus fortunes favors still are bent to flight,
 Thus worldly blisse in finall bale doth end,
 Thus vertue still pursued is with spight,
 But let my fall though ruefull none offend.
 God doth sometymes first cropp the sweetest floure,
 And leaves the weede till tyme do it devoure.
 (1-36)

The poem was written for Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, shortly after he was sentenced to death on April 14, 1589 (Janelle 160; Scallon 93). The sentence against Howard caused considerable outrage among Catholics and Protestants alike, and the government seems to have decided not to follow through with the sentence for political reasons; the Earl died in the Tower six years later (Devlin 195ff).

Janelle compares it with Southwell's poem on the execution of Mary Stuart, "Decease release,"²⁵ but notes that, due to Southwell's connections with the Earl's family, its tone is more emotional (169). Howard was the husband of Southwell's patron and protector, the Countess of Arundel; through her generosity Southwell was able to help the Catholic poor, as well as set up a private house where he was able to operate an illegal printing press and give sanctuary to priests who were entering the country (Devlin 141-144). It was to Howard that Southwell first composed An Epistle of Comfort (Margaret Waugh, "Introduction" viii-ix).

The poem shows the spiritual development of a martyr who first hopes that others will recognize his innocence and allow him to live. The speaker of the poem, the Earl himself, begins with the hope that some may pity his "helplesse hart" and "feeble teares" (5; 6). As the poem progresses, however, the speaker spiritually matures. While maintaining his position of helplessness, the speaker comes to trust in the mercy of God, realizing that God will recognize his innocence, and that in his death, he will join in the sacrifice of Christ in the truest sense of Augustine's meaning: he will "[die] to the world that he may live for God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).

In the first stanza, the speaker compares himself to an orphan: orphans are helpless, evoking pity from those who might see them. If the "pitious noyse of infantes selye cryes" should inspire "remorse" in bystanders (4; 3), then surely the speaker's "helplesse hart" will be pitied (5-6). The "swathing bands" call up the image of Christ in the manger (1; Luke 2: 7), but in fact, the speaker's resemblance to the newborn Christ-child is only coincidental. Like Christ, he is totally helpless, but Christ surrendered to such conditions voluntarily, while the speaker's helplessness is a result of unfortunate circumstances.

In the next stanza, the speaker moves closer to becoming Christ-like; he draws the parallel between himself and the abandoned Lamb. Like the "orphane Childe," the Lamb is helpless, but the image also calls to mind Christ on the cross. Even the adjective "relinquisht" calls up the image; Christ's final words in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark are the words of the Psalm, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Rheims; Mt. 27: 46; Mark 15: 34); the Vulgate translation is "Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?" (Vulgate 27: 46; emphasis mine). The comparison between the Lamb and the speaker not only suggests the speaker's helplessness, but his dependence on

God as well. Yet his dependence on God remains implied; he continues to expect assistance from others.

In the following stanzas, the speaker's viewpoint gradually changes; while his cause is just and he is right to grieve, and to expect sympathy from others, he recognizes that "men pittie may, but helpe me god alone" (19). This is the turning point: from this point on in the poem, the speaker gradually grows to understand that virtue and innocence are not rewarded in this world, and that only God can bring him true justice and comfort. In acknowledging his total dependence on God, and in rejecting human mercy, he has already died to worldly concerns and is consequently a sacrifice (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).

The following lines show the speaker's viewpoint changing further. Instead of seeking human pity, he requests the tears of the "heavenly quires" (21): "Rayne downe yee heavens, your teares this case requires, / Mans eyes unhable are enough to shedd" (19-20). The speaker realizes that human sympathy is not adequate for the injustice committed against him; human beings too frequently do not acknowledge the value of "vertue," and may even reward it "with blood" (23). Human pity, like human admiration, too often goes to those who deserve it least; in this world, it is "the badd [who] are blissd" (24).

Again, one sees the wordplay between "bliss" and "bless": the speaker renounces the "bliss," or the happiness, as well as the "blessing" of this world; his soul can now be yielded to God "with the dross of worldly desire melted away" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).²⁶ In appealing to heaven for pity, he renounces the world, and acknowledges his helplessness and his dependence on God. The speaker has entered into the moment of sacrifice, consecrating himself to God, not only figuratively, but literally: he has yielded his body as a "means of holiness to God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).²⁷ For the next stanza, which develops the speaker's virtues, builds on the preceding line, "god [is] murdred in the good" (24):

A gracious plant for fruite, for leafe, and flower,
 A peereles gemm for vertue, prooffe, and price,
 A noble peere for prowesse, witt, and powre,
 A frend to truth, a foe I was to vice,
 And loe, alas, nowe Innocente I dye,
 A case that might even make the stoness to crye.
 (19-24)

The speaker is like the tree in Christ's parable: "By their fruites you shal know them" (Rheims; Mt. 7: 20).²⁸ The speaker's "Fruite" was "vertue," "witt," and "truth" (19; 20); in the stanza, he makes the case that he dies "Innocente" (23). His innocence, again, is Christ-like, especially inasmuch as now, in contrast to the beginning of

the poem, he resigns himself to God's will: "God doth sometyes first cropp the sweetest flowre" (35).

The final line of the stanza draws on the Gospel of Luke: Christ, when told by the Pharisees to rebuke the crowds who are praising him, responds, "I say to you, if these hold their peace, the stones will crie" (Rheims; Luke 19: 40). Like the crowd's praise of Christ, the speaker's death is an acknowledgement that Christ "commeth king in the name of our Lord" (Rheims; Luke 19: 38). Moreover, implicit in the line is the suggestion that Christ's divinity, like the speaker's innocence, must provoke an immediate response from those around him; the stones should cry against the injustice of his death, even as they should have cried out that Christ "commeth . . . in the name of our Lord" (Rheims; Luke 19: 38).

Furthermore, in the final stanza, the speaker recognizes the ultimate fate of those who prosper on earth: "Worldly blisse in final bale doth end" (32). Again, "bliss" can be read as happiness or as sacrifice: those who surrender themselves to the world for the pleasures of the world end in "bale" (32), or "consuming fire" (OED 1: 900.1). The Earl, "unite[d] in a holy communion with God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125),²⁹ has offered himself to God as one of the communion of saints, a member of Christ's body, and is thereby joined in the sacrifice of the Mass.

Christ is the head of the body; Christians are the members; thus, "god [is] murdered in the good" (24). In addition, in recognizing that "the bad are blissd, god murdred in the good" ("I dye without desert" 32), the speaker has also offered his soul, "aflame in the fire of divine Love . . . [and] remolded into the unchangeable form of God."³⁰ (City of God 10.6; 7: 126). The speaker's sacrifice is, accordingly, part of the "communion of saints, offered as a universal sacrifice to God" through Christ, who "'taking the form of a servant [sic] offered Himself in His Passion for us that we might be the body of so glorious a Head" (The City of God 10.6; 7: 127).³¹ Moreover, one sees, again, the use of "bliss" and "bless": the "badd" can be redeemed by the blood of those who offer themselves to God.³²

Such is the spiritual progress of the speaker: recognizing his helplessness, he turns to God, who alone can bestow true mercy; recognizing his innocence, he comes to accept the fact that the world does not reward innocence. In so doing, he becomes one of the corporate Body of Christ who is offered to God in the Eucharistic sacrifice.

B. "Decease release: Dum morior orior"

A poem on the beheading of Mary Stuart, "Decease release" reflects the belief of many Elizabethan Catholics

"that all of her sufferings derived from her fidelity to her religion, [and that] she was a martyr" (Scallion 91). As in "I dye without desert," Southwell portrays martyrdom as the finest sacrifice a Christian can make, since it is a "work that is aimed at the final Good in which alone we can be truly blessed" (The City of God 10.6; 7: 125).³³

The pounded spice both tast and sent doth please,
 In fading smoke the force doth incense shewe,
 The perisht kernell springeth with encrease,
 The lopped tree doth best and soonest growe.

Gods spice I was and pounding was my due,
 In fading breath my incense savored best,
 Death was the meane my kyrnell to rene,
 By lopping shott I upp to heavenly rest.

Alive a Queene, now dead I am a Sainte,
 Once N: calld, my name nowe Martyr is,
 From earthly raigne debarred by restraint,
 In lieu whereof I raigne in heavenly blisse.

My life my grieffe, my death hath wrought my joye,
 My frendes my foyle, my foes my weale procur'd,
 My speedy death hath shortned longe annoye,
 And losse of life an endles life assur'd.

My skaffold was the bedd where ease I founde,
 The blocke a pillowe of Eternall reste,
 My hedman cast me in a blisfull swounde,
 His axe cutt off my cares from combred breste.
 (1-8; 13-24; 36 lines)

The imagery throughout the opening lines strongly suggests the Offertory and Consecration of the Mass, wherein the host and the chalice are censed as they are first offered to God, and then changed into Christ's body

and blood at the Consecration. In addition, the sense of the speaker, like Christ, being "given over, poured out, broken" -- "datur, funditur, frangitur" (Somnius, qtd. Lepin 297, n3), is also implicit in the use of "pounded" and "lopped" (1; 4). Yet in being "pounded" and "lopped," the speaker finds life: "My speedy death hath shortned longe annoy, / And losse of life an endles life assur'd" (19-20). Moreover, the poem provides encouragement to Southwell's readers, reminding them that if they are willing to pay the price, as Mary Stuart did, they too will "upp to heavenly rest" (8). Southwell says of martyrdom that it is "the principal act of obedience commended so highly in Christ who became obedient unto death [Phil 2.8]" (EC 162). Mary Stuart, like Christ, obediently accepted death, which was her "due" ("Decease" 5). Yet in her obedience, paradoxically, she finds freedom: her "cheynes [are] unloo'sd to lett the captive goe" (28).

The opening lines also build heavily on Christ's parable on the grain of wheat: "Unles the graine of wheate falling into the ground, die: it self remaineth alone. but [sic] if it die, it bringeth much fruite" (Rheims; John 12: 24-25).³⁴ The "kernell" cannot "encrease" ("Decease" 3) until it dies; similarly, the speaker cannot know true life until she sacrifices her own.

In the poem, Southwell again uses the wordplay between "bliss" and "bless." Implicit, also, is the sense of a blood-sacrifice; the speaker, having been "consecrated to God" in martyrdom, now knows the "blisse" of eternal life: "My hedman cast me in a blisfull swounde, / His axe cutt off my cares from combred breste" (23-24). Her martyrdom is "blisfull": first, it gives her perfect happiness by freeing her from worldly concerns which, until her death, she could not fully reject. Second, however, it also "blesses" her; she is, in the truest sense, consecrated to God (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126); she has yielded her body as "[a] means of holiness to God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).³⁵ In Southwell's eyes, she is a martyr, and has offered her soul as well as her body in sacrifice to God; surrendering fully, the speaker's soul is "remolded into the unchangeable form of God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).³⁶ As a result she knows perfect "bliss"; yet she is also "blessed" because of her sacrifice.

Also seen are the parallels between baptism and martyrdom:

[The] baptized is either sprinkled or dipped in water; but the martyr is either sprinkled with his blood or not dipped but burned in fire The baptized receiveth the blessed sacrament in remembrance of the death of our Lord; the martyr suffereth death itself for our Lord. The baptized protesteth to renounce the vanities of the world, the martyr, besides this, renounceth his own life. To the baptized all his sins

are forgiven; in the martyr all his sins are quite extinguished. (Augustine, qtd. EC 163)

Unlike the speaker in "I dye without desert," who progresses from desiring earthly relief to an understanding that true relief comes from God alone, the speaker in "Decease release" has already come to such an understanding, and hence she embraces, fully, her suffering in which she has come to know the true "blisse" of God. "My skaffold was the bedd where ease I founde, / The blocke a pillowe of Eternal reste" ("Decease release" 21-22). She has "renounced" worldly vanity; she understands, now, that her earthly rule, however pleasant the best of it may have been, was her "griefe." In baptism she "protest[ed] to renounce . . . the world" (Augustine, qtd. EC 163); now, she has done so. In renouncing her life, she finds freedom from sin; as in a number of the poems which will be discussed in this section, true liberty lies in submission: "It was no death to me but to my woe . . . / The cheynes unloo'sd to lett the captive go" ("Decease release" 26; 28).

Batley suggests that Southwell, detached from the persecution, portrays an idealized view of Mary Stuart's death which stems "from his Jesuit training and a personal longing for such an end" ("Martyrdom in Sixteenth-Century English Jesuit Verse" 2). Jesuits, however, were not the

first to idealize martyrdom. The early Church, in similar circumstances, showed the same tendency; Augustine's comparison of the baptized and the martyr, already noted, is a similar idealization. Like Southwell, Augustine stresses how both are freed from their sins. Moreover, as Batley notes, the poem instructs as well as eulogizes ("Martyrdom" 2), and one needs to recall that he is encouraging fellow recusants to sacrifice themselves as fully to God as is expected of them. Through submitting to God's will as Christ submitted, the speaker has become a sacrifice, and has found true liberty. Those who do likewise, and become sacrifices, will also find eternal "blisse."

C. "Marie Magdalens complaint at Christs death"

The paradox of finding God, who is life, through death is also found in "Marie Magdalens complaint at Christs death." The poem emphasizes that without surrendering to God's will, one cannot claim to truly live, and that, once one has found the life which comes through the grace of God, life without God has no meaning.

"Marie Magdalens complaint," however, while far more Eucharistic than "Decease release," is not so explicit in its emphasis on martyrdom: the poem deals with offering oneself to God in other ways. All suffering for religious conviction was understood to be a form of martyrdom;

Southwell reminds his readers that those who endure lesser sufferings, "imprisonment, banishment or any other oppression," likewise give themselves in sacrifice and therefore will be rewarded with eternal life (EC 227).

In the poem, Southwell uses Mary Magdalene and her grief over the loss of Christ to parallel the English Roman Catholic having lost the Eucharist, and has therefore lost Christ.³⁷

Sith my life from life is parted:
 Death come take thy portion.
 Who survives, when life is murdred,
 Lives by meere extortion.
 All that live, and not in God:
 Couch their life in deaths abod.

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.

O true life, sith thou hast left me,
 Mortall life is tedious.
 Death it is to live without thee,
 Death, of all most odious.
 Turne againe or take me to thee,
 Let me die or live thou in mee.

Where the truth once was, and is not,
 Shaddowes are but vanitie:
 Shewing want, that helpe they cannot:
 Signes, not salves of miserie.
 Paynted meate no hunger feedes,
 Dying life each death exceedes.

With my love, my life was nestled
 In the sonne of happinesse:
 From my love, my life is wrested
 To a world of heavinesse.

O, let love my life remove,
Sith I live not where I love.

O my soule, what did unloose thee
From thy sweete captivitie?
God, not I, did still possesse thee:
His, not mine, thy libertie,
O, too happie thrall thou wart,
When thy prison, was his hart.

Spitefull speare, that breakst this prison,
Seate of all felecitie,
Working thus, with double treason,
Loves and lifes deliverie:
Though my life thou drav'st away,
Maugre thee my love shall stay. ("Marie Magdalens
complaint" ["MMC"] 1-42)

In the early part of the poem, Southwell is, of course, drawing on the image of Genesis, where God breathed "the breath of life" (Douai: Gen. 2: 7)³⁸ into Adam: "One that lives by others breath, / Dieth also by his death" ("MMC" 11-12). However, the stanzas also suggest the situation of the English Catholic, who is deprived of the Eucharist, and finds that "life from life is parted" (1). If God is the source of life, then the loss of God should mean the end of life ("MMC" 11-12), and "mortall life is tedious" (14); only in God, who is not subject to death, do we find "true life" ("MMC" 13).

The desire for death expressed by the speaker, then, is not the desire for martyrdom for its own sake, nor is it a request for death as a release from suffering (Grossart lv). Rather, Southwell uses Mary Magdalene's grief to portray how the loss of Christ takes all meaning from life.

Anyone who "survives" without Christ, "the life" (Rheims; John 14: 6),³⁹ exists by "extortion" ("MMC" 3; 4), that is, "the act of forcibly requiring something from another against his will" (Brown, "Notes" 142; n4). Whereas Mary Magdalene surrendered herself freely to God's will, out of love for Christ, now she is forced to live, reluctantly, without Christ. Similarly, the English Catholic who conforms against his convictions is not participating in a true sacrifice. While the Anglican service does include a sacrifice in which many participated out of conviction,⁴⁰ the schismatic who attended only to "survive" was submitting to the government's "extortion," and not to God. A number of religious and secular historians believe that, until 1588, "a waning majority of Englishmen passively desired the old rites" (Dix 686), but were unwilling to make any sacrifice to restore them. Therefore, even were the poem written as late as June 1592, his last month of liberty, Southwell still would have been addressing a substantial audience, reminding them that conformity to a church in which they did not believe was a far worse "extortion" than the fines which they had to pay as penalty for non-attendance.

Martz says of this poem that "the intellectual texture, the control of imagery and paradox, may be attributed to Southwell's mastery of the art of meditation"

(Poetry of Meditation 192). But in addition to its meditative qualities, the poem makes subtle use of the theology of Eucharistic sacrifice to encourage Roman Catholics to hold to their convictions. Christ is "the way, the veritie, and the life" (Rheims; John 14: 6).⁴¹

O true life, sith thou hast left me,
 Mortall life is tedious.
 Death it is to live without thee,
 Death, of all most odious.
 Turne againe or take me to thee,
 Let me die or live thou in mee.

Where the truth once was, and is not,
 Shaddowes are but vanitie:
 Shewing want, that helpe they cannot:
 Signes, not salves of miserie.
 Paynted meate no hunger feedes,
 Dying life each death exceedes. (13-24)

Without the "true life," Christ, "mortall life is tedious" (13; 14). Mary Magdalene pleads to join Christ in his death--in his sacrifice--or for Christ to go on living in her, that she may be "consecrated," or "joined with the sacred." The final lines of the third stanza are an expression of total surrender such as is found in much of Southwell's poetry: "Let me die or live thou in mee" (18). Throughout the poem, Mary Magdalene expresses the view of sacrifice stated in Augustine; if she cannot die, and be with God, she can "[die] to the world . . . [and] live for God" (The City of God 10.6; 7: 126).⁴² This paradox of finding eternal life in death is also developed in the

sixth stanza, where her soul's "libertie" lay in being "possesse[d]" by God (34; 33):

O my soule, what did unloose thee
 From thy sweete captivitie?
 God, not I, did still possesse thee:
 His, not mine, thy libertie,
 O, too happie thrall thou wart,
 When thy prison, was his hart. (31-36)

Martz has already noted that the final stanzas of the poem "show more clearly than any others the impact of the art of meditation" (Poetry of Meditation 193); such an offering of self to God is found in Ignatius' "Take and Receive": "Take, Lord . . . my memory, my understanding, my entire will" ([234]),⁴³ a prayer that is echoed in the acknowledgement that God "possesse[s]" her "libertie" (33; 34). However, when examining "Mary Magdalens complaint," one should remember that Ignatian spirituality is rooted in the theology of sacrifice. Mary Magdalene expresses the realization that being a prisoner of Christ's "hart" (36) was more desirable than being free to follow her own heart. The speaker regrets the loss of her "sweete captivitie" (32), and acknowledges that in her surrender to God's love, she knew true freedom. As in much of Southwell's other poetry, true liberty lies in the sacrifice of our will to that of God.

In this poem Southwell works with the Real Presence as well as with images of sacrifice. Without Christ's life,

his physical body is of no comfort to Mary Magdalene:

"Paynted meate no hunger feedes, / Dying life each death
exceedes" (23-24). As Scallon notes,

a twentieth-century theologian may possibly be correct
when he judges that transubstantiation is now an
irrelevant issue; but, in the last two decades of the
first Elizabeth's reign, it had a terrible relevance.
(125)

Although the image of Mary Magdalene's grief at Christ's death could appeal to any in Southwell's audience, Southwell is here addressing, in particular, those who have compromised and have conformed only out of fear for their lives; in his eyes, the Established Church in Elizabethan England held "shaddowes" of the truth (20). Because even Protestants maintained that faith, and not the sacrament itself, was a source of grace (Inst 4.17.1),⁴⁴ the Anglican Communion Service could not feed the spiritual "hunger" which was eased by the grace of the Roman Catholic Eucharist (23). Because of its lack, or "want" (15), of grace, the Protestant Communion Service cannot "helpe" those who have joined out of "miserie" (21-22). Those who have conformed because they have been impoverished by the fines for not attending services and have been driven to "hunger" and "miserie" will not find true relief; their physical needs will be satisfied, but they will find a deeper "hunger," a harsher "miserie," instead. To be truly

happy, to eat "the bread of life" and to "liue for euer" (Rheims; John 6: 48; 6: 51),⁴⁵ they must surrender to God and offer themselves to his will in sacrifice; they must be members of the body of Christ which is the Church, and be "offered in the very offering she [the Church] makes to God" (The City of God 10.6; 7: 127).⁴⁶

D. "Life is but losse"

The need to submit to God is also expressed in poems which use imagery that is not strongly Eucharistic or sacrificial. One such example is "Life is but losse":

By force I live, in will I wish to die
 In plaint I passe the length of lingring daies,
 Free would my soule from mortall body flie,
 And treade the tracke of deaths desired waies;
 Life is but losse, where death is deemed gaine,
 And loathed pleasures breede displeasing paine.
 (1-6; 42 lines)

The poem expresses the conflict between the soul's desire for heaven, where his soul's "treasure [is] safe from theeves" (9), and the body's desire for pleasure, which "breede[s] displeasing paine" (6). The poem expounds on the view of martyrdom and death as certain release from the cares of the world. But the speaker, at the end, does not request martyrdom so much as he finds it desirable. In the final stanzas, the speaker accepts whatever God wills for him, overcoming not only the fears of daily living but

also the soul's desire for heaven, embracing, instead, the "mercie" of God (41):

Where life is lov'd, thou ready art to kill,
 And to abridge with sodaine pangues their joy,
 Where life is loath'd thou wilt not worke their will,
 But dost adjourne their death to their annoy,
 To some thou art a fierce unbidden guest,
 But those that crave thy helpe thou helpst least.

Avant O viper, I thy spight defie,
 There is a God that over-rules thy force,
 Who can thy weapons to his will apply,
 And shorten or prolong our brittle course:
 I on his mercie, not thy might relye,
 To him I live, for him I hope to die.
 (31-42; 42 lines)

The "viper" (37) is death, who refuses to grant release to those who wish for it, and strikes down those who would live. But in these lines, the speaker is "completely submissive" to God's will (Scallon 140), and to the fact that he might not die. Southwell's poetry was written as part of his missionary work, and not simply as an expression of his acceptance of martyrdom and his view of its desirability:

The religious poet is the poet of a Lover who cannot change. The suppliant must change, must grow in love to a greater awareness of the love offered him In his own life this attainment of spiritual maturity prepared Southwell for his death as a martyr; it also gave him the imaginative objectivity to teach others the way to the love of God. (Brown, "Introduction" xviii)

Whether the speaker lives for God, or dies for God ("Life is but losse" 42), then, he is a sacrifice according to the definition of St. Augustine. His audience, even those who were not familiar with Augustine, would have understood his emphasis on the need to accept God's will in all things. Those who love their lives so much that they are unwilling to sacrifice themselves to God and hold fast to their beliefs, Southwell warns, are not guaranteed a long life; nor is a long life particularly desirable, since "none being sure, what finall fruites to reape" (16).

E. "From Fortunes reach"

Similarly, in "From Fortunes reach," the speaker expresses his own personal sacrifice:

My choyse was guided by fore-sightfull heede,
 It was averred with approving will,
 It shalbe followed with performing deed:
 And seal'd with vow, till death the chooser kill,
 Yea death though finall date of vaine desires,
 Endes not my choyse, which with no time expires.

To beauties fading blisse I am no thrall:
 I bury not my thoughts in mettall mynes,
 I aime not at such fame, as feareth fal,
 I seeke and find a light that ever shines:
 Whose glorious beames display such heavenly sightes,
 As yeeld my soule the summe of all delights.

My light to love, my love to lyfe doth guyde
 To life that lives by love, and loveth light:
 By love of one, to whom all loves are ty'de
 By dewest debt, and never equald right.
 Eyes light, harts love, soules truest life he is,
 Consorting in three joyes, one perfect blisse. (7-24;
 24 lines)

In the poem, one finds a thorough recapitulation of the ideas by which Southwell lived, as well as those expressed in his poetry (Scallion 146). If one is to interpret the poem autobiographically, then, one should consider the poem to be not only apostolic, as with Southwell's other pieces, but also a poem which expresses an awareness of a vocation, a rejection of the world, and a decision to live for God. The speaker is a sacrifice, "seal'd [to God] with vow, till death" ("From Fortunes reach" 10). Moreover, his death, if he remains faithful to his vows, will achieve in deed what he swore to do in words, when he vowed to give his life wholly to God. Death will not end his "choyse" (12); rather, in death, he will truly be united with God. The poem, however, is not exclusively a poem about martyrdom; the speaker seeks to be, in his life and in his death, a "work that is aimed at that final Good in which alone we can be truly blessed" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125).⁴⁷

Again, there is an emphasis on the speaker's "yeeld[ing]" his soul to God (18), and the use of further wordplay on "blisse": the speaker rejects the "fading" happiness, or blessings, of the world (13), preferring, instead, the "perfect blisse" (24), which the Christian finds in embracing the sacrifice of Christ, a sacrifice which is offered to God in heaven by Christ, as the priest offers the Mass for the universal Church.

"From Fortunes reach" and "Life is but Losse" are not strongly sacramental in their imagery, although Southwell does make use of the Christian act of sacrifice as an act of surrender; however, because of their lack of Eucharistic emphasis they are noted here only briefly. They are, more appropriately, considered representative of Southwell's poetry on the vanity of the world. Such poetry uses a theme that was popular to the medieval poets; however, for Southwell, the implicit reasons behind his writing of such poetry is always apostolic. The Christian must remember that the pleasures of the world are passing; for the Catholic, in particular, true happiness lies in remaining faithful to the Mass, and to the Eucharistic sacrifice, and to participating in the Eucharistic sacrifice by a total offering of oneself to God.

3. "Saint Peters Complaint": Apostasy and the Rejection of the Eucharistic Sacrifice

In contrast to speakers such as Mary Magdalene and Philip Howard, who embrace Christ's sacrifice and desire to make it their own, St. Peter denies Christ in the very moment of the Passion. Consequently, his denial is a rejection of Christ's Passion, and can be seen as a rejection of Christ's sacrifice as it is "made present" in the Eucharist.

The story of St. Peter's denial is one that has attracted artists and dramatists throughout the years. Yet the scene receives little, if any, attention from poets: St. Peter's moment of remorse is, perhaps, too powerful to be easily captured in language. Indeed, "Saint Peters Complaint" is not always considered Southwell's most successful poem. In large part, this is because most critics lack an understanding of Southwell's purposes in writing the poem, of the audience for which he wrote, and the particular issues which the poem addresses.⁴⁸

The poem is, as some scholars suggest, certainly an apostolic one which expresses "Southwell's pre-occupation with the state of mind of a self-tortured apostate" (Sundaram 7), and which shows Southwell "warning himself against repeating the apostle's denial" (Tatsumi 55). Scallon, likewise, notes Southwell's "implicit commentary . . . upon the actions of those Englishmen who yielded to the pressures of the times and denied Christ in His Church" (181). In addition, Brown's analysis of Southwell's poem as a means of "bringing spiritual instruction and comfort to those--whether Catholic or Anglican--who sought the way of reconciliation with God" ("The Structure of 'Saint Peters Complaint'" 11) does not contradict Sundaram's or Tatsumi's interpretations, as those who were most in need

of reconciliation would have been those who had denied their beliefs.

But as Brown points out, "complex levels of meaning [are] supported with skilful correlations" ("Structure" 11). "Saint Peters Complaint" not only portrays an apostate's anguish (Sundaram 7), or "those elements contained within the sacrament [of penance]" (Brown, "Structure" 5); the poem also depicts the parallels between Peter's denial of Christ and the apostate's denial of the Real Presence and the Sacrifice of the Mass, and portrays the total separation from Christ felt by the apostate as a consequence. The apostate who rejected transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass denied not only the Church, the corporate body of Christ, but also the Eucharist, the mystical body of Christ. Similarly, St. Peter "did his God forswear" ("Saint Peters Complaint" [SPC] 58), and "for nought denied him [Christ] thrise" (102). Thus, while the speaker in "I dye without desert" emulates Christ's sacrifice by consecrating himself to God, in "Saint Peters Complaint," Peter has done the opposite: he has refused to surrender to God; he has chosen to value his mortal life over his salvation; he has, then, rejected the sacrifice of Christ.

One must note, again, the repeated use of "blisse," with its multiple meanings, throughout the poem: "To breath

in blisse, I fear'd my breath to geve" (51). Again, "blisse" is being used in its sacrificial sense, to "bless,"; the original sense of a blood offering is also implied (OED II: 281). St. Peter fears to "geve" his "breath" in order to "breath in blisse" -- that is, he fears to speak, even though doing so will bring him eternal paradise. In addition, however, he also does not wish to "geve" his "breath" (SPC 51; emphasis mine); he is afraid to give himself totally to God; he fears to make the sacrifice of his life.

Similarly, later in the poem, St. Peter asks: "What daunger, distance, death is worse then this: / That runnes from God, and spoyles his soule of blisse?" (227-228). In fleeing from God, both the apostate and Peter have allowed the "blisse"--the consecration of their souls to God, to be "spoyle[d],"--that is, "plunder[ed]" (228; OED XVI: 295.3a).

More important, however, Southwell repeatedly draws attention to Peter's position as Christ's disciple, and to the parallels between Saint Peter and the apostate, or turncoat, priest:

Titles I make untruthes: am I a rocke?
 That with so soft a gayle was overthrowne?
 Am I fit pastor for the faithfull flocke,
 To guide their soules that murdred thus mine owne?
 A rock, of ruine; not a rest, to stay:
 A pastor not to feede: but to betray.
 (169-174; emphases mine)

In these lines there is an implicit comparison between the priest who attends to his pastoral duties, administering the sacraments, in particular the Eucharist, and the priest who denies his faith, whether out of fear or out of greed, and who, in doing so, betrays not only Christ, but the "faithfull flocke" who have opened their homes to him (171). Southwell was not only writing to caution himself (Tatsumi 55), then, but others, too: the faithful who needed reassurance, those who were Roman Catholic by conviction but had conformed, and priests who had taken vows to serve Christ. "Saint Peters Complaint" addresses all of these, but in particular, it addresses the priests, who have the greatest responsibility to remain faithful.⁴⁹

Throughout the poem, references to the clergy and the use of sacrificial imagery reflect Southwell's concern with the special responsibility of the religious; in his earliest writings, such as his Spiritual Exercises and Devotions, Southwell "exhorts himself to the strict observance of the Jesuit rule" (Janelle 95). Among the reasons he lists are "the special providence that God shows to religious" (Devotions 16.3),⁵⁰ and the fact that "an evil religious is a traitor to Christ, a deserter, a faithless friend, and an adulterous spouse" (16.1).⁵¹ Similarly, in the poem, Southwell emphasizes Peter's position, his vow to die for Christ (Mt. 26: 35), and his

special privileges as a priest. Peter was called to be an apostle who witnessed "thousands" of miracles, yet he "did [his] Lord abjure" (SPC 78). Likewise, the apostate priest's vocation made him able to consecrate the body and blood of Christ, and yet he renounced his faith despite "thousands" of such "wonder[s]" (78; 77).

Such emphasis on St. Peter's priesthood appears frequently:

But I that dronke the drops of heavenly flood:
Bemyred the giver with returning mud.

Is this the harvest of his sowing toile?
Did Christ manure thy hart to breed him bryars?
Or doth it neede this unaccustomde soyle
With hellish dounge to fertile heavens desires?
No: no: the Marle that perjuries do yeeld,
May spoyle a good, not fat a barraine field.

Was this for best desertes the duest meede?
Are highest worthes well wag'de with spitefull hire?
Are stoutest vowes repeal'd in greatest neede? (107-117)

Southwell stresses the responsibility of the priesthood by repeated references to the Eucharist and the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The reader cannot ignore the emphasis on the pastoral role of Peter, who "dronke the drops of heavenly flood" (107). The lay Catholic could not receive the sacramental wine; this was a privilege of the priesthood. Here, Southwell is referring specifically to the apostate priest who, having been vowed to God, should be himself a sacrifice (City of God 10:6; 7: 125-126), but instead has

rejected his sacrificial role, and finds that the "hire of a hireling mind is earned shame" (SPC 203). In Southwell's eyes, the apostate priest, in denying the sacrifice of the Mass, has also refused to participate in Christ's sacrifice, and has "made present" Peter's sin.

Moreover, the use of "meede" (115), with its multiple meanings, creates a further parallel with the turncoat priest: normally, the word meant wages or duty (OED IX: 559.3b). Christ has called Peter, taught him, and allowed him to see his miracles (SPC 78); Christ should therefore have the "best desertes" (107); as Christ now gives his life for St. Peter, St. Peter should give his life, whether as "wages," or as his "duty," to Christ. Likewise with the English priest: he answered a vocation from Christ, who died for him. It should therefore be small payment for the English priest to die for Christ, and the one who does not fails to give Christ his "meede." Although most priests remained faithful to their vows, the lucrative rewards from the government would have been particularly tempting for those whose sense of vocation had been weakened. In addition to desire for material gain, some became spies to save their lives, or even out of malice (Caraman, "Preface to Gerard" xx-xxi).

Yet another meaning of "meede" is incorporated into the line, that is, "meede" as "reward dishonestly offered

or accepted; corrupt gain; [or] bribery" (OED IX: 559.1). This other meaning of "meede" is reinforced in the line which follows: "Are highest worthes well wag'de with spitefull hire?" (SPC 116). The image of one who has been bought off is again expressed by the use of "hire" (116) in the following line, a word which Southwell uses a number of times (636; 203); like "meede," it denotes bribery as well as wages (OED VII: 252.1b).

The following line creates a further parallel between St. Peter and the apostate priest: "Are stoutest vowes repeal'd in greatest neede?" (117). Such was frequently the case; in France, priests took vows enthusiastically, but in England, the isolation and the strain too often took its toll. Southwell emphasizes the point again, later:

In Thabors joyes I egre was to dwell,
 An earnest friend while pleasures light did shine:
 But when eclipsed glory prostrate fell,
 These zealous heates to sleep I did resigne.
 And now my mouth hath thrise his name defil'd,
 That cryed so loud three dwellings there to build.
 (181-186)

The apostate priest, like Peter, should be the most trustworthy; yet he has proved himself to be no more than a friend in pleasure who, when trouble came, has rejected Christ's church, and "defil'd" Christ's name (185).

Yet other parallels between Peter and the apostate priest can be found, notably in the imagery of spiritual

hunger which must be experienced by those who are denied the sacrament. The apostate priest, no longer living for God, is "unconsecrate[d]," "tast[ing] the earned hires" of being an agent for the government (SPC 635; 636), and the reward is not what it had promised to be: he experiences the "now famishde breast" of a priest who had "oft . . . [his] hungrie wishes fed" on the Eucharist (354; 345), and who is now denied the nourishment of the sacrament.

Ah, coole remisnes, vertues quartane fever,
 Pyning of love, consumption of grace:
 Old in the cradle, languor dying ever,
 Soules willfull famine, sinnes soft stealing pace.
 (205-208)

To appreciate the point Southwell is making, one should go back and examine Catholic teaching about the benefits of the Eucharist. Aquinas calls the Eucharist the Christian's spiritual food,⁵² nourishing the soul as physical bread does the body: "With regards to its power this sacrament confers not only the habits of grace and virtue, but furthermore they are aroused to activity" (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 7).⁵³

The apostate priest has therefore, in denying Christ, excommunicated himself, and is denied the "spiritual refreshment" of the sacrament (ST 3a.73.1; 58: 5).⁵⁴ Consequently he is spiritually malnourished, and has lost the "habits of grace and virtue" which he once had

(3a.79.1; 59: 7); his virtues now suffer a "quartane fever" (SPC 205). Moreover, as a hireling, he is "pyning of love," having cast aside the love of God (206).

His soul's grace, formerly enriched by the sacrament, now suffers "consumption" (206). The term means "decay" (OED 3: 803.3), but, like "quartane," it also implies disease: the soul, lacking the nourishment which the sacraments give, must feed upon itself (OED 3: 803.3.6a):

Though grace is not immediately seated in our body, its effect flows over into the body when in the present life we yield our members to God as instruments of his righteousness [Rom. 6: 13].⁵⁵
(ST 3a.79.1; 59: 7)

Because he no longer resigns himself to God, body and soul, and no longer receives the grace of the Eucharist, the apostate no longer feels the effects of grace which should come from the soul "into the body." As a result, although the apostate priest may still be fairly young, and unlike Southwell, may live to be fairly old, he is already "old in the cradle" (SPC 207), suffering the "famine" of his soul.

A further parallel between Peter and the apostate priest is St. Peter's boast that he should die for Christ (Mt. 25: 35), followed by his panic in the high priest's garden (Mt. 26: 69-75), and the turncoat priest's vows, made before God, which he breaks in order to avoid death. Such behavior is all the more reprehensible, as death is no

more than "natures due" (SPC 79). Like St. Peter, the apostate priest has not only denied Christ but missed the opportunity for martyrdom, which the English priest who took vows on the continent knew he was bound for:

Could servile feare of rendring natures due,
Which growth in yeares was shortly like to claime,
So thrall my love, that I should thus eschue
A vowed death and misse so faire an aime?
Die: Die: disloyall wretch thy life detest:
For saving thine, thou hast forsworne the best.
(79-84)

Peter acknowledges that he has saved his life only by losing all that is of value; he has "forsworne" God, "the best" (84), in order to live. Similarly, later in the poem, Peter laments that he "lost all that [he] had, and had the most" (505). Southwell exhorts the apostate priest to recognize, as Peter does, that true gain is to be found in the act of sacrifice, in surrendering oneself, as Christ did, to the will of God. While surrendering to God brings eternal life, St. Peter, in holding fast to his own life, has gained nothing. Christ's words, "He that hath found his life, shal lose it" (Rheims; Mt. 10: 39a),⁵⁶ are voiced by Peter, who laments that he has "lived to die alive" (SPC 570).

Moreover, Peter initially showed great courage, drawing his sword at Christ's arrest (John 17: 10). Similarly, the recusant who attempted to escape to the

continent to attend seminary risked arrest and imprisonment if caught, as was John Gerard in 1583 ("Autobiography" 4; n1). How much greater, then, was the lapse of one who had shown such courage:

Ah, tounge, that didst his praise and Godhead sound,
 How wert thou stain'd with such detesting wordes,
 That every word was to [Christ's] hart a wound,
 And launst him deeper than a thousand swordes?
 What rage of man, yea what infernall sprite,
 Could have disgorg'd more loathsome dregs of spite?
 (SPC 133-138)

The apostate priest, having denied Christ, has refused to be united with Christ in sacrifice, and, like Peter, has thereby added to Christ's suffering. Moreover, Peter's sin is all the more unforgivable, because he declared Christ the Son of God (Mt. 16: 16); in this he is like the priest who had once believed in Christ, and expressed his faith in him, only to turn away from his faith to save his life. This also may explain Southwell's decision to use Peter, and not Judas, who never expressed such immeasurable faith in Christ.⁵⁷

Martz, comparing Southwell to Herbert, focuses on the "biblical imagery, personal confession . . . [and] restrained parallelism of the poem" (Poetry of Meditation 195), which he credits to meditative practices:

Christ, as my God, was templed in my thought,
 As man, he lent mine eies their dearest light:
 But sinne, his temple hath to ruine brought;

And now, he lightneth terrour from his sight,
 Now of my lay unconsecrate desires,
 Prophaned wretch I tast the earned hires. (631-636)

Martz cites the above stanza as "a pattern for much in Herbert"; however, he dismisses the image of Christ as St. Peter's "temple" as "fortuitous" (195). While the rich visual imagery found in the poem certainly reflects Southwell's meditative practices, and while one can see some of the same patterns of "biblical imagery" found in Herbert, there is nothing "fortuitous" about the "temple" imagery. Herbert, the faithful Anglican priest, invokes Christ to "let thy blessed sacrifice be mine, / And sanctifie this altar to be thine" ("The Altar" 15-16), and considers how to best return Christ's sacrifice: "In thee I will overcome / The man, who once against thee fought" ("The Reprisal" 15b-16). In contrast, Peter, who represents the apostate Roman Catholic priest, contemplates how he has vowed to sacrifice himself to God, and has now failed, "prophan[ing]" himself in the sight of God (SPC 636).⁵⁸

Brown and Scallon have both noted the pastoral implications of these lines; Brown cites the meaning of "unconsecrate" as "unhallowed; here, opposed to God's will" ("Commentary" 168; n635). Scallon notes, correctly, that Peter's denial has reduced him from being a temple of God to a man whose act of "sacrilege has nullified his

priesthood" (211). While Christ was "temped" in St. Peter's "thought" (SPC 631), then Peter was himself a sacrifice, consecrated to God. The Christian is "the temple of the holy Ghost, which is in you" (Rheims; 1 Cor. 6: 19);⁵⁹ St. Paul's idea is implied here, as is Augustine's teaching that the "body . . . is a sacrifice" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).⁶⁰ With his denial, St. Peter has rejected Christ's sacrifice and refused to remain a temple of the Holy Spirit, or to be consecrated to God: "Sinne, [God's] temple hath to ruine brought" (SPC 633). Likewise, the apostate priest who betrayed his vows not only repudiated his priesthood (Scallon 211), but also denied Christ's sacrifice, and hence, Christ himself. Southwell's "temple" imagery, then, is intentional; it establishes a contrast between Peter's life before his denial, and his renunciation of God's love in his act of cowardice.

Other sacrificial imagery can be found throughout; the contrast between Christ's self-offering and St. Peter's renunciation of self-sacrifice is suggested earlier in the poem, where Peter recalls how he slept while Christ prayed in Gethsemane:

When Christ attending the distressefull hower
 With his surcharged brest did blisse the ground,
 Prostrate in panges, rayning a bleeding shower,
 Me, like my selfe, a drowsy friend he found.

Thrise in his care sleepe closde my carelesse eye:
 Presage, how him my tong should thrise deny.

Parted from Christ my fainting force declin'd,
 With lingring foote I followed him aloofe.
 Base feare out of my hart his love *unshrinde*,
 Huge, in high wordes: but impotent, in prooffe.
 (SPC 187-196; italics mine)

Some of the lines echo "Sinnes heavie loade," where Christ, in Gethsemane, "doo'st prostrate now [his] heaven our earth to blisse" (26);⁶¹ in the same way, in "Saint Peters Complaint," Christ in Gethsemane "blisse[s]," or "consecrates," the earth and sinners in his act of sacrifice to God (OED II: 281.1; SPC 188). In "Saint Peters Complaint," too, one finds the symbolism of the sacraments: Christ's "brest," from which will come the water and blood signified in the sacraments, "blisse[s] the ground" even as Christ's surrender in Gethsemane blesses, or "makes sacred" -- once more, the meaning of sacrifice -- the ground which bears Adam's curse.

Moreover, as in "Sinnes heavie loade," Christ lies "prostrate" and "bleeding" (189); the image conveys Christ's words at the Last Supper, in which he offered his body and blood to be "given over, poured out, broken"-- "datur, funditur, frangitur" (Somnius, qtd. Lepin 297, n3). As noted earlier,⁶² Christ's offering of his body and blood on Calvary was interpreted by theologians at Trent as the same offering made by Christ at the Last Supper, where

he offered his body and blood in sacrifice, an offering "made present" in the Mass. His death on the cross is a fulfillment of his offering, but his Passion begins in Gethsemane, with his bloody sweat and his acceptance of God's will.

The difference between Peter and Christ in Gethsemane foretells how each will respond to Christ's Passion, and is expressive of their attitudes towards self-sacrifice. Christ has been "made sacred" by his prayer commending himself to God: "Not my wil but thine be done" (Rheims; Luke 22: 42).⁶³ Peter, in contrast, recalls how, even in Gethsemane, he slept, "drowsy" and "careless" (SPC 190; 191), ignoring Christ "in his care" (191). While Christ submits to his Passion, Peter is reluctant to live up to the vows which he had made (194; 196); after Christ's arrest, he followed "aloofe" (194). Gradually distancing himself from the sacrifice of Christ, Peter "unshrin[es]" Christ's love, and Christ's sacrifice, out of self-preservation. While Christ, in Gethsemane, submits to the will of God (Luke 22: 42), and fulfills his word to God by embracing his Passion, Peter's vow to die for Christ (Mt. 25: 35) is no more than "high wordes" (SPC 196).

Like Peter, the apostate Catholic is at first only careless in his devotions, "a drowsie friend" to Christ (190). Imperceptibly, his faith weakens until finally he

loses the ability to make the sacrifices needed to sustain him in what were unusually difficult circumstances. Southwell is therefore warning those who grow "carelesse" in their devotion (191),⁶⁴ a likely hazard in England, as many of the laity were without pastoral guidance, and seminary priests had no bishop, and no discipline save that which they set for themselves (Caraman, "Introduction to Gerard" xx-xxi).

It is worth comparing, briefly, "Saint Peters Complaint" to "Marie Magdalens complaint."⁶⁵ As Christ surrenders himself completely to the Father, so Mary Magdalene, at Christ's death, asks, "O, let love my life remove, / Sith I live not where I love" ("Mary Magdalens complaint" 29-30). Mary Magdalene has been separated, against her will, from the presence of Christ, where "[her] life was nestled / In the sonne of happinesse" (25-26). In contrast, St. Peter has rejected Christ, and finds that a "life sav'd by sinne [is] base purchase, dearely bought" (SPC 558). In Mary Magdalene, one sees the faithful Roman Catholic who would prefer the Eucharist to the "paynted meate" of the Protestant communion service, and the "sweete captivitie" of danger, imprisonment, and even death which the laity risked not only in attending Mass, but in harboring priests and offering other services to them.

Southwell's own patron, the Countess of Arundel, had herself harbored a spy prior to giving shelter to Southwell and had consequently suffered house imprisonment (Devlin 133); her husband, Philip Howard, had been arrested in 1585 (132), and condemned in 1589 (191ff). Nevertheless, she took the risk of providing Southwell not only with shelter, but with a printing press, although the penalties for harboring priests had become far more severe (Devlin 142-144; Glazebrook 64). If the lay Catholic was willing to take such risks and to ask Christ to "let me die or live thou in mee" ("Marie Magdalene's complaint" 18), how much more accountable was the priest who refused to make the very sacrifices by which he was bound by vows.

Yet Southwell understands the difficulty and the temptation to which such priests succumbed:

It seemes no fault to doe that all have done:
 The number of offenders hides the sinne:
 Coatch drawne with many horse doth easely runne.
 Soone followeth one where multitudes begin.
 (SPC 241-244)

In addition, as Scallon points out, English recusants endured terrible dangers in order to practice their faith (191); how much more understandable their cowardice is compared to that of Peter, who feared "a maidens easie breath" (SPC 167; Scallon 191). Moreover, the Church has the power to excommunicate; it does not have the power to

damn, and apostasy, although the worst of sins, is not the end. The priest who denies Christ can, like St. Peter, repent and be forgiven. Brown analyzes the "Complaint" as a poem which develops "all those elements contained within the sacrament [of penance] contrition, confession, the desire to make satisfaction, and the reception of absolution" ("Structure" 5). But "Saint Peters Complaint" shows the apostate, in particular, that forgiveness is possible.⁶⁶

But another aspect of repentance should also be considered: the return to a life of sacrifice. The apostate priest is one who has denied Christ's sacrifice, and rejected the martyrdom which would bring him eternal life, in exchange for his life and the "earned hires" of an informer (SPC 636). Nevertheless, he can return to God, acknowledging that his sin, "seeming a heaven, yet banishing from blisse" (646), has gained him nothing.

Again, one sees the multiple meanings of "blisse." Sin is always alluring, yet it "banish[es]" the sinner from "blisse," or from happiness. Southwell reminds the reader that the act of sin, however pleasurable it may seem, alienates the sinner from the true happiness, or "blessedness," which should be every Christian's goal. Yet, again, the suggestion of sacrifice is found, with the wordplay on "bless"; St. Peter has repudiated his vows, and

is, accordingly, no longer a sacrifice, "a man . . . consecrated in the name of God and vowed to God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126). Whereas the apostate who submits to his own desires gains only sin, "mans deepest losse, though false esteemed gaine" (SPC 648), the Christian who repents and submits to God is a sacrifice as defined by Augustine, and gains "blisse," or "blessedness." (OED II: 291.1c). Although the rewards for apostasy "[seem] a heaven" (646), Peter recognizes in the end that true heaven is for those who hold faithful.

If in holding to earthly values, the speaker loses "all that [he] had" (505), then in recognizing that his life does not belong to him, he begins to regain it: "He that hath lost his life for me, shal finde it" (Rheims; Mt. 10: 39b).⁶⁷ In the latter part of the poem, St. Peter acknowledges this, in comparing the loss of his soul in his act of apostasy with the "blisfull hower" of sacrifice of the Holy Innocents:

Joy infant Saints, whom in the tender flower
 A happy storme did free from feare of Sinne:
 Long is their life, that die in blisfull hower,
 Joyfull such ends as endles joyes beginne.
 Too long they live, that live till they be nought:
 Life sav'd by sinne, base purchase, dearely bought.
 (SPC 553-558)

Here the wordplay on "bliss" and "bless" is particularly strong: the death of the Innocents was "blisfull" in that

they died "blessed," or "made sacred"; they died a sacrifice. But in doing so, they knew the "endles joyes" of heaven (556). In contrast, Peter, whose soul is dead to God because of sin, is physically alive, but he is "nought" (557).

Brown's analysis of St. Peter's repentance, and the use of the Tridentine doctrine of penance, is thorough ("Structure," passim); one needs, here, only to note the apostrophe to sin (637-672), during which Peter acknowledges the loss of God's grace which followed his sin "hast made me to my selfe a hell" (672). Moreover, he realizes that "onely God [can] defray" his "eternall debt" (660; 655). Knowing he is not worthy of God's forgiveness, yet no longer relying on himself, he has begun, again, to resubmit to God, and to make the act of sacrifice which he rejected in his denial.

In examining Peter's movement from self-loathing to contrition, one also sees Peter as an example of Bellarmine's definition of sacrifice.⁶⁸ In the first section of the poem (SPC 1-324), Peter considers his "human infirmity":

Vaine in my vauntes, I vow'd if frendes had failed,
 Alone Christes hardes fortunes to abide:
 Gyant, in talke: like dwarfe, in triall quail'd:
 Excelling none, but in untruth and pride.
 Such distance is betwene high wordes and deedes:
 In prooffe the greatest vaunter seldome speedes.
 (61-66)

In addition to his "untruth and pride" (64), Peter acknowledges that he is guilty of perjury (113), disloyalty (115ff), "forgotten love" (157), and hardness of heart (254); he is boastful (274), blasphemous (231), and a coward (151). Peter's recognition of his sinful state is necessary for him to arrive at the state of contrition for which Brown argues ("Structure" passim), but such recognition is also a part of Bellarmine's definition of sacrifice: to be made a sacrifice--or "made sacred"--Peter must first recognize his sinfulness. Having done so, Peter moves on to contemplate the "divine majesty" of Christ's "sacred eyes, the springs of living light" (331), and acknowledges, in the litany to Christ's eyes, the abundance of grace he receives from God:

How endlesse is your labyrinth of blisse,
Where to be lost the sweetest finding is?

Ah wretch how oft have I sweet lessons read,
In those deare eies the registers of truth?
How oft have I my hungrie wishes fed,
And in their happy joyes redress'd my ruth?
Ah that they now are Heralds of disdaine:
That erst were ever pittyers of my paine.

You flames devine that sparkle out your heats,
And kindle pleasing fires in mortall hearts:
You nectared Aumbryes of soule feeding meats,
You graceful quivers of loves dearest darts:
You did vouchsafe to warme, to wound, to feast:
My cold, my stony, my now famishde breast.

* * *

The cabinets of grace unlockt their treasure,
 And did to my misdeed their mercies measures.
 (340-354; 359-360)

Although parts of this section are the weakest,⁶⁹ one must see the section in its proper context; Peter's sinful state is contrasted with the majesty of Christ. Moreover, Christ's eyes contain the grace of the Real Presence: to look on them, when in a state of grace, is to "feast" one's "hungrie wishes" on "soule feeding meats" (353; 345; 351); Christ's eyes are, like the Eucharist, "cabinets of grace" (359), through which "the life of the spirit [is] perfected" (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 7).⁷⁰ With Christ's turning to look at Peter (Luke 22: 61), Peter receives the "grace and spiritual refreshment" of "Christ and his Passion" (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 7)⁷¹ in the same way that the Christian receives Christ and his Passion in the sacrament.

Further, Christ's eyes contain the four elements:

O little worldes, the summes of all the best,
 Where glory, heaven, God, sunne: all vertues, starres:
 Where fire, a love that next to heaven doth rest,
 Ayre, light of life that no distemper marres:
 The water, grace, whose seas, whose springs, whose
 showers,
 Cloth natures earth, with everlasting flowers.
 (SPC 409-414)

In Christ's eyes, "fire" (411), "ayre" (412), "water" (413), and "earth" (414) are joined in "one compound frame of perfect blisse" (420). Christ, then, is the mixture on

which all life, including Peter's, depends; in denying Christ, Peter has denied his life, and God, who is the source of life. The wordplay on "bliss" and "bless" is found again here; Christ's eyes form one perfect "sacrifice," or "happiness." Similarly, one notes the dual meanings earlier in the section, where Christ's eyes are a "labyrinth of blisse, / Where to be lost the sweetest finding is" (341-342). Again, Southwell works with the text, "He that hath lost his life for me, shal finde it" (Rheims; Mt. 10: 39b);⁷² to be lost in the "blisse" that is Christ, whether in paradise or in sacrifice, is to find Christ, "the resurrection and the life" (John 11: 25).

It is in this consideration of his own sinfulness and of the beauty of Christ's divinity that Peter is "consecrated and changed" (Bellarmine, qtd. Clark 452). Peter, having acknowledged his sin, and admitted his need to repent and return to God, is admitted into the House of Sorrows:

At sorrowes dore I knockt, they crav'de my name;
 I aunswered one, unworthy to be knowne:
 What one? say they, one worthiest of blame.
 But who? a wretch, not Gods, nor yet his owne.
 A man? O no, a beast? much worse, what creature?
 A rocke: how cald? the rocke of scandale, Peter.

From whence? from Caiphas howse, ah dwell you there?
 Sinnes farme I rented, there, but now would leave it:
 What rent? my soule: what gaine? unrest, and feare,
 Deare purchase. Ah too deare. Will you receive it?

What shall we give? fit teares, and time, to plaine
me,
Come in, say they; thus griefes did entertaine me.

With them I rest true prisoner to their jaile,
Chain'd in the yron linkes of basest thrall,
Till grace vouchsafing captive soule to bayle,
In wonted see degraded loves enstal.
Dayes, passe in plaintes: the nightes without repose:
I wake, to weepe: I sleepe in waking woes.
(SPC 703-720)

Here, Peter acknowledges that his "captive soule" will only be truly free when he accepts the grace which he rejected in his denial of Christ (717), and admits that he is "a wretch, not Gods, nor yet his owne" (706). With "prone looke, crost armes, bent knee, and contrite hart" (769), he reconsecrates himself to God and pleads forgiveness: "Be thou thy selfe, though chaungling I offend" (790). In the House of Sorrows, Peter buries all temptations to worldliness (740):

A selfe contempt, the shroud: my soule, the corse:
The beere, an humble hope: the hersecloth, feare:
The mourners, thoughtes, in blackes of deepe remorse:
The herse, grace, pittie, love, and mercy beare.
My teares, my dole: the priest, a zealous will:
Pennance, the tombe: and dolefull sighes, the knill.
(745-750)

Peter finds that repentance, and "sorrowing teares," can be in themselves acts of sacrifice. In expressing true repentance for his sin, he is "consecrated and changed" (Bellarmine, qtd. Clark 452); in "shroud[ing]" his soul with "contempt" (745), and burying it in a "tombe" (750),

he has "die[d] to the world that he may live for God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126). Peter's soul has become, in his act of repentance, a sacrifice; he has "offer[ed] it to God . . . with the dross of worldly desire melted away" (City of God 10.6; 7: 126).⁷³

Moreover, Peter's plea to Christ is sacrificial in its tone of repentance; he will not make the mistake of boasting of his loyalty to Christ, or of assuming that he will not sin again; he will depend on God, not himself, to be "made holy." Likewise, the apostate priest can also be made a sacrifice, and can return to Christ, "consecrated and changed," if he will acknowledge his own sinfulness and the "divine majesty" of God (Bellarmine, qtd. Clark 452):

I dare not say, I will; but wish, I may:
 My pride is checkt, high wordes the speaker spilt:
 My good, O Lord, thy gift: thy strength my stay:
 Give what thou bidst, and then bid what thou wilt.
 Worke with me what thou of me doest request:
 Then will I dare the most, and vow the best.
 (763-768)

Like Peter, the apostate can obtain forgiveness, but only if he first acknowledges, as does St. Peter, his blasphemy and cowardice in denying Christ (SPC 231; 151), and recognizes the grace that comes from Christ, not only in his suffering for a sinful humanity, but in the Eucharistic presence which satisfies the apostate's "famishde breast" (354).

To be "consecrated in the name of God and vowed to God"⁷⁴ must be more than mere boasting, or wishing to be made holy. To be made a true sacrifice, the apostate, like Peter, must submit wholly to God's will: "Give what thou bidst, and then bid what thou wilt" (766). Here one sees, much more than in poems such as "New heaven, new warre" which are commonly cited as Ignatian, the influence of Ignatius' prayer of self-consecration, "Take and Receive": "Thou hast given all to me. To Thee, O Lord, I return it. All is Thine, dispose of it wholly according to Thy will" ([234]).⁷⁵ Peter's surrender is total here; to be a sacrifice, a man "consecrated . . . and vowed to God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125-126), he must give of himself as fully as Christ gave of himself in Gethsemane. As Scallan notes,

the dominant note of the colloquy is humility. Having learned from his fall the folly of trusting in himself, Peter no longer unconditionally promises that he will never fall again. (216)

Similarly, the apostate is reminded that Christ is constant in his grace and love, and although God's wrath is "deserved" (SPC 784), the apostate priest, like any sincere penitent, can return to Christ with "hope" and "feare" (786) and ask God's forgiveness:

With mildeness, Jesu, measure my offence:
 Let true remorse thy due revenge abate:
 Let teares appease when trespasse doth incense:
 Let pittie temper thy deserved hate.

Let grace forgive, let love forget my fall:
With feare I crave, with hope I humbly call.

Redeeme my lapse with raunsome of thy love,
Traverse th'inditement, rigors dome suspend:
Let frailtie favour, sorrow succour move:
Be thou thy selfe, though chaungling I offend.
Tender my suite, clense this defiled denne,
Cancel my debtes, sweete Jesu, say Amen. (781-792)

Southwell here reminds the apostate that Christ remains a loving, forgiving God to whom those who return with "true remorse" and "teares" (782; 783) can hope for forgiveness. Like Peter, the apostate priest can return to Christ, begging that "sorrowing teares, the ofspring of my grieffe" (463) should assist him in restoring him to God's favor. The apostate cannot presume on God's forgiveness, but he can hope that, if his repentance is sincere, he can receive God's mercy, and be "made sacred" again, sacrificed and re-consecrated by the mercy of God.

Conclusion

For the Christian, then, belief in Christ and his sacrifice, as "made present" in the Eucharistic sacrifice, is not enough. The Christian must also participate in Christ's sacrifice, by receiving Christ in the Eucharist whenever possible, and by offering oneself to God in the sacrifice of the Mass; in doing so, the Christian joins in the sacrifice of Christ. Moreover, for Southwell, Christians must be willing to sacrifice themselves, fully,

for Christ, even, as in the cases of Philip Howard, Mary Stuart, or Southwell himself, at the cost of their lives. To refuse to do so is to deny Christ, and his sacrifice, with Saint Peter. The Mystical Body of Christ, in the Eucharist, and the corporate Body of Christ, in the Church, are both offered to God in the sacrifice of the Mass, and the Catholic who rejects the Church consequently rejects Christ and his redemptive offering for sin.

NOTES

1. Multum autem nobis in hac carne tribueremus, nisi usque ad ejus depositionem sub venia viveremus (De Civitate Dei 10.22; PL 41: 300).
2. Non conformemur huic saeculo, sed reformemur in novitate mentis nostrae (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284).
3. ut igne amoris ejus accensa (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).
4. Virtutem perveniendi ad gloriam (ST 3a.79.2; 59: 10).
5. Quicumque cum peccato mortali hoc sacramentum sumit . . . ideo incurrit sacrilegium, tanquam sacramenti violator, et propter hoc mortaliter peccat (ST 3a.80.4; 59: 44).
6. See Chapter Two, pages 49-51, for St. John Chrysostom's explanation of the anamnesis, or memorare, of Christ's sacrifice in the Eucharist.
7. "Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter"
 In paschall feast the end of auncient rite
 An entraunce was to never endinge grace,
 Tipes to the truth, dymm glymses to the light,
 Performinge Deede presageing signes did chase,
 Christes Final meale was fountayne of our good:
 For mortall meate he gave immortall foode.

That which he gave he was, o peerelesse gifte,
 Both god and man he was, and both he gave,
 He in his handes him self did trewelye lifte:
 Farre off they see whome in them selves they have.
 Twelve did he feede, twelve did their feeder eate,
 He made, he dressd, he gave, he was their meate.

They sawe, they harde, they felt him sitting nere,
 Unseene, unfelt, unhard, they him receiv'd,
 No diverse thing though divers it appeare,
 Though sences faile, yet faith is not deceivd'.
 And if the wonder of the worke be newe,
 Beleive the worke because his worde is trewe.

Here truth beleefe, beleefe inviteth love,
 So sweete a truth love never yett enjoy'd,
 What thought can thincke, what will doth best approve
 Is here obteyn'd where no desire ys voyde.
 The grace, the joy, the treasure here is such
 No witt can wishe nor will embrace so much.

Selfelove here cannot crave more then it fyndes,
 Ambition to noe higher worth aspire,
 The eagrest famyn of most hungry myndes
 May fill, yea farre exceede their owne desire:
 In summ here is all in a summ expressd,
 Of much the most, of every good the best.

To ravishe eyes here heavenly bewtyes are,
 To winne the eare sweete musicks sweetest sound,
 To lure the tast the Angells heavenly fare,
 To sooth the sent divine perfumes abounde,
 To please the touch he in our hartes doth bedd,
 Whose touch doth cure the dephe, the dumme, the dedd.

Here to delight the witt trewe wisdom is,
 To wooe the will of every good the choice,
 For memory a mirrhor shewing blisse,
 Here all that can both sence and soule rejoyce:
 And if to all all this it do not bringe,
 The fault is in the men, not in the thinge.

Though blynde men see no light, the sunne doth shyne,
 Sweete Cates are sweete, though fevered tasts deny it,
 Perles pretious are, though trodden on by swyne,
 Ech truth is trewe, though all men do not trye it:
 The best still to the badd doth work the worste,
 Things bredd to blisse do make them more accurst.

The Angells eyes whome veyles cannot deceive
 Might best disclose that best they do descerne,
 Men must with sounde and silent faith receive
 More then they can be sence or reason lerne:
 Gods powre our proofes, his workes our witt exceede,
 The doers might is reason of his deede.

A body is endew'd with ghostly rightes,
 A natures worke from natures law is free,
 In heavenly sunne lye hidd eternall lightes,
 Lightes cleere and neere yet them no eye can see,
 Dedd formes a never dying life do shroude,
 A boundlesse sea lyes in a little cloude.

The god of hoastes in slender hoste doth dwell,
 Yea god and man, with all to ether dewe:
 That god that rules the heavens and rifled hell,
 That man whose death did us to life renewe,
 That god and man that is the Angells blisse,
 In forme of bredd and wyne our nurture is.

Whole may his body be in smallest breadd,
 Whole in the whole, yea whole in every crumme,
 With which be one or be Tenn thowsand fedd
 All to ech one, to all but one doth cumme,
 And though ech one as much as all receive,
 Not one too much, nor all too little have.

One soule in man is all in everye parte,
 One face at once in many mirrhors shynes,
 One fearefull noyse doth make a thowsand start,
 One eye at once of countlesse thinges defynes:
 If proofes of one in many nature frame,
 God may in straunger sort performe the same.

God present is at once in every place,
 Yett god in every place is ever one,
 So may there be by giftes of ghostly grace
 One man in many roomes yett filling none.
 Sith Angells may effects of bodyes shewe,
 God Angells giftes on bodyes may bestowe.

What god as auctor made he alter may,
 No change so harde as making all of nought:
 If Adam framed was of slymyed claye,
 Bredd may to Christes most sacred flesh be wrought.
 He may do this that made with mighty hande
 Of water wyne, a snake of Moyses wande. (1-90)

8. Substantia panis vel vini convertitur enim in corpus Christi (ST 3a.75.3; 58: 66).
9. More, likewise, argued that the Reformers' rejection of the Real Presence "standeth you se wel vppon this grounde onelye, that God is not able to performe his worde" (Treatise on the Passion 139).
10. omnem animam viventem atque motabilem (Vulgate; Gen. 1: 21).
11. Hoc est enim Corpus Meum (New Roman Missal 780);
Hic est enim Calix sanguinis mei (New Roman Missal 783).
12. Verus ille Mediator . . . cum in forma Dei sacrificium cum Patre sumat . . . tamen in forma servi sacrificium maluit esse quam sumere Per hoc et sacerdos est, ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio (De Civitate Dei; 10.20; PL 41: 298).
13. See Chapter 2, pages 66-67, for the Belgian theologian Ruard Tapper's discussion of this issue.
14. Manifestum est enim quod idem verum corpus Christi erat quod a discipulis tunc in propria specie videbatur Non autem erat impassibile secundum quod in propria specie videbatur; quinimmo erat passioni paratum (ST 3a.8a.3; 59: 94).
15. Christus contentus et passio ejus repraesentata (ST 3a.79.2; 59: 8).

16. adeptio gloriae (ST 3a.79.2; 59: 8)
17. Qui sicut in mundum visibiliter veniens contulit mundo vitam gratiae . . . ita in hominem sacramentaliter veniens vitam gratiae operatur (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 4).
18. See also, for example, An Epistle of Comfort, where Southwell addresses those schismatics who conformed for material reasons:
- What comfort can your wealth give you, for, howsoever richly you are attired, without Christ you are naked? With whatsoever jewels or ornaments you are set forth, without Christ's beauty you are deformed And will you thus lend your riches to your own revenge, and not rather put them out to Christ, who offereth heaven and life everlasting for your loan? (204-205)
19. See Chapter Two, pages 49-51, for a summary of the unde et memores, or anamnesis, as defined by St. John Chrysostom.
20. Unde et memores Domine, nos servi tui . . . ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini nostri tam beatae passionis, nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed in caelos gloriosae ascensionis: offerimus praeclarae majestati tuae . . . hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam. (New Roman Missal 784)
21. Imago quaedam est repraesentativa passionis Christi quae est vera ejus immolatio (ST 3a.83.1; 59: 134).
22. In ea re quam offert ipsa offeratur (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284).

23. Ross interprets Southwell's desire for martyrdom as an otherworldliness:

[Southwell's] own death, while a personal release from history, is an oblation intended to further the action of the Church in history. Here, then, is contempt of the world in the interests of the redemption of the world. (Poetry and Dogma 235)

While many of Ross's points are valid, Christian otherworldliness is hardly unique to the Counter-Reformation. Southwell's otherworldliness can be seen to date back to the "contemptus mundi" of the medieval era: his emphasis on "fickle fortune" ("From Fortunes reach" 1), and poems such as "Upon the Image of death" reflect the theme of vanitas vanitatum commonly found in medieval poetry. His embrace of martyrdom is certainly "in the interests of the redemption of the world" (Ross 235), but it does not, properly, stem from an otherworldliness which was unique to, or a consequence of, the upheavals of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

24. Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum: multi unum corpus in Christo. Quod etiam Sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat Ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re quam offert, ipsa offeratur. (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284)

25. See pages 275-280 for a discussion of "Decease release."

26. Formam concupiscentiae saecularis amittat (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).
27. arma justitiae Deo (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).
28. Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos (Vulgate; Mt. 7: 20).
29. Ut sancta societate inhaerea[tur] Deo (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).
30. Corpus etiam nostrum cum per temperantiam castigamus, si hoc, quemadmodum debemus, propter Deum facimus . . . membra nostra . . . arma justitiae Deo (Rom. 6: 13), sacrificium est . . . Si ergo corpus, quo inferiore tanquam famulo, vel tanquam instrumento utitur anima, cum ejus bonus et rectus usus ad Deum refertur, sacrificium est; quanto magis anima ipsa cum se refert ad Deum, ut igne amoris ejus accensa . . . fit sacrificium? (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283-284)
31. Congregatio societasque sanctorum, universale sacrificium offeratur Deo per sacerdotem magnum, qui etiam se ipsum obtulit in passione pro nobis, ut tanti capitis corpus essemus, secundum formam servi. (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284)
32. See An Epistle of Comfort: "Those that suffer have comfort in the knowledge that their death raiseth many from death, and their patience maketh every one inquisitive of their religion" (172).
33. Opus [quod] relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati possimus (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

34. Nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram, mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet; si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert (Vulgate; John 12: 24-25).

35. arma justitiae Deo (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

36. Ut igne amoris ejus accensa (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

37. See a similar theme in the opening of Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares:

Amongst other mournful accidents of the Passion of Christ, that love presenteth itself unto my memory, with which the blessed Mary Magdalen, loving our Lord more than her life, followed him in his journey to his death, attending upon him when his disciples fled, and being more willing to die with him than they to live without him. (17)

38. Inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae (Vulgate; Gen. 2: 7).

39. vita (Vulgate; John 14: 6).

40. See Chapter Two, pages 61-64, for a discussion of Calvin and spiritual sacrifice.

41. Via, et veritas, et vita (Vulgate; John 14: 6).

42. in quantum mundo [moritur] ut Deo vivat (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

43. Take, Lord, and receive all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and my entire will, all that I have and possess. Thou hast given all to me. To Thee, O Lord, I return it. All is Thine, dispose of it wholly according to Thy will. Give me Thy love and Thy grace, for this is sufficient for me. ([234])

Suscipe, Domine, universam meam libertatem. Accipe memoriam, intellectum atque voluntatem omnem. Quicquid habeo vel possideo, mihi largitus es: id tibi totum restituo, ac tuae prorsus voluntati trado gubernandum. Amorem tui solum cum gratia tua mihi dones, et dives sum satis, nec aliud quicquam ultra posco. (Exercitia Spiritualia: [Versio Vulgata 234])

44. See Chapter Two, pages 59-64, for discussion of the Reformers' views on the Eucharist.

45. panis vitae (Vulgate; John 6: 48);
vivet in aeternum (Vulgate; John 6: 52).

46. In ea re quam offert, ipsa offeratur (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 284).

47. Opus . . . scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse possimus (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

48. Hood says that it lacks "the spontaneous charm of the shorter poems, and the imagery and style are often too fantastic to please modern taste" (The Book of Robert Southwell, Priest, Poet and Martyr 73-74). Though acknowledging a wealth of details, Devlin says of the poem that "the branches are much too heavy and luxuriant for the

trunk; and, as a whole, it droops" (The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr 258). Lily Campbell, in Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England, says of the poem:

Though Saint Peters Complaint will scarcely be ranked with The Burning Babe as poetry, it must have probed deep into the hearts of Englishmen who with the changes of religion in the reigns of Henry VIII and his children, whether Catholic or Protestant, had been called upon to deny the religion by which they had lived. (116-117)

More recently, however, critics have attempted to appreciate the poem in its historical context and in terms of Southwell's own life. Praz, in comparing the poem to its Italian source, Tansillo's Le Lagrime di San Pietro, says of Southwell's Complaint that "notwithstanding its defects, [it] leaves an impression of earnest religion and, in many places, of high lyrical inspiration" ("Saint Peter's Complaint' and Its Italian Source" 290). White examines the poem as an example of the medieval complaint, and yet as something more; its dramatic and metaphysical qualities show Southwell as "the real pioneer of the Baroque in England" ("Southwell: Metaphysical and Baroque" 168). Janelle points out that we need to read the poem with an understanding of the literary styles of the time, and recognize that

just as amorous verse has sense only for him who has been in love, the Complaint will appeal to those only who . . . have felt the full force of devotion to God:

a state of feeling which demands more . . . than any human affection, and therefore lends itself to poetical expression of extreme intensity. (224)

Janelle also praises Southwell for his "subtlety of psychological or intellectual analysis" (223), but he faults the poem for its excessive "preciosity" (219), and considers it one of his early poems (208). Brown argues that it is his last piece, and shows the hand of a "practised craftsman" who, because of his arrest, was unable to give the poem its final polish ("The Structure of Southwell's 'Saint Peter's Complaint'" 11). Scallon also considers it his last work, and therefore "remarkable," since "it [was] written at a time when . . . [Southwell's] life was in very real danger" (181); he praises the "extraordinary skill and psychological insight" with which Southwell portrays St. Peter's movement from "self-obsessed remorse to true contrition" (181), and notes that it is far more creative than Tansillo's "meandering" Italian poem on which it was based (181).

Moreover, Scallon suggests that those qualities which we find lacking in it are those which Southwell intentionally used, literary devices which we no longer find appealing (183-184). Likewise, Takano sees the need to examine it as a poem in the complaint genre, inasmuch as it was the best-known of the religious complaint poems and contributed to the development of the complaint, "one of the

most popular and influential forms of narrative poetry" ("Saint Peters Complaint' in the Genre of Complaint" 64). Similarly, Tatsumi argues that we can better appreciate the poem if we look at the poem from a slightly different point of view, "shifting the emphasis from the whole to the detail" ("Saint Peters Complaint' as Poetry for Martyrdom" 47), and appreciate it as a poem which reflects the Southwell's determination to cope with the political situation of Roman Catholics in England (48). Tatsumi is correct in this point, and it is in the details that one finds the allusions to priesthood, sacrifice, and apostasy. The poem does not focus exclusively on these images, however; it does provide, as Brown notes, a formula for the sacrament of penance for those who cannot find a priest, or for those Anglicans who had not rejected confession and penance as had other Protestants ("Structure" 4-5).

Martz faults the address to Christ's eyes (325-444) as an example of "all the worst extravagancies of Petrarchan poetry" (Poetry of Meditation 186); yet he acknowledges that in spite of its weaknesses, the poem has "a more personal and intimate tone than one finds in the pious verses of the miscellanies" (194), and suggests that Southwell's work might have "appeal[ed] to a young writer [such as Herbert] in search of models for religious verse" (194).

49. The difficulties which were involved in the English mission are too lengthy and too complex to be discussed here, but a number of problems which English priests faced should be noted. First, aside from the Jesuit Superior Henry Garnet, there was no clergyman of any rank until 1598, when the Arch-Priest George Blackwell was appointed (Caraman, Henry Garnet 239). The resulting lack of discipline created serious temptations, particularly for secular clergy, that is, the ordinary parish priest who belonged to no religious order and normally would have reported to his bishop. Clergy therefore faced lack of discipline and isolation, and the lucrative payment offered by the government tempted priest and laity alike. Although most priests remained faithful to their vows,

the English mission demanded moral as well as physical stamina, and at all times there were priests . . . who yielded to persecution or succumbed to moral failings . . . [and one cannot] fail to touch on cases of priests who turned spies and brought their former brethren to the gallows. (Caraman, "Preface to Gerard" xx-xxi)

50. Ob magnam quam Deus religiosorum gerit curam (Exercitia et Devotiones 16.3).

51. Qui male in religione vivit est quasi Christi traditor, miles fugitivus, amicus infidelis et sponsa adultera (Exercitia et Devotiones 16.1).

52. Ideo omnem effectum quem cibus et potus materialis facit quantum ad vitam corporalem, quod scilicet sustentat, auget, reparat et delectat hoc totum facit hoc sacramentum quantum ad vitam spiritualem. (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 4).

This sacrament does for the life of the spirit all that material food & drink does for the life of the body, by sustaining, building up, restoring, and contenting. (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 5)

53. Hoc sacramentum, quantum est ex sui virtute, non solum habitus gratiae et virtutis confertur sed etiam excitatur in actum (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 6).

54. spiritualis refectio (ST 3a.73.1; 58: 4).

55. Et licet corpus non sit immediatum subjectum gratiae, ex anima tamen redundat effectus gratiae ad corpus dum in praesenti membra nostra exhibemus arma iustitiae Deo, ut habetur Rom. (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 6)

56. Qui invenit animam suam, perdet illam (Vulgate; Mt. 10: 39a).

57. One might wonder why Southwell chose to emphasize St. Peter, and not Judas. Sundaram argued that Southwell viewed denial as a worse sin than betrayal: "In an act of betrayal there is an unavowed admission of the worth or value of the person who is betrayed. But a denial is a total shutting out of the once beloved leader" (9). In fact, however, both Peter's and Judas' actions were acts of betrayal; the main difference between St. Peter's denial of Christ and Judas'

betrayal of Christ is that Peter repented and returned to Christ. Judas took the first steps necessary for forgiveness: he showed remorse (Mt. 27: 33). However, he made no satisfaction, nor did he ask God for forgiveness. Thus his "contrition remained in the preliminary stage He just gazed upon himself and was hurled into despair and committed suicide" (Takano 68). Southwell works with St. Peter because St. Peter chose to repent, and Southwell wished to emphasize the possibility of repentance and forgiveness even for those who, to all appearances, seem damned.

58. That Southwell's use of temple imagery is not unintentional can be seen from the references to the image which appear in a number of his prose works, including "An Epistle unto His Father": "We must remember that our soul is not only a part of us, but also the temple, the paradise, and spouse of Almighty God" (478-480), and, more significantly, his view of apostasy as a denial of Christ and a defilement of God's temple earlier in the letter: "Thinkest thou that our Lord can be so soon appeased whom with perfidious words thou has denied . . . whose temple with sacrilegious corruption thou hast defiled?" (369-372). Similarly, in An Epistle of Comfort, Southwell also uses temple imagery to depict the sacrificial nature of martyrdom:

Martyrdom giveth a freedom void of all servitude . . .
 . It maketh us members [of Christ's body] that cannot
 be cut off, temples that cannot be defiled, such
 instruments of the Holy Ghost as cannot be abused.
 (166)

59. An nescitis quoniam membra vestra templum sunt Spiritus
 Sancti, qui in vobis est (Vulgate; 1 Cor. 6: 19).

60. Corpus . . . sacrificium est (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL
 41: 283).

61. See the discussion of Christ's consecration of the
 earth in Gethsemane in "Sinnes heavie loade," chapter 4,
 pages 176-185.

62. See Chapter Two, pages 67-70, for further discussion of
 the Eucharist and the Last Supper.

63. Non mea voluntas, sed tua fiat (Vulgate; Luke 22: 42).

64. One sees Southwell exhorting Christians to emulate
 Christ's offering in Gethsemane again in An Epistle of
Comfort, where he urges his readers:

Remember how often you have been with Christ at his
 supper (Lk. 22), and reason now requireth you should
 follow him to Gethsemani, not to sleep with St Peter,
 but to sweat blood with Christ. (157-158)

65. See Chapter Five, above, pages 280-287, for a fuller
 discussion of "Marie Magdalens complaint."

66. See Brown, "The Structure of 'Saint Peter's Complaint'" for a complete discussion of Southwell's use of the doctrines of the Council of Trent regarding penance and absolution. Because his moment of contrition comes before Christ's redemptive act, however, St. Peter cannot make use of confession as the Church teaches; he must practice mental confession, as Southwell encouraged Catholics to do when no priest was available (Brown, "Structure" 5). Consequently, St. Peter must go through the steps necessary to make a proper confession: he must show contrition, make confession, desire to make amends, and receive absolution (5). Brown points out that Anglicans, likewise, did not exclude confession, and would have found "spiritual instruction and comfort" in the meaning of Southwell's poem (11).

67. Qui perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam
(Vulgate; Mt. 10: 39b).

68. A sacrifice is an external oblation made to God . . . by which, in recognition of human infirmity and in worship of the divine majesty, some visible and permanent reality is consecrated and changed. (qtd. Clark 452)

Sacrificium est oblatio externa facta soli Deo, qua, ad agnitionem humanae infirmitatis et professionem divinae majestatis, a legitimo ministro res aliqua sensibilis et permanens ritu mystico consecratur et transmutatur. (Disputationes, qtd. Lepin 343, n2)

69. Scallion argues that, while the litany to Christ's eyes is hardly great literature, an understanding of its theological background

vindicate[s] Southwell against charges of sentimentality Peter's conversion back to Christ is brought about by the action of grace conferred on him when his eyes met those of the Savior. From this point on in the poem, Peter is shown . . . under the influence of grace . . . [resolving to] amend his life and to perform salutary acts of penance until he finally achieves a hope of forgiveness, a hope which is based not on the efficaciousness of his penitential acts but on the Mercy of God. (205)

70. perficitur spiritualis vita (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 6).

71. gratiae et spiritualis refectio (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 6);
Christus et ejus passio (ST 3a.79.1; 59: 6).

72. Qui perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam
(Vulgate; Mt. 10: 39b).

73. Se refert ad Deum . . . formam concupiscentiae
saecularis amittat (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).

74. Dei nomine consecratus, et Deo votus (De Civitate Dei
10.6; PL 41: 283).

75. Mihi largitus es: id tibi totum restituo, ac tuae
prorsus voluntati trado gubernandum (Exercitia Spiritualia:
[Versio Vulgata 234]).

CONCLUSION

Although many of Southwell's poems, including those discussed here, appealed to both Catholics and Anglicans, much of this study has, inevitably, dealt with Southwell's poetry chiefly as it addresses Catholics and schismatics, that is, those Catholics who chose to conform and attend services. Most recent scholars, such as Scallon, Martz, and Brown, have studied Southwell from a more ecumenical angle, and have examined how Southwell used poetry to address all Christians; only Janelle has considered Southwell as primarily a Catholic poet. Certainly most of Southwell's pieces, particularly his devotional poems on the Virgin and Christ, would have been well-received by many Anglicans; however, one needs also to consider Southwell as a recusant poet. Janelle argues, correctly, that "it is no more possible to understand Southwell apart from Counter-Reformation Catholicism, than Bunyan apart from Puritan Protestantism" (282). The Catholic elements in his poetry, particularly his devotional pieces on the Eucharist, and his "pocket Masses," probably account in part for the popularity of Southwell's writings into the early seventeenth-century.

As the purpose of this study has been to explore Southwell's use of the liturgy and theology of the Mass in

his poetry, such an emphasis on Southwell's appeal to recusants is inevitable, particularly when considering how Southwell provided texts for recusants' use in private prayer. Anglicans would have appreciated Southwell's definition of sacrifice as an act of surrender to God, and his emphasis on the need to imitate Christ's act of sacrifice; Herbert, for example, works with similar ideas in pieces such as "The Altar," "The Reprisall" and "The Collar." Nevertheless, many of the poems discussed in this study had a specific message for Catholics, inasmuch as such poetry stresses the importance of the Eucharist: for the Roman Catholic, Christ is always experienced most fully in the Eucharist. This is, primarily, a message to recusants, to whom Southwell had specifically been sent to minister, and an examination of Southwell's use of theology enables one to see how Southwell reached an audience for whom public worship was unavailable, and how his poetry had large appeal in part because it made such worship possible.

In addition, Southwell's definition of sacrifice as an act of surrender to God, and his argument that Christians are "made sacred" through such surrender, had a specific message to those who were desirous of remaining Catholic but who were tempted to retract, or who were discouraged by the material and physical sacrifices which were often necessary; the emphasis on the importance of sacrifice, and

sacrifice as a means of imitating Christ, could have encouraged some who were lacking in stamina.

Nevertheless, Southwell clearly uses sacrifice in ways which enabled him to reach a much broader audience than merely recusants, even as he was able to use Catholic ideas on penance in ways which were meaningful to Protestants. "Saint Peters Complaint," as Brown notes, uses the Council of Trent's definition of those elements necessary for a good confession; yet it does so in a way which can reach Anglicans who accept the need for personal confession (Brown, "Structure" 4-5). Southwell's other poems on repentance are also noted for their use of certain aspects of Catholic doctrine on confession and repentance (Scallon 152-154; 170-179); moreover, many scholars credit Southwell with giving new direction and impetus to religious poetry of the period.¹ Southwell should therefore be seen primarily as a Roman Catholic poet, and yet as one who was able to write for a more general audience.

An examination of Southwell's sacrificial poetry, and his ability to use Eucharistic and liturgical imagery, can not only help a twentieth-century reader better understand Southwell's purposes in writing, but can also help explain his appeal to many sixteenth-century readers. Both Catholic and Anglican would have appreciated poetry which celebrated the sacrificial nature of Christ's birth into

humble and impoverished circumstances, and would have appreciated the liturgical celebrations of the events of Christ's life.

At the same time, one cannot, and should not, argue that all of Southwell's poetry is sacrificial in an explicitly, or even implicitly, Eucharistic manner. Many of his poems make use of wordplay such as "blisse," or "host"; nevertheless, they are penitential in nature, and encourage all Christians to reject sin and to return to God. One can argue that this, too, is an act of sacrifice; in repentance and reconciliation to God the sinner is "made sacred," or consecrated anew. Yet while such an act of sacrifice "unites [the sinner] in a holy communion with God" (City of God 10.6; 7: 125),² it is not specifically Eucharistic; rather, many poems such as "S. Peters remorse" are penitential rather than Eucharistic in nature:

Sinne claimes the hoast of humbled thoughtes,
And streames of weeping eies.

Let penance Lorde prevaile,
Let sorrow sue release,
Let love be umpier in my cause,
And passe the doome of peace.

If doome go by desert,
My least desert is death,
That robs from soule immortall joies,
From body mortall breath. (3-12; 60 lines)

The poem makes use of some sacrificial imagery: Peter's "humbled thoughts" are a "hoast," that is, a "victim for

sacrifice" (OED 7: 417.1). As Christ humbled himself to save sinners, so Peter is also made a sacrificial offering; in his humility he is consecrated anew. Nonetheless, the poem focuses not on Peter's admission that he is a "woorme" (21), but on his plea for forgiveness. Peter's acknowledgment that he deserves death (10), and his prayer that "mercy may relent / And temper justice rod" (25-26) reflects Southwell's understanding of "the process of repentance . . . [as] more than a sorrowful awareness of one's guilt; it also involves a hope of pardon from a merciful God" (Scallan 178).

Similarly, "A Phansie turned to a sinners complaint" uses some sacrificial imagery. However, the poem is not particularly Eucharistic, although the speaker re-consecrates himself to God, and acknowledges that

My death is of the minde;
That alwayes yeelds extreamest pangues,
Yet threatens worse behinde.

As one that lives in shewe,
And inwardly dooth die;
Whose knowledge is a bloody field,
Where vertue slaine doth lie.

Whose hart the Altar is,
And hoast a God to move:
From whom my ill doth feare revenge,
His good doth promise love. (22-32; 152 lines)

The speaker understands that no matter how much he should justly "feare revenge" (31), God will only "promise love"

(32). However, throughout, the focus of the poem is the speaker's fall from grace:

Behold, such is the end,
That pleasure doth procure,
Of nothing else but care and plaint,
Can she the minde assure. (73-76; 152 lines)

The poem ends with the speaker's resolution to amend and do penance:

My teares shall be my wine,
My bed a craggy Rock;
My harmonie the Serpents hisse,
The screeching Owle my clock.

My exercise remorse,
And dolefull sinners layes,
My booke remembrance of my crimes,
And faults of former dayes. (132-140; 152 lines)

Again, the speaker is, in a sense, "made sacred" through his resolution to amend and return to God, but the poem emphasizes penance, not the Mass. In the poem, Southwell encourages his readers to acknowledge that they are sinners and to do penance, a penitential theme similar to that which Brown finds in "Saint Peters Complaint" ("Structure" 4-5).

In other pieces by Southwell, one finds other traces of Eucharistic imagery. "Davids Peccavi," for example, uses the "mourning Pellican in Desert wilde" (2); the Pelican was a traditional icon for Christ's sacrifice (Schten 76-77). Moreover, the loss of grace experienced by

David in his fall is described partly in terms of nourishment: "But feares now are my Pheares, grieffe my delight, / My teares my drink, my famisht thoughts my bread" (7-8; 30 lines); the line echoes "Saint Peters Complaint," where Peter, whose sin leads to his loss of the Eucharist, experiences his "now famishde breast" ("Saint Peters Complaint" 354). But despite such Eucharistic images, "Davids Peccavi," like "A Phansie," focuses on the sinner's recognition of his sin, and his resolution to amend and return to God:

I Fansie deem'd fit guide to leade my way,
 And as I deem'd I did pursue her track;
 Wit lost his ayme, and will was Fancies pray,
 The Rebell wan, the Ruler went to wrack:
 But now sith fansie did with folly end,
 With bought with losse, will taught by wit, will mend.
 ("Davids Peccavi" 25-30)

The emphasis on repentance in the poem is of universal appeal to all Christians; regardless of their views on confession, or on salvation by works or by faith, the concern with sin and guilt, and with the need for repentance, was shared by all in the sixteenth-century.

Such poetry is not totally divorced from those pieces which have been discussed here; Southwell's emphasis on the Incarnation as an act of God's surrender and love for sinners is not unconnected to his image of Christ as the "Ruler [who] went to wrack" ("Davids Peccavi" 28), or to

God's "promise [of] love" for the sinner, who remains "Gods . . . / By death, by wrong, by shame" ("A Phansie turned to a sinners complaint" 30; 105-106). In recognizing how God's love is manifested in the Incarnation, one comes to better understand the need for repentance: one must reject sin and turn to God for mercy not only because, ultimately, one finds that sin destroys true "blisse," or pleasure, by separating the Christian from God ("Saint Peters Complaint" 646; "A Phansie" 73-76), but also because, more important, no matter how much we fail God, "his good doth promise love" ("A Phansie" 32), and our response to "his good" should be a return of such love.

However, the sacrificial nature of repentance is more appropriately reserved for another study; moreover, Scallon's work, The Poetry of Robert Southwell, S.J., deals with penitential themes in Southwell's poetry at some length (151-219); Brown and others have also addressed this issue.³

Earlier in this study,⁴ the question was raised as to why none of Southwell's extant poetry works explicitly with episodes of Christ's Passion. The Exercises provide ample opportunity for Southwell to work with the Passion in his poetry [291-312]; moreover, purely meditative pieces on Christ's death and Resurrection would have been well-

received by all Christians. However, Southwell makes little use of Christ's Passion in his meditative poetry; and, as this study has argued, "Sinnes heavie loade" and "Christs bloody sweat" are, in fact, meditations on the sacrifice of the Mass.

Having examined those pieces by Southwell which provided recusants with meditations on the Mass, one might consider that Southwell preferred to use texts which made particular feasts available to recusants; in addition, he may have wished to avoid the contention of many Protestants that Christ was crucified anew in the Mass (Inst. 4.18.2). Southwell has been noted for his ability to provide Catholic texts which were free of the usual polemics of the period (Janelle 198; Margaret Waugh xiii). This study has likewise argued for his ability to make Catholic doctrines appealing to Protestants as well as Catholics. In wishing to provide liturgical texts, Southwell may have preferred to steer away from using the Mass in such a controversial context, and chosen to emphasize, in his sacrificial poetry, those aspects of the Eucharistic sacrifice which celebrated the sacrificial nature of Christ's birth and life, and which could be embraced by Catholic and Protestant.

An examination of Southwell's sacrificial imagery can also enable readers to better appreciate Southwell's own

skill as a poet. His verses are more than an expression of other-worldliness (Ross 235; MacLeod 451) or "childlike piety" (Sells 314); rather, they require a great deal of skill. Southwell's ability to be able to incorporate illegal doctrine and use it in what is, to all appearances, merely pious devotional poetry, and to make use of dual meanings in order to present orthodox Catholic doctrines in poetry that is acceptable to Protestants, shows that he is far more skilled, and that his verse is far more complex, than scholars have previously realized. In the few years in which he wrote, he became adept at using multiple meanings in his poetry; moreover, in the intensely factional atmosphere in which he lived, it required great skill to be able to write religious poetry which made use of a doctrine so bitterly divisive as that of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and to make it acceptable to those who rejected the Mass as sacrilege and heresy.

Consequently, while this study focuses chiefly on Southwell as a Catholic poet, one must recognize that his ability to stress the positive aspects of Catholicism in such a bitter climate reflects a talent which has not been given due credit; in time, perhaps, he might have reached his true potential as a writer. His popularity with non-Catholic audiences, until the Puritan Commonwealth, cannot be overlooked, and indicates an ability to make the essentials

of Catholic sacrificial doctrine appealing to all
Christians.

NOTES

1. See Devlin, Life (266); Martz, Poetry of Meditation (179-210); McAuley, "The Aesthetic and Spiritual Functions of Robert Southwell's Writings" (16-28); Janelle Robert Southwell: the Writer (55-57); Takano, "'Saint Peters Complaint' in the Genre of Complaint" passim; Thurston, "Father Southwell, the Popular Poet" 391; 397).
2. Quod agitur ut sancta societate inhaeram[itur] Deo (De Civitate Dei 10.6; PL 41: 283).
3. See The Poetry of Robert Southwell, S.J., especially pages 152-154, for Scallon's background on and analysis of Southwell's "ideas for repentance" (154), his concern with repentance for "deliberate actions," and the need for the sinner to "[reject] the evil deed . . . and [express] sorrow and grief" (152). See also Brown ("The Structure of 'Saint Peters Complaint'" 3-4; 9-10;) White ("The Contemplative Element in Southwell's Poetry" 3-4), and Tatsumi ("Southwell's 'Saint Peters Complaint' as Poetry for Martyrdom" 46-47).
4. See Chapter One, page 7-8.

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