

The Text of Donne's Good Friday Meditation

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While a great deal has been learned in the last few decades about the composition of the first printed edition of *Poems, by J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death* in 1633 (A), there are still a number of puzzles left to unravel.¹ One such puzzle involves the text of the poem generally still known by the title given in its first printing, “*Goodfriday, 1613. Riding Westward*” (*Goodf*). We know that many of the poems in A were set from a Group-I manuscript, the Cambridge Balam (C2), but as Richard Todd has argued—in the only rigorous look at the textual and manuscript history of the poem—the omitted lines in some of the Group-I manuscripts make it unlikely that the publisher John Marriot could have used only a Group-I manuscript as his copy text.² If C2 was not the only manuscript used for *Goodf*, then what did Marriot use as his setting text? This essay will offer an explanation of what may have happened in the print house to produce the eclectic version of *Goodf*, but first we need to survey the manuscript copies of this poem and filiate them as best we can in order to determine, as best we can, what Donne actually wrote.

Complete (or nearly complete) copies of *Goodf* can be found in 23 seventeenth-century manuscripts and in all seven editions or issues of

¹All Donne scholarship is indebted to the work of the *Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, Gary Stringer, gen. ed., 4 vols. to date (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995–), whose abbreviations and sigla will be used throughout.

²Todd, “Donne’s ‘*Goodfriday 1613. Riding Westward*.’: The Extant Manuscripts and the Group 1 Stemma” *John Donne Journal* 20 (2001): 205.

Donne's collected poetry printed in the seventeenth century (A–G), as well as all modern editions that include the divine poems. The first two lines—without a heading but with the subscription "I.D."—appear in one other artifact, the Edward Smyth manuscript (C1). Distinctive readings in lines 7, 13, 15, 22, 31, 32, and 34, as well as lacunae in lines 22–25, divide these artifacts into three distinct lines of descent, each deriving from a separate lost prototype, designated here as β^1 , β^2 , and β^3 , that originated from Donne's lost original holograph (LOH). The stemma illustrates these relationships (see p. 106, below). The variation among the extant manuscripts can be explained by scribal intervention or corruption rather than authorial revision, which is not surprising given that the poem is a relatively late addition to Donne's corpus.

The first major lineage descends from the postulated missing artifact β^1 to three Group-III manuscripts—Stowe I (B46), Luttrell (C9), and O'Flahertie (H6)—that are linked by the distinctive readings of "and" for the normative "or" in line 7 and "the" for "that" in line 32 (each of the three also indents the final two lines). The three have similar headings—"Good Fryday. 1613 Riding towards Wales" in H6—but B46 lacks the directional phrase. B46 records these two errors from β^1 and introduces a few errors of its own ("y" for "which" in lines 21 and 25, probably a scribal preference, and "on" for "vpon" in line 36). C9 and H6 both descend from a common ancestor, the postulated missing artifact γ^1 , whose scribe makes a number of changes to attempt to improve the meter; expands the normative "is't" to "is it," thus creating a hypermetrical line 9; sophisticates line 10's "towards the East" as "to th'East"; inverts the authorial "I should" to "should I" in line 11; emends or mistakes "doe" as "did" in line 15; changes the spelling of "lieftenant" to "Leiuetenant" (which the H6 scribe garbles as "Lieutenenant") in line 19; and clips a syllable from "to our Antipodes" (the group and LOH reading), thus recording "our Antipodes" in line 24. The order of the poems in C9 and H6 does differ slightly even though both are copies of the same artifact. H6 is a manuscript in the hand of someone who knew a great deal about Donne's poetry and was preparing a fair copy of poems for publication; thus, H6, which introduces the generic category of "Songs and Sonnets" that Marriot adopts for his second edition of 1635, is a more accurately arranged manuscript in respect to genre. H6 has gathered, for example, all the religious poetry into the first section, whereas C9 places "La Corona" and the Holy Sonnets after the verse

letters. One other Group-III manuscript, Dobell (H5), does not share the Group-III readings in lines 7 and 32, while reading “turne” at line 22 and recording a different heading (“A Meditation Vpon Good ffriday. 1613.”), so it may descend more directly from the LOH. However, H5 has the arrangement of poems common to Group-III manuscripts—divine poems and Holy Sonnets, followed by the satires, elegies, verse letters, love lyrics, and epigrams—and several of its readings for *Goodf* could link it to B46: “that” for “which” in lines 21 and 25 and “Th’are” in line 34 (though these are minor changes any scribe could introduce autonomously).

The Group-I manuscripts—Newcastle (B32), Cambridge Balam (C2), Leconfield (C8), Dowden (O20), and St. Paul’s (SP1)—descend from the postulated missing artifact β^2 and can be readily identified through a common heading (*Goodfryday. 1613. Ridinge towards Wales.* [C2]); “Heighth” for the normative “height” in line 24; and “They are” in line 34, whose extra syllable creates a hypermetric line. Moreover, all but B32 have the distinctive reading of “Gods Patterne” for the normative “Gods partner” in line 31 and a lacuna in lines 24–25. Because B32 reads “Partner” and includes lines 24–25, it must descend more directly from the Group-I prototype than the others, though the B32 scribe introduces errors of his own (“An” for “And” in line 5, “Then” for “There” in line 11, and the omission of “that” in line 13 and the letter *l* to produce “spectacke” in line 16 and “behoud” in line 23), while adding “to S’ Edward Harber[t]” to the heading. Four manuscripts—O20 and its copy SP1 and the cognate pair C2 and C8—all stem from a copy of the Group-I prototype designated γ^2 that reads “Patterne” in line 31 and is also missing lines 24–25. A second lacuna is introduced by the δ^1 scribe when he omits lines 22–23. Here is the complete text of lines 21–26 as given in B32 (emphasis added):

Could I behold those handes, which span the Poles	
And tune all spheares at once, peirc’d w th those holes?	[om δ^1 (C2–C8)]
Could I behoud that Endlesse Heighth, w ^{ch} ys	[om δ^1 (C2–C8)]
Zenith to vs, and to our Antipodys,	[om γ^2 (C2–C8, O20–SP1)]
Humbled belowe vs? Or that blood, w ^{ch} ys	[om γ^2 (C2–C8, O20–SP1)]
The seate of all our soules, if not of his. . . .	

The repeated “Could I” (lines 21, 23) and “w^{ch} is” (lines 23, 25), along with the shared rhyme word in the two couplets (*ys*, *Antipodys*, *ys*, *his*), no

doubt contributed to this eyeskip error; it is also possible that the β^2 prototype may have been physically damaged in some way.³ For whatever reason, the γ^2 scribe omits lines 24–25, thus passing this truncated, but metrical version down the stream of transmission, which is copied by O20 and passed along to SP1.

*Colde I beholde those hands, w^{ch} span the Poles,
And tune all Spheares at Once, peirc'd wth those holes?
Cold I behold that Endles Heighth, w^{ch} is
The Seate of all our Soules, if not of hys, . . .*
(21–23, 26, emphasis added)

In making a copy from γ^2 , however, another scribe of the postulated artifact δ^1 compounds the fault by omitting lines 22–23, leaving “holes” without a proper rhyme word, thus passing an even more truncated version down the stream of transmission to C2 and C8.

*Cold I behould those hands w^{ch} span the Poles,
The seate of all our Soules, Yf not of hys, . . .*
(21, 26, emphasis added)

There are further linkages between C2 and C8 (e.g., the inversion “hurried by others” in line 5). O20 and SP1 record the flawed Group-I prototype (γ^2) otherwise accurately, only adding an extra syllable (“mayest”) and thereby rendering line 42 hypermetrical.

The Group-II manuscripts (β^3)—Denbigh (B7), Puckering (CT1), Trinity College Dublin (DT1), Norton (H4), and Dolaucothi (WN1)—and another that shares its text, the Grey manuscript (SA1), are marked by a very distinctive heading (“Good Fryday / Made as I was riding Westward that daie” [WN1]); by a controversial lection in line 22, “turne” for “tune”; and by the spelling “Lieutenant” in line 19. The first-person pronoun in the heading is unique for Donne’s verse and gives authority to its text of *Goodf*; the case for which hangs on the authority of its lection in line 22. When choosing between “turne” and “tune” (the reading of his copy-text) for his Oxford edition, Herbert J. C. Grierson

³If β^2 were damaged at this spot, then the δ^1 scribe and O20 could have independently omitted these lines, but I consider the more likely option the one described above.

did not consider the issue from the perspective of textual bibliography (nor did he address the issue of authorial revision), but rather decided on the basis of which word he thought fit Donne's worldview better. He opined that "Donne was more of a Schoolman and Aristotelian than a Platonist, and I think there can be little doubt that he is describing Christ as the 'first mover,'"⁴ so he emended his copy-text's (A) "tune" to "turne" (based on the Group-II manuscripts), a word he believed described the phenomenon more accurately from an Aristotelian perspective. A few years later John Hayward restored "tune"—"the reading of all the early editions and a consensus of important MSS."—for his Nonesuch edition, arguing on critical grounds that Donne's idea of the harmony of the spheres "was deeply influenced by the neoplatonic doctrines (in particular the doctrine of ecstasy) of Plotinus, which he had studied in Parace[l]sus and Fludd)."⁵ Grierson then countered in a letter to the *Times Literary Supplement*: "I do not understand what exactly 'tuning all spheares at once' means. If one tunes an instrument one must tune all the strings at the same time or they will not be in harmony with one another. Moreover, the harmony was not produced by all the spheres but by seven of them."⁶ In the most recent commentary on this crux, Robin Robbins defends his Group-II copy-text by stating that even as a Platonist Donne would still *turn the spheres*: "The music of the spheres of Plato, *Republic* 10 (617b) did not require tuning since they possessed tones from the beginning, but they did need constant turning about the axis running between the Poles."⁷

No one to my knowledge has approached the problem from the perspective of textual bibliography: both the Group-I and Group-III prototypes and six of the nine manuscripts deriving from the lost original all read "tune," while the Group-II prototype and three other unrelated manuscripts (i.e., not affiliated with Group II and not bearing its

⁴Grierson, ed., *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), 2:238.

⁵Hayward, ed., *John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose* (London: Nonesuch, 1929), pp. 778–779.

⁶Grierson, "Donne and Lucretius," *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 December 1929: 1032. He then opines that Donne may have had some lines from Lucretius's *De Natura Rerum* [2:1095–1099] in mind as he wrote.

⁷Robbins, ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne* (Harlow, UK: Longmans, 2010), 565.

heading) read “turne.” These bibliographic facts strongly suggest that “tune” was Donne’s original reading. The question then becomes whether the textual variant “turne” is more likely to be Donne’s revision or a scribal corruption.

The first point to consider is whether “turne” is a genuine alternative to “tune.”⁸ Certainly both actions are similar: *tuning* depends on the idea of *turning*, yet it adds, I believe, a degree of complexity to the conceit and to the phenomenon on which it is based. Platonists, Aristotelians, and Renaissance cosmologists of all stripes conceived of the tones being produced by the differences in the orbital speed of the spheres, as can be seen in the following illustrations. Fig. 1 (an illustration from Johann Eck’s 1519 edition of Aristotle’s *Libri de caelo*) shows the basic Ptolemaic universe and specifies the period of revolution for the planetary spheres: twenty-eight days for the moon; one year for Mercury, Venus, and the Sun; two for Mars; twelve for Jupiter; thirty for Saturn; a thousand for the fixed stars; and forty-nine thousand for the *Christillinum*. All these rotate clockwise from west to east (in fig. 1, south, *Antarcticus*, is at the top) except the *primum mobile*, which rotates in the opposite direction during its twenty-four hour revolution.⁹ Thus, *tuning* describes this complex double (and variable) motion rather well. Fig. 2, taken from Robert Fludd’s *Utriusque cosmi historia* (1617, p. 90), shows an even more imaginative representation of the “monochord of the universe” that features the hand of God plainly tuning his creation. Moreover, the opening lines of the poem itself describe how, “by beinge growne / Subiect to forraigne Motions,” the spheres “Scarce in a yeare, theyre naturall forme obey” (lines 3–4, 6 in C2), which suggests that these wayward motions require constant synchronization. Simply giving the spheres a spin does not do justice to the complexities involved in Donne’s conceit. For these reasons, I believe “tune” is Donne’s original reading. (Since it is highly unlikely that the eight scribes who produced the

⁸See Volume 7.1 of *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne: The Holy Sonnets*, Gary Stringer, gen ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), p. 111.

⁹For a fuller discussion, see S. K. Heninger, Jr., *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1974), pp. 122–124.



Fig. 1. Aristotle's *De caelo* published in *Aristotelis Stagyrîtæ Acroases Physicæ Libri VIII*, ed. Johann Eck (Augsburg, 1519), fol. 29v. David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University.

Group-I and Group-III prototypes and the six other LOH manuscripts would all *independently* mistake “turne” for “tune,” I reject the possibility that “turne” was Donne’s original choice.) Could Donne have decided to simplify this idea and have revised his text? Of course, he could have done so, but “turne” is far more likely to be the result of a scribe’s simplifying or misreading a more difficult reading—that is, a scribe in his haste trivializes “tune” as “turne”—which can readily explain the scribal corruptions made in H3, H5, and H7 and in the Group-II prototype.

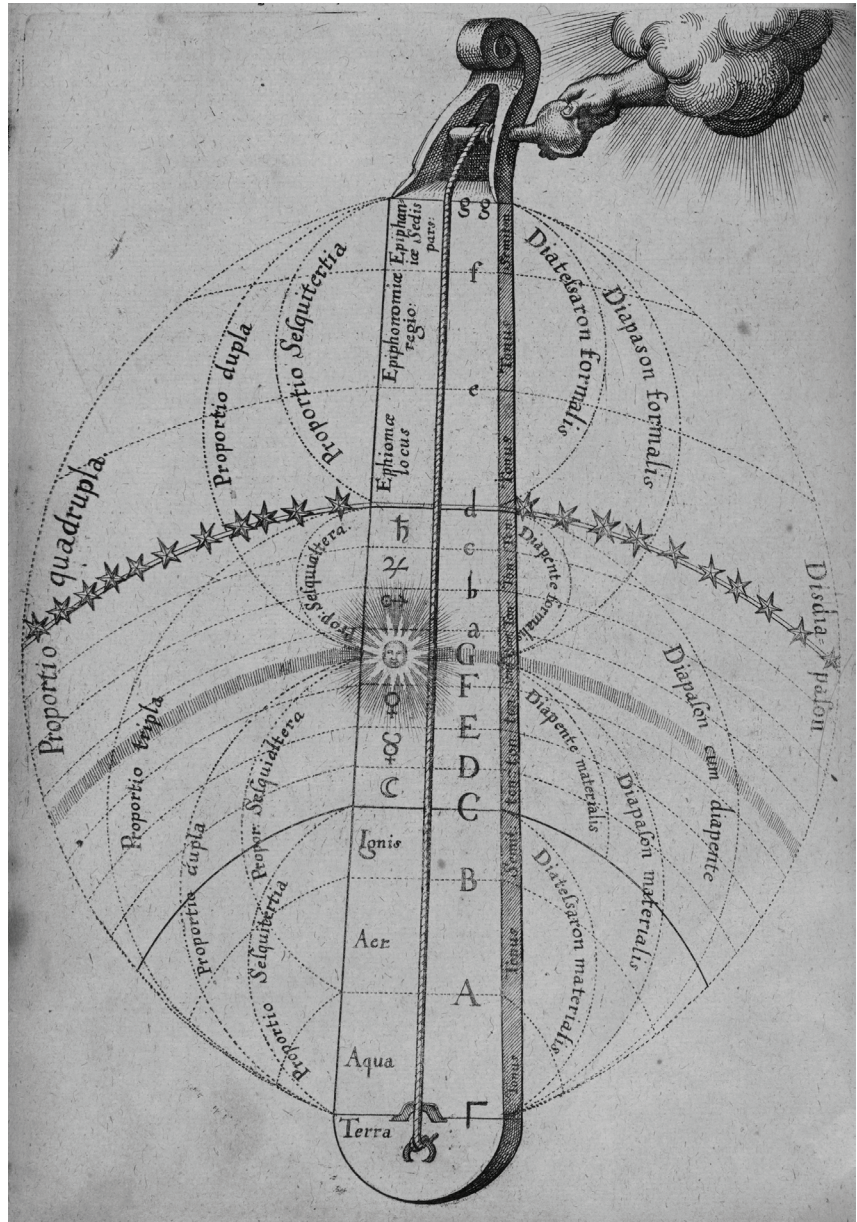


Fig. 2. Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi maioris scilicet et metaphysica, physica atque technica historia* (Oppenheim, 1617), p. 90. David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University.

In sum, I believe “tune” is the correct reading for several reasons. First of all, *tuning of the spheres* is a richer, more nuanced lection than simply *turning the spheres*, and the variant “turne” can be readily explained as a common scribal corruption of the more difficult reading “tune.” Secondly, the image of the cosmic Christ *tuning* the spheres maintains a distinction between His action and those that Donne must undertake: in lines 37–38, “I turne my Back to Thee, but to Receave / Corrections,” and in line 42, “That thou mayst knowe Mee, & Ile turne my Face” (C2). And lastly, as Helen Gardner pointed out (in defending her return to A’s “tune”), Donne speaks elsewhere of Christ’s “tuning” heaven and earth in *Sidney*,¹⁰ as does Shakespeare’s Cleopatra who dreams of Antony,

His legs bestrid the ocean, his rear’d arm
Crested the world, his voice was propertyed
As all the tuned spheres. . . .¹¹

While Donne could have changed his mind and revised his text, we would then have to explain why H3, H5, and H7 record “turne” but not the revised heading of the Group IIs (and why he would mar such a beautiful line). And since “turne” is scribal error, the authority of the heading is questionable—though it is certainly possible that Donne revised the heading without revising the poem and the scribe of the Group-II exemplar simply trivialized “tune.”

The β^3 archetype is faithfully copied by most of the Group-II scribes—i.e., all record the same heading and “turne” at line 22—though the scribe of CT1 sophisticates “to our Antipodes” as “our Antipodis” in line 24, while mistaking “thee” for “mee” in line 38 and “rusts” for “rust” in line 40 (all of which blunders are copied by B7, who also records “these” as “those” in line 29); DT1 renders the normative “this Crosse” in line 13 as “his Cross” and elides “The Intelligence” to “Th’Intelligence” in line 2 (both of which are copied by H4, who also misreads “or” as “our” in line 7 and “Whoe” as “Whose” in line 17). WN1 copies the

¹⁰Gardner, ed., *The Divine Poems of John Donne*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 99.

¹¹Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra*, in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), 5.2.82–84.

Group-II exemplar carefully but records “toward” instead of “towards” in line 10 and “an” instead of “on” in line 13 and adds an extra syllable to line 35’s “lookest” (instead of the normative “lookst”).

Two other witnesses, both single leafs, one in private hands (P2) and the other at Princeton University (PT2), require special consideration. When the former was discovered in the Huntingdon Record Office in the 1970s, it was announced in the *Times Literary Supplement* as “an early draft” of the poem in Donne’s own hand, but was then quickly identified by other scholars as a copy in the hand of Sir Nathaniel Rich (as was a similar manuscript now at Princeton).¹² Were it indeed in Donne’s hand, it might have offered tremendous insight into his process of composition since P2 records a form of the poem that differs substantively in 29 of its 38 lines from most other versions of the poem; since P2 has only 38 lines, the 42-line poem printed in 1633 would thus have four lines added to it (lines 17–20). But as scholars also quickly took note, P2 differs from PT2 itself in substantives (16 instances) and in punctuation (30 instances).

P2	PT2
2 The'Intelligence	The Intelligence
3 lesser	lower
5 thereby whyrled euery day,	by it hurled euery day:
9 Hence is't that this day I goe vnto trauayle	Hence it is that I trauayle towards the
vnto the West	West
13 on this day	on the Cross
19 <i>om</i>	It made his owne Leiutenant Nature
	shrinke
20 <i>om</i>	It made the earth to >his footestoole<
	crack and the Sunn to winke!
22 peirced	board
25 and	or

¹²R. S. Thomson and David McKitterick, “A Donne Discovery: John Donne’s Kimbolton Papers,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 16 August 1974: 869–873, claimed the manuscript as a Donne holograph, a point contested by Nicolas Barker, “Goodfriday 1613’: By whose Hand?,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 September 1974: 996–997. R. E. Alton and P. J. Croft, “John Donne,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 27 September 1974: 1042–1043, identified the hand as Sir Nathaniel Rich’s.

P2

29 Or if on these things ~~are~~ I could look, durst
 I
 32 Halfe
 33 Theise things ~~are~~ as thus I ryde, are
 35 lookest on me,
 36 Sweet Sauour as thou hangst vppon the
 Tree.
 38 thy~~ne~~ mercye bydd thee leaue.

PT2

And if on these I durst not looke, dare
 I
 Halfe of
 These things as thus I ryde are
 lookest towards me
 Dear Sauour as thou hangst vppon
 that Tree:
 thy mercye bidd the leaue

If P2 and PT2 were both copies of an early draft of the poem, we would expect them to be quite similar to each other but the textual variations (including the addition of two of the missing four lines) and most interestingly PT2's "towards" in line 9, "Cross" in line 13, "durst not looke" in line 29, and "towards" in line 35—all of which are the readings of the rest of the manuscripts *against* P2—suggest that Rich was trying to re-construct a text he had heard or read. Indeed, several physical features of P2—the changes made to line 9,

Hence is't that [~~this day~~] I [~~goc vnto~~] ^{trauayle vnto} the west

(with *This day* added in the margin at the beginning of line 10 where it belongs), the strikeouts and corrections in lines 33 and 38, as well as the missing lines—corroborate that Rich was working from memory. PT2 also is defective: while it does include two of the missing lines (17–18), Rich forgot two others initially (5–6), then squeezed both on a single line between lines 4 and 7 afterwards. Thus, neither manuscript is a reliable textual witness of the LOH.

Each does record, however, an intriguing heading: "meditation vpon a Good friday, ryding from London towards Exceter, westward" (P2) and "Meditation on a good friday ridinge from London into y^e West Countrey." (PT2), both of which seem to have been added to the top of their sheets as afterthoughts. Quite clearly in the case of PT2, Rich wrote out the text of the poem and then added the heading, since insufficient space was left for it. In P2 the heading is smaller than the text (when the usual scribal practice is to make the heading larger than the text of the poem), once again suggesting that it was added after, then underscored to create some separation between it and the text. Since P2 is now in private hands, I have been unable to examine its ink, which might reveal

whether the heading were written at the same time as the poem itself. The available evidence strongly suggests that Rich reconstructed the poem from memory. Were he to have had a copy in front of him with such a provocative heading, he would most likely have included it as part of the copy he was making in usual scribal fashion—engrossed and spaced generously at the head of the sheet. The specificity of the headings of P2 and PT2 is certainly tantalizing, even if they are attached to manuscripts with numerous scribal errors. Working from memory, a man might forget words or even entire lines, but the details of where and when the poem was written might not be subject to the same lapses, especially if the poem had been composed during Donne's journey towards the home of Rich's cousin, Lettice (Rich) Cary, married to Sir George Cary of Cockington, Devon, a few miles southeast of Exeter. These headings may indicate that Donne travelled first to Exeter before heading to Montgomery Castle in Wales in early April 1613, which, as Dennis Flynn has pointed out, may help explain the circumstances that led Donne to write his 7 April letter to Sir Robert Harley from Montgomery Castle, either having been warned by letter not to visit Wigmore, or having been turned away by Harley's quarantine.¹³

A number of other manuscript witnesses of *Goodf*—Conway (B11), Skipwith (B13), Carnaby (H3), Dobell (H5), Stephens (H7), Utterson (H8), and Bridgewater (HH1)—derive independently from Donne's lost original holograph with the usual scribal interventions and corruptions. Though B13 and H7 are manuscripts frequently "associated with Group III" and H5 is classified as Group III, their texts for *Goodf* do not read with B46, C9, and H6: in line 7, B13, H5, and H7 all read the normative "Pleasure or businesse" where the β^1 manuscripts read "Pleasure and busines"; in line 32, B13, H5, and H7 all read the normative "that sacrifice" where the β^1 manuscripts read "the sacrifice"; and their headings (listed below) do not resemble Group-III's. The preceding analysis of the manuscripts of *Goodf* indicates that Donne, in all likelihood, did not revise the poem and that scribal intervention or

¹³Flynn, "Donne's April 1613 Itinerary," during Roundtable on Donne's vocational letters at Renaissance Society of America, 23 March 2012; see also the commentary on this letter in *The Prose Letters of John Donne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

corruption can readily explain the variation found in the surviving manuscripts.

We turn now to the puzzles left by the publisher John Marriot and the printer Miles Flesher about the setting text for the first printed edition. The heading in A—“*Goodfriday, 1613. Riding Westward.*”—presents us with the problem in a nutshell, for no other extant copy of the poem is headed in this same way. The Group-I manuscripts’ heading—as evinced by C2’s “*Goodfryday. 1613. Ridinge towards Wales.*”—is the closest to A since it includes the date, year, and direction, but the wording is not exactly the same. Nearly all editors have used the heading from A until the Longman’s edition of 2010, which uses a modernized Group-II text (DT1) with the heading “Good Friday: Made as I was Riding Westward that Day.”

Group I (B32, C2, C8, O20, SP1)

Goodfryday. 1613. Ridinge towards Wales. (C2)

Group II (DT1, H4, CT1, B7, WN1, SA1)

Good Fryday / Made as I was riding Westward that
daie. (WN1)

Group III (B46, H6, C9)

Good ffryday. 1613 Riding towards Wales (H6)

Good Fryday: 1613 (B46)

A Meditation Vpon Good Friday. 1613. (H5)

Group III-Associated or Unclassified

B11 *om*

B13 M'. I: Dūn goeinge from S' H: G: on / good
friday sent him back this / Meditacōn, on
the Waye.|

C1 *om*

H3 Goodfriday 1613.|

H7 Good Fryday

H8 GOOD FRIDAY. I.D.

HH1 Good Fryday

P2 meditation vpon a Good friday, ryding from
London towards Exceter, westward

PT2 Meditation on a good friday ridinge from
London into y^e / West Countrey.

What then was the source for Marriot's heading? Or for that matter, where did he derive some of his highly idiosyncratic readings? In line 4, only two witnesses, the memorially reconstructed P2 and PT2, record the singular "motion" whereas the other 31 have the plural "motions"; similarly, only a few (B32, C8, HH1, O20, and WN1) read "toward" in line 10; and only H5 reads "Made" with A for "Make" in line 27—all of which readings are in A. Someone in the print house has also adjusted a few lines in an attempt to smooth out Donne's meter: no manuscripts record the elided form "Talmost" in line 15 and only a few (B11, B13, B46, DT1, H5, H8, and SA1) record the elided form "They're" in line 34, both of which readings are in A.

In his examination of the textual and manuscript history of the poem, Richard Todd points to the omissions in the Group-I manuscripts—as we have seen, O20 and SP1 omit lines 24–25, while the cognates C2 and C8 omit lines 22–25—to decide that "Marriot made no use of this group" to produce his eclectic text.¹⁴ The Donne *Variorum* has shown in numerous instances that C2 (or the manuscript from which it and C8 descended) was used to set the type for much of the first edition. It is a tribute to Marriot, or whoever was overseeing its printing, that he recognized that C2's text for *Goodf* was partially defective. The *Variorum* has also shown that other compilations of Donne's verse were available to Marriot: H6 was used sporadically in A and then more fully in the second edition of 1635 (B); WN1 provided the text from which the epigrams were set and DT1 for some of the elegies.¹⁵ Once Marriot *et alii* discovered the defective text in C2, would this manuscript have been disregarded entirely? I think not, and the evidence suggests that he continued to use it for *Goodf*. We can in fact reconstruct Marriot's first published version of this poem from these sources.¹⁶ Where the three differ, he always chooses the lection favored by the majority: thus, he corrects C2's inversion ("being hurried by others" in line 5) in favor of

¹⁴Todd, p. 205.

¹⁵See *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, 2:lxvii–lxxix, 7.1:lxvii–lxviii, and 8:23–24.

¹⁶While Marriot may have had access to both WN1 and DT1, it seems more likely that he consulted only one: had he found two nearly identical texts as he sought to correct the defective C2 text, it seems likely that he would have adopted the Group-II text (with "turne" in line 22 and the Group-II heading). But he doesn't; thus, I surmise he only used WN1 as he had for the epigrams.

H6 and WN1's "being by others hurried" and the nonsensical "Gods Patterne" for H6 and WN1's "Gods partner" in line 31, while also supplying the missing lines (probably from H6); he does not follow H6's "and" in line 7 (preferring the normative "or" of C2 and WN1), metrical emendations in lines 9, 10, and 35, the inversion in line 11, or "did" for "do" in line 15; he rejects WN1's "turne" for H6's "tune" (C2 is missing line 22) and WN1's hypermetrical "to our Antipodis" for "our Antipodes" in line 24; and he follows the direction of H6 and WN1 in spelling line 19's "Lieutenant" rather than C2's "lieftenant" (the spelling of most manuscripts).

	A	C2	H6	WN1
5	by others hurried	hurried by others	by others hurried	by others hurried
7	or	or	and	or
9	is't	y'st	is it	ist
10	toward the East	towards y ^e East	to th'East	toward the East
11	I should	I shoulld	should I	I should
13	on	on	on	an
15	do	doe	did	doe
19	Lieutenant	lieftenant	Lieutenenant	Liuetenant
22	tune	<i>om</i>	tune	turne
24	our Antipodes	<i>om</i>	our Antipodis	to our Antipodis
31	partner	Patterne	partner	Partner
34	They'are	They are	They ar	They are
35	towards	towards	t'wards	towardest

Marriot also grafts the phrase "riding Westward" from the Group-II heading onto the heading found in C2 and H6. Thus, he cobbles together an eclectic text of *Goodf* for the first printing, based on C2 then modified by H6 and WN1 (or DT1), while adding some touches of his own, such as the singular "motion" in line 4, "toward" in line 10, "Made" for "Make" in line 27, and the elision in line 34. While this seems to be a complicated confection, one other poem, "The Relic," is even more complicated in its construction, as Gary Stringer and Richard Todd will show in the forthcoming *Variorum* edition of the Songs and Sonnets.¹⁷ So these emendations to the text of *Goodf* are not so extraordinary.

¹⁷These emendations to *Relic* are discussed by Gary A. Stringer, "The Composition and Dissemination of Donne's Writings," in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn, and M. Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 23.

In the 1635 edition the text of A is revised substantively in lines 10, 13, 30, and 40 with punctuation adjusted in a few instances (commas are added in lines 9 and 22 and removed in lines 11, 32, 33, and 38, and a period is added in line 12). B's editor emends A's "toward the East" to "to th'East" in line 10 (which is the reading of H6), "this Crosse" to "his Crosse" in line 13 (the reading of DT1), "Upon his miserable mother" to "On his distressed mother" in line 30 (which has no manuscript support whatsoever), and "rusts" to "rust" in line 40 (a mistake made by B7, B11, CT1, H7, H8, P2, PT2, and SA1). The text of *Goodf* then remains relatively stable in the subsequent seventeenth-century editions. C reproduces B's text almost exactly except for the inexplicable change of line 16's "That spectacle of too much weight" to ". . . two much weight" (also removing a comma in line 24). The editor of D (reissued in E and F) reproduces C's "too much weight" and adds a hyphen in line 17. The editor of G follows all these changes in B–D, though crafting a unique version of "to the East" in line 10 (reverting to A's unelided form but preferring B–F's "to") while restoring the comma in line 24.

The basic text of *Goodf* in the stream of transmission established by B was followed by subsequent editors until the late nineteenth century. Tonson (H) modernizes the orthography and mechanics but bases his text on G (as was his usual practice)—thus maintaining such readings as "to the East" in line 10, "his Crosse" in line 13, "On his distressed Mother" in line 30, and "rust" in line 40—and passes this eclectic version on to his later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century successors, Bell (I), Anderson (J), and Chalmers (K), who vary it only slightly. Tonson elides "towards" to "t'wards" in line 9 and repairs the nonsensical "two much weight" in line 16, which emendations are adopted by I–K. Alford (L) and Lowell (M) each introduce a few changes: Alford restores the earlier reading "this cross" in line 13 and "miserable Mother" in line 30 (and is followed by M), while Lowell restores "rusts" in line 40. Otherwise, the texts of B–M are quite similar.

Beginning with Grosart (N), who uses B7 collated with the early prints as the copy-text for *Goodf*, the text undergoes further change. Grosart introduces further modifications to the text with the correct reading "motions" in line 4, but also passes along some blunders from B7: "me" for the authorial "thee" in line 38 as well as B7's unique error of "those" in line 29 for "these." In the Grolier Club edition (O), Norton returns to the first printed edition for his copy-text, reproducing the

substantives of A; thus, we find “this cross” in line 13, “Upon his miserable mother” in line 30, and “rusts” in line 40. Though Chambers (P) usually bases his text on A, in this case he prefers some lections from G, such as “His cross” in line 13, “On His distressed Mother” in line 30, and “rust” in line 40. All of these editors (H–P) use the heading crafted by A.

For the copy-text of *Goodf* for his Oxford edition, Grierson (Q) adopts A, which he regards as “superior” to all other editions or to “any single manuscript,”¹⁸ but emends substantives in two instances and adds a comma to line 22. One of Grierson’s major contributions is his classification of the surviving manuscripts into family groups based on genealogy; he usually emends only when he finds support for a change in the major groups rather than in any single source (as Grosart had done to ill effect with B7). As noted above, he takes “turne” in line 22 from the Group-II manuscripts. His other emendation (as Grosart had done and which all subsequent editors also do because of unequivocal manuscript support) is to restore the plural “motions” in line 4, a mistake in A Grierson ascribes to a printer’s error in deciphering the final *s*. After Q all editorial eyes are focused on the first printed edition. Hayward (S) essentially reproduces Grierson’s text, though he restores A’s “tune” in line 22 (as discussed above). Bennett (T) follows A more closely than Grierson (thus, he has “tune” at line 22), though he modernizes the spelling and the punctuation of over half the lines. Gardner’s Oxford edition (U) likewise prefers “tune” in line 22 and restores the preposition in line 24’s “to’our Antipodes” (which is the reading of most of the manuscripts and probably the LOH). Shawcross (Z) also bases his text on the first printed edition, though more eclectically, following Grierson with “turne” in line 22 but Gardner with “to’our” in line 24, as does Smith (AA). As mentioned above, Robbins used DT1 as copy-text but modernizes its spelling, emends line 13’s “his” to the normative “this,” elides words in five places—presumably for metrical regularity—and adjusts DT1’s punctuation in 49 instances.

Choosing a copy-text for *Goodf* is not an easy task because no reliable witness stands close in line to the original holograph. Thus, a descendant of one of the three major groups may present the least corrupted state of *Goodf*, though the group-errors and the textual idiosyncrasies of each

¹⁸Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne*, 2:cxvi.

manuscript must be emended. B46, B32, or WN1 seem to be the best choices. B46 records the distinctive Group-III readings of “and” in line 7 and “the” for line 32 (where the LOH read “or” and “that”). In addition, the B46 scribe introduces blunders of his own by recording “that” for “which” in lines 21 and 25 and “on” for “vpon” in line 36, changing a comma to a semicolon in line 23 (which no other manuscript reads), and omitting the direction in the heading (thus, six substantive changes are necessary). B32 is also a possible candidate. In addition to the Group-I errors of “Heighth” for “height” in line 24 and “They are” for “They’re” in line 34, the B32 scribe introduces errors of his own: he records “An” instead of “And” in line 5 and “Then” for “There” in line 11; omits “that” in line 13 and the letter *l* to produce “spectacke” in line 16 and “behoud” in line 23; and adds “to S^r Edward Harber[t]” to the heading, unlike any other Group-I manuscript. These seven errors would need to be corrected and the heading altered to approximate the original poem that Donne wrote. WN1 is perhaps the strongest candidate: its Group-II error “turne” in line 22 would need emending, as would its own blunders in lines 10 (“towards” instead of “toward”), 13 (“on” instead of “an”), and 35 (“lookst” instead of “lookest”). WN1 thus needs these four substantive emendations, as well as some adjustment to its unusual punctuation of the rhetorical questions in lines 21–30 (13 of 21 manuscripts have a question mark in line 22 after “holes,” which should be added; WN1’s period after “his” in line 26 is a mistake that should be changed to a comma). With emendations, a text of the poem based on WN1 would look as follows:

Good Fryday
Made as I was riding Westward that daie.

Lett Mans Soule bee a Sphere, and then in this	
The Intelligence that moues, Deuotion is.	
And as the other Sphers by being growne	
Subiect to forreine Motions, loose their owne:	
And beinge by others hurried every daie,	5
Scarce in a yeare their Naturall forme obaie	
Pleasure or businesse, so our Soules admitt	
For their first Mouer, and are Whirld by itt.	
Hence ist that I am caryed towards the West	
This daie when my Soules forme bends towards the East.	10

There I should see A Sun by rising sett,
 And by that setting endles daie begett,
 But that Christ, on this Crosse did rise and fall,
 Sinne had Eternally benighted all:
 Yet dare I allmost bee gladd I doe not see 15
 That Spectakle of too mvch waight for mee.
 Who sees Gods face, that is selfe life mvst die.
 What a death were itt then to see, God die?
 Itt made his owne Liuetenant, Nature shrinke,
 Itt made his footestoole cracke; and the Sun wincke 20
 Could I behold those hands which span the Poles,
 And tune all Spheres att once piercd with those holes?
 Could I behold that endlesse height which is
 Zenith to vs, and to our Antipodis,
 Humbled below vs? Or that blood which is 25
 The seat of all our Soules if not of his,
 Make durt of dust, or that flesh which was worne
 By God for his Apparrell, Ragd, and torne?
 If on these thinges I durst not looke, durst I
 Vpon his Miserable Mother cast mine Eie? 30
 Who was Gods Partner here and furnishd thus
 Halfe of that Sacrifice which ransomd vs.
 Though these things as I ride bee from mine Eie
 They are present yett vnto my Memorie;
 For that lookes towards them, and thou lookst towards mee 35
 O Sauour as thou hangst vpon the tree.
 I turne my backe to thee but to receaue
 Corrections, till thy Mercies bid thee leaue
 O thinke mee worth thyne Anger, punish mee
 Burne off my rusts, and my deformitie; 40
 Restore thine Image, so mvch by thy Grace
 That thou maist knowe mee, And ile turne my face.

As the preceding analysis has shown, the text of *Goodf* has been significantly corrupted ever since it was first printed in 1633, nor have subsequent editors solved the problems attendant upon it. Future editors will need to repair these defects.

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